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ARTICLE No. 1.

NOTES ON
THE THADOU KUKIS

BY

WILLIAM SHAW

(Assam Civil Service.)

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, ILLUSTRATIONS AND INDEX.

BY

J. H. HUTTON

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1929.

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INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Shaw, the author of these notes on the Thado is qualified to write of them by seven years residence as Subdivisional Officer of the North-west area of the Manipur State, which is there inhabited by scattered groups of Thado Kukis living among Kabui and Kachha Naga communities who were established in those hills long before the Thado intruded there. He was also in intermittent contact with Thado Kukis during five years service in the Naga Hills district. Of the Thado groups in these areas the Shitlho clan is the most important and claims to be the senior clan of the descendants of Thado, the ancestor of the race. There is an appreciable degree of divergence between details of custom in different areas and in different clans, and Mr. Shaw's account must be taken to refer primarily to the Shitlho practice. In other respects also his account has perhaps some bias towards the Shitlho point of view. Thus he describes the house of Dongngel, which is senior in origin to that of the Shitlho, as *ingam* or extinct in the male line, and represented only by the descendant of a slave. This is the Shitlho view and is so stated by them with some emphasis, but it is so far from being universally accepted, that Chengjapao, the present head of the Dongngel clan, is accepted as the legitimate descendant of Dongngel by collaterals of unimpugnable pedigree who would be able to substantiate their own claims to represent Dongngel if Chengjapao's were rejected.

I suspect, moreover, that Mr. Shaw's estimate of the Thado has been coloured by the fact that he has had to deal with a society in the process of reconstruction on a new basis. Before the Kuki rising of 1918-1919 the administration in the hill areas of the Manipur State was not very close, and the Thado, ruled as they were by their own well-recognized chiefs, and treated, as they had been in the past at any rate, by the Manipur State as allies almost as much as subjects, managed their own affairs in their own way and had recourse to the courts only in exceptional cases.

With the suppression of the Kuki rebellion the confiscation of all guns and the punishment of several of the leading chiefs, an era of much closer administration set in, and the Thado have had to put up with a great deal more administrative interference. In addition to this, American and Welsh Missionaries have been allowed to extend their work among them and considerable numbers have been converted to the new faith. The result of all this must have been to loosen old ties and to weaken tribal sanctions so that the Thado society is at

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present in the process of adapting itself to greatly changed conditions, and social disturbance of this sort is inevitably bound to cause a good deal of discomfort, litigation and general friction. This, I think, has caused the Thado to appear to Mr. Shaw in an unduly unfavourable light. It has also, perhaps, affected his report on them in other ways for they have had little chance of recovering the condition of prosperity which they had in many cases attained before 1918. Thus at any rate the Hôlthang Thado and a good many of the Shitlho had built for themselves fine and permanent villages and were living in a much higher condition of comfort than they are now. Had Mr. Shaw been able to see such villages as Santing and Chongjang before they were destroyed during the rebellion he would hardly have described the Thado dwelling as he does without qualification.

A word is needed on the question of transliteration. Mr. Shaw has followed the Manipur convention of writing *OU* for *Ō*. This has its advantages in getting rid of a diacritical mark, but to my ear the sound represented is a simple vowel and not a dipthong and I have therefore generally thought it unnecessary myself to use more than a simple *O*. Similarly, in one or two other respects it will be observed that Mr. Shaw's spelling and mine do not always agree, but I have not thought fit to alter his nor necessary to change my own. *J*, *Y* and *Z* have presented some difficulty, being interchangeable, and *Y* and *Z* have been discarded in favour of J as the best to represent all three values, of which a hard *Z* is probably the rarest and the French value of *J* the commonest. *Zh* is preferred by some, but there is not really any perceptible aspirate. *Y* may occassionally be found with a purely euphonic significance separating *i* from another *i* following. The language is at present being written down and taught in Schools by the American Baptist Mission, and it is to be hoped that their labours will result in the formation of a scientific and logical system of transliteration, but the difficulties are many.

The Thado are a scattered tribe inhabiting parts of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur State and spreading east into Burma in the Chin Hills and Somra Tract. Their total numbers probably amount to about 50,000 souls, the females exceeding the males by about 5%, and the great bulk of the tribe being found in the hills of Manipur. The northern origin of the Kuki race in general will be found discussed in the first chapter, but it is obvious that though no doubt nearly related to the Kachins by origin the race has absorbed many—alien elements, probably including Shan, Mon-Khmer and Negrito. The latter is often suggested by the appearance of many of the Thado, and by a tradition of war with little, dark and bitter men. The history of Burma is one horrid catalogue of the smashing of kingdoms and the massacre, dispersal and transportation of

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populations and it would be surprising if a tribe that had migrated down the Chindwin Valley and sojourned on the west bank of that river had not absorbed Shan elements from the break up of the kingdom of Pong and Mon elements from the inhuman destruction of the Talaing kingdom of Pegu by the Burmese. Indeed Peter Heylin's description of the people of Pegu (quoted below, p. 20 n.[1]) would well fit the Thado, and some customs, such as the ordeal by diving, seem definitely associated with the Mon culture. Pinto speaks of "auburn" hair in Pegu, and rusty brown is common among Thado. Many Thado customs are suggestive of the Khasis and of the Hos, both of Indonesian affinity, and anyhow we may be sure that there was no lack of actual contact with the races of Burma as Pinto mentions Tipperas[1] as serving in the Burmese armies, in which case we may be sure there were Kukis too, if "Tuperaas" may not actually be taken to include them. There are however many points of Kuki culture which are vividly suggestive of the culture of the pagan Malays of the Indian Archipelago and the Philippines. For instance the Thado custom of burying the dead in what must be a troublesome excavation leading out of a simple pit grave reappears in Sumatra and in the Philippine Islands, where the Tinguian and the Mandaya follow it, and also share with the Lushei and probably some tribes of Borneo the practice of eating part of the liver of a slain foe.[2] In particular all Kukis, and the Thado is no exception, are or have been slave-hunters, as well as brigands in general, professions to which the Malay Tribes of Indonesia were notoriously given. Other points of contact will be found mentioned in the notes or appendix. The migratory condition of the Thado is probably to be ascribed in part at any rate to their having been unable to find vacant land on which to settle as proprietors. Their migrations since they were driven north out of what is now the Lushai Hills by the Lushei have been almost entirely in country already fully populated, a fact which has probably perpetuated their migratory inclinations beyond their natural term. They are by no means nomads but they lack the restraint of proprietorship. Where they have succeeded in acquiring suitable land of their own they seem ready and content to settle down permanently, and some are even taking to wet cultivation. Change, however, is likely to be rapid, and as the invariable effect of Mission enterprise seems to be to cause converts to forget all they can of the traditions of their fore-fathers, it is well that Mr. Shaw has recorded what he could before the opportunity has passed for ever.

---

[1] *Voyages of Fernando Mendez Pinto*, tr. H. Cogan, 1663, pp. 200,204.

[2] The *Melanesian* of Florida, like the Lushei, licks from his spear-blade the blood of the first foe he kills (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 305, Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, 269).

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I have to acknowledge here the kindness of Col. J. Shakespear and of Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in permitting the reproduction of the map published by them in Col. Shakespear's *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, also the help of Mr. S. J. Duncan of Tamenlong in making drawings of a number of objects specimens of which I was unable to find in this district, but a few of which exist in the Manipur State.

KOHIMA,
July, 1928.

J. H. H.

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FOREWORD.

These notes on the Thados are not to be taken as exhaustive, but include all important peculiarities and customs of a very important tribe on the eastern frontier of Assam, among whom I have had the fortune of working for many years. In particular I have to thank Jamkithang, a Thado of the Shitlho clan, second clerk Tamenlong Sub-division, Manipur State, Kopsat, Dongpu and many chiefs of the various clans in helping me to get at customs and beliefs. I am indebted to Dr. Hutton for editing my MS.

Before missionary influence should make their customs and beliefs things of the past it was my desire to place on record what was still remembered, and existed, for those who might be interested to read.

W. Shaw.

Hailakandi,
August 1928.

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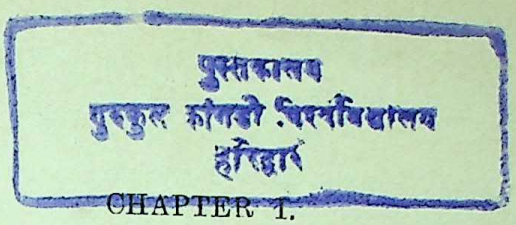

CHAPTER I.

General Description.

General Habitat.

The Thadou Kukis[1] live in a large area of hilly country bounded by the Angami Nagas of the Naga Hills District in the north, the Province of Burma in the east, the Chin Hills and Lushai Hills in the south and the District of Cachar in the west. Mainly, it may be said, they occupy the hills of the State of Manipur on all sides of the Imphal valley. The Shitlhous, whose chief is Khotinthang alias Kilkong living in the village of Jampi, reside to the northwest of the valley. The Dongngels, chief Chenjapao, are in the northeast. The Haokips, chief Lhokhumang, border the valley on all sides but are mostly on the northeast. The Kipgens are mainly to the west. The Shingshons, chief Mangpu, are to the southwest of the valley. The Chonglois, Hangshings, Phohils, etc. are all promiscuously mixed up in the villages whose chiefs are one or the other of the clans given above and have no recognised chiefs of their own. They have become absorbed gradually for various reasons by the more powerful clans. The Hangshings, however, have recently formed a village under Vumpu, alias Kapjavum, who is the head of their branch, in the Tamenlong Subdivision at Vongjang; but he is unquestionably under the thumb, politically, of the Shitlhous in whose midst he has started his village.

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[1] *Kuki.* The origin of this word is not known, but it first appears in Bengal, Rawlins writing of the "Cucis or Mountaineers of Tipra" in *Asiatick Researches* (II, xii.) in 1792. *Klongshai* is the name used in Aracan for the Lakher tribe (Shakespear, *Lushai Kuki Clans*, p. 213) and some of the Thado—Haokips, I think—are said to use a word *Khongshai* for Kukis in general, which reappears in the Meithei *Khonjai* and probably in the Angami Naga *Kotso-ma.* They speak of themselves as Thado, and though this term may be taken to cover only the descendants of that eponymous ancestor, it is generally used to cover also dependent clans now intermingled with and closely associated with those descendants, though not actually claiming Thado as an ancestor, such, in particular, are the descendants of Lenthang and Lunkim (*v. infra* pp. 24, 26 and 29 n.a.) for whom, if they are not to be called Thados, there is no other distinctive term. Thado, it may be noted, seems to be a Burmese title, apparently denoting courage or ability (*vide* Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* I, ii, 147), and MacRae, writing in 1799 mentions a then existing individual chief called Thandon (*Asiatic Researches* VII, 188). Soppitt, nearly a century later (*Short account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*) derives Kuki thus:—*Kuki .. Kukai .. Lukai .. Luahai* (=*Lushai*), and translates *Luahai* as the "Lua people" of *Lua* he says "In some accounts of Burma mention is made of traces having been found of a people ruled over by the Lua kings or king in days gone by." A little fanciful, perhaps. Anyhow I cannot trace these *Lua* unless they are *Lawa*, a synonym for *Wa* (Harvey, *Burma*, p. 354). Lewin (*Exercises in the Lushai Dialect*, p. 1) suggests a derivation for 'Kuki' from the Dzo (Lushei) word, *Tui-Kuk*, for the Tippera (Sakchip) Tribe.—(Ed.)

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The total number of houses which could be classified as Thadou would roughly be about 5,500; and placing an average of 5 persons per house this would give a total of 27,500 souls spread over an area of about 10,000 square miles. This would appear a small proportion for the area envolved, but it must be remembered that there are Kacha Nagas, Kabuis, Tangkhuls, Koms, Chirus, Aimols, Marings, Manipuris and others who also inhabit the same area. In the area given is included the Mauza of Henima in the Naga Hills District under Palal Mauzadar where there are some Thadou villages. In addition a few odd villages are to be found in the North Cachar Hills, in the hills bordering the Cachar valley, in Sylhet on the southern hills and in the hills in Burma on the Manipur State frontier.

Appearance and physical Characteristics.

All the Thadous resemble each other very closely in appearance and have, generally speaking, a Mongolian type of countenance. The Haokips and Kipgens are fairer than the others and have a yellow-olive complexion. The same may be said of the Dongngels. The Shitlhous, Lhouvum, Shingshon[1] etc., are certainly of a darker shade and some of a distinct copper colour. The chiefs are usually fairer and the reason for this is not far to see as they do not expose themselves to climatic influences to the same extent as their villagers, yet they are not as fair as those of the Haokips and Kipgens even when compared with the ordinary villagers.

Miscegenation with captives and neighbouring tribes exists at the present day among the Thadous. There are examples at Kandung village in the Naga Hills and in many Thadou villages where Naga slaves have been absorbed. There are admitted instances of Manipuris becoming Thadous. But chiefs lose their position by such marriages, and they occur mainly among the ordinary villagers.

Beards and whiskers are uncommon but there is a distinct liking for a few hairs at the corners of the mouth on the upper lips. It is not uncommon to see men picking out the other

[1] The fairest Thados I ever saw were Shingshuans and Mr. J. C. Higgins tells me his experience is the same, but I think it would probably be correct to say that the Thado living in the north-west of Manipur and in the adjacent area of the Naga Hills are darker and shorter than those living further south and west, and I fancy the reason is to be found in a greater admixture of non-Thado blood. The Old Kuki tribes, Aimol, Kom, Anal, Bete, Hrankol and others (see Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, pt. II, ch. III) were probably the advance guard of the Kuki group in its migration, the Thado coming next, and the later the arrival the less the need or the opportunity would be for miscegenation. I am inclined to give a similar reason for the fairer complexions of the Thado chiefs. Mr. Shaw's explanation does not satisfy me, as though the chief does not work in the fields in the same way as his villagers, I do not think that the difference in the extent to which he exposes himself is enough to make any appreciable difference in the colour of his skin —(Ed.)

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hairs on their upper lips with tweezers. The old men, however, appear to appreciate a few hairs on their chins and some have cultivated a distinct "Imperial." The hair on the head, when a boy, is regularly shaved off leaving a tuft at the back end of the head. When the boy grows up to the age of puberty he is then allowed to grow the rest. It is never cut again and, when long enough, is tied up in a knot at the back of the head. It is combed back from the forehead and greased with pig's fat at frequent intervals. So it remains to the end of his life. Unfortunately they have taken to cutting their hair short, perhaps owing to Mission influence, and say it is cooler and less troublesome to manage. The old folk naturally view this attitude with grave displeasure and vow those who do so will never reach MITHI KHU (The village of the departed souls).

The girls are also shaven[1] except for a small patch at the back of the head which is allowed to grow unhampered. When they reach maturity—sometimes a little before—their hair is allowed to grow. Here again plenty of pig's fat is used. When long enough it is divided down the centre of the head and plaited into two strands on each side of the head. When this grows longer the strands are crossed and brought round the head and tied in front above the forehead. The plait on the right side is taken around the back of the head and over the left ear, while the plait on the left goes round the back of the head and over the right ear. A piece of cotton or combings of hair are interplaited at the ends of these two strands so as to facilitate the tying of them at the front of the head. A husband may use his wife's hair oil (pig's fat) or vice versa, but it is "taboo" for another person to do so other than of that household. The reason given being that it would cause the hair to fall out and some awful ailment would be the consequences to the culprit.[2] Now-a-days, cheap and smelly bazar hair oil is

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[1] This practice of shaving the heads of unmarried girls is prevalent throughout the hill area that divides Assam and Bengal from Burma and occurs also in the Nicobars (Hamilton, *Account of the East Indies* II, 71). In some tribes the shaving is continued even after marriage and throughout life, and supplemented by actually plucking out the hair in places. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 175-6, points out that short hair is often symbolical of chastity. The fact that the hair is allowed to grow just before or after marriage seems to support this, but probably in this particular area some weight must be attached to the consideration that shaven heads are much the easiest to keep free of vermin, a very good reason for forgoing the sexual attraction of long hair as long as possible.—(Ed.)

[2] This tabu on alien hair-grease is to be associated no doubt with the world-wide view that the hair is a particular seat of the soul or life-force (cf. Shakespear, *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, page 109). The story of Samson is a familiar example, and the theory is common in the Indonesian area. Thus the Karens of Burma appear to have the idea (Marshall, *Karen people of Burma*, page 287) in that the father of an expected child may not cut his hair for fear of shortening the life of the child; in Malaya a warrior on an

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becoming daily commoner and there does not appear to be any objection to sharing a bottle. As men and women reach a ripe age they pay less attention to their coiffure and it becomes an untidy lump tied anyhow. A good many seem to lose most of their hair and the top of the head becomes caked with dirt. Curly hair or waved[1] is rare, but isolated cases are seen. The hair generally is black with a copper tint in many. Hair, as a secondary male characteristic, is generally absent from the chest and armpits.

The Shitlhous are more squat than the Haokips and Kipgens. The others may safely be placed in the same category as the Shitlhous. They have disproportionately large thighs and calves and the appearance of being heavy and slow, which they undoubtedly are both physically and mentally. The Haokips and Kipgens differ as they are taller built and are not so heavy about the lower limbs. They are generally more agile and energetic both mentally and physically than clans of other bloods.[2]

---

expedition may not have his hair cut, nor may his wife or child during his absence (Skeat, *Malay Magic*). In Nias a chief kept his life in a hair on his head that was as hard as copper wire (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, XI, 148,) and in Amboyna and in Ceram strength depends on not having the hair cut (*ibid.* 158). This idea appears again in Fiji (Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, page 245), as apparently in Madagascar (Osborn, *Madagascar, etc.*, page 332), and in the Marquesas Islands, where the hair of the victim of a cannibal feast is made into armlets or necklets of great virtue, suggesting that this is the reason why the people of Borneo, like the Nagas, wear the hair of their dead enemies. In America the Jivaros of the Amazon have the same belief about the hair (Karsten, *Blood Revenge, War, etc., among the Jibaro Indians* pp. 31,32,87), as well as the North American Indians, who took the scalps of their enemies. The same idea doubtless underlies the view held in India about the hair (*vide* Moses, *Sancity of hair in South India* in '*Man in India*' September, 1927), as it certainly does in Europe, where the hair is the seat of the external soul. (Frazer *loc. cit.* 104, 158.)

McCulloch (*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, p. 63) mentions that Kukis are very particular as to who is entitled to use whose comb, and that social precedence among the Thado may be tested by this. Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 47), drawing on Stewart (*Notes on N. Cachar*) mentions that the *thempu* presents a newly married couple with a comb each; that man and wife only may use the same comb; that it is most unlucky to lose a comb, and that when a man dies his comb is buried with him, while his relations break their combs and wear their hair dishevelled as a sign of mourning.—(Ed.)

[1] I fancy curly and wavy hair would be a good deal more noticeable than they are, if it were not for the use of grease and the practice of plaiting the hair. Characteristics suggesting a negroid strain are fairly frequent among Thado women, and I fancy that somewhere in their wanderings they have absorbed some of the Negrito stock, which seems to have been the indigenous element in the Naga Hills, and which, according to traditions collected by Mr. J. H. Crace, seems to have survived as a separate race in the North Cachar Hills to as late a date as the Dimapur Kingdom, a Kachari King of which exterminated the survivors. (See *Negrito Substratum in Assam*, '*Man in India*' December, 1927.)—(Ed.)

[2] I doubt the advisability of laying down any such rule other than that of locality and environment, which does not always go by clans.—(Ed.)

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The women are mostly prolific but child mortality is heavy owing to their want of knowledge in matters medical concerning children and their upbringing. Sometimes there are two and three children being breast fed at ages varying from infancy to three years. They are very uncleanly and hardly ever think of having a wash. After dyeing cloths and cotton with indigenous indigo, which is boiled in a pot and the material or cotton steeped in it with their fingers, they never think of taking off the stains or washing. They just go on with their daily work and eat their food with their fingers as if nothing had happened. The same applies, no matter what they have been doing, generally to both men and women. They wash their dishes and plates after meals (even this not always) but usually do not wash their hands before taking their meals.[1] There is a Kuki story that when they had to cross the Imphal river by wading the fish died all the way down to the sea because of the dirt of ages on their bodies.

They are all good walkers and do not walk on their toes when going uphill. They plant the whole of their foot down pressing upwards with their thighs and calves for the forward step. Even on the level the same action is noticeable and they do not straighten out their legs for the next step but assume a kind of bent knee action of their own. I have noticed this among most hillmen.

Abortion and infanticide are not uncommon when the pregnancy is attended by any circumstances causing shame to the woman. Suicide happens occasionally and is usually by poison. The cause is generally some incurable illness or poverty. A case is known where a woman poisoned her husband so that she might marry her paramour, but this one may class as exceptional. Divorce is easy and frequent owing to the fact that in many marriages the two persons have not ever seen each other before, because marriages are arranged by parents generally. This, however, is dying out and the sons and daughters are insisting on having more say in the matter.

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[1] I should have said, as far as my own experience goes, that the practice of washing the hands before eating was, on the whole, commoner than its absence. The wild Thado is, however, certainly no great advocate of ablution. I remember well the compulsory washing of one of my Thado carriers, who admitted without shame that his skin had not known water for two years, and he seemed to be a healthy enough young buck. Hodson (*Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 12) gives a Memi story of how the Thado, the Naga and the Manipuri had a jumping match across a watery valley. The Thado entirely cleared it, and bathes not at all, the Naga very nearly did, and washes in moderation, while the Manipuri fell in and has been given to excessive cleanliness ever since. The Thado tell what is virtually the same story, omitting the Naga, to explain why the Manipuri washes himself after evacuation like any other Hindu of India, while the Kuki, like all Nagas also, follows the Burmese custom.—(Ed.)

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Comparatively few Thadous can swim but a good many are fairly expert with bamboo rafts which they use for crossing rivers. The Chura Chandpur Subdivision Thadous of Manipur State are more expert in the water and on rafts than the others.

All Thadous are exceedingly expert in making all kinds of traps for animals, birds and fish. Hunting plays an important part in their lives and customs, as will be seen further on. They are good trackers and are never happier than when on the trail. Their next joy is the *ju* jar and lastly, but not least, a quarrel over marriage price or the like of some relative dating back three or more generations.

The Thadou is migratory and moves from village to village on the slightest pretext. Sometimes whole villages vanish to be absorbed in others just because they have had enough of the place and the wander-lust has got hold of them.

The chiefs have great power among them but this is being shaken by the advance of administration—or should it be called civilisation ? Persons who are not related to chiefs are to be seen as heads of villages just because they have some wealth behind them and are, in consequence, able to get ready followers. The chiefs naturally do not appreciate such persons setting up as such, especially when they become next door neighbours. Yet the chiefs have often themselves to blame as they become too exacting on their villagers.

Affinities.

The Koms, Aimols, Khotlhangs, Thadous, Lusheis, Chins, Pois, Suktes, Paites, Gangtes, etc. are undoubtedly all connected. The language alone has many similarities and the syntax is not dissimilar. Again there are their customs which have a common principle running through them all. The Thadous admit coming from the south where all the other tribes mentioned are now residing. Wars and want of land for cultivation were certainly the main causes for the northward movement, and I suggest that this movement, which had to be repeated so frequently, might have been a cause of the development of the wander-lust.

The traditions of the Thadous all point to the south and they admit having come northwards. I shall deal with this at length when giving the history of the Thadous as given by them from various sources which I have condensed. Also the pedigrees and genealogical trees which will follow in later chapters will go to prove the contentions put forward now. However I must differ with Lt.-Col. Shakespear (*Lushei-Kuki Clans* p. 8) in his contention that the Kabuis—or more correctly Songpus—are related to the Thadous through the Lusheis. First because of their customs, secondly because of their mode of living and the type of houses, and thirdly because of their

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language. The Songpus are unquestionably allied to the Kacha Nagas who in turn are connected with the Angamis.[1]

The village of Toushem, a Zemi Kacha Naga village on the western border of the Tamenlong Subdivision of Manipur State, claim that they were originally Lenthang Kukis and on reaching Maram village, which is a little more than half-way between Imphal and Kohima on the west of the cart road on the top of a hill about 3 miles away, on their forward or rather northward movement were absorbed into the Naga community and then spread south-westernly down to their present site. The village of Liyangmai, which is north-east of Tamenlong, a long day's march, give me a story of coming up from the south until they reached Maram village and from there they came southward to their present site. They do not say they were Lenthangs or any other kind of Kukis. They are Liyangmei Kacha Nagas and apparently were the last to leave Maram village since they have remained the nearest to it while the

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[1] The affinity of the Thado with the other branches of the Kuki race mentioned by Mr. Shaw is unquestionable, I think, but there is no doubt whatever in my mind that there has been an infiltration, often a very strong one, of the same stock, into most of the Naga tribes. Major Fryer (*On the Khyeng People of the Sandoway District*, Arakan, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 1 of 1878) convincingly traces the Chin migration to the upper sources of the Chindwin, in which case the Kuki race has first migrated from north to south down the valley of that river, and then, stopped by the Bay of Bengal, turned north again up the ranges forming the watershed to the west of it (*cf.* Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, pp. 138, 73.) Thrown off during the long course of the southward migration, offshoots of the Kuki stock undoubtedly penetrated the western watershed of the Chindwin valley long before the Thado came up the watershed from the south again. Thus the Maring tribe includes a village, Khoibu, which will not intermarry with other villages, and which has a tradition of a common origin with the Poi of Falam, having migrated to the Manipur valley from the Kabaw Valley (near the Chindwin) apparently with the genuine Maring villages ("*Man in India*" VI, No. 4, *Notes on the Marings*, by Mr. Gimson). The Tangkhuls have one origin legend associating them with the Marings (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 10), and the Angami, still further north west, have a legend of origin from the Tangkhul country. On the other hand there are many traditions which show that the last imigrants into the Angami country speak a language classified by Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India* III, ii) as Naga-Kuki. "Relationship with the Kukis," says Hodson (*op. cit.*, p. 17) "is directly claimed by the people of Yang," *i.e.*, the Kachha Naga village of Yang-Khulen or Chekwema. The Ao tribe, in the north of the Naga Hills district shows entirely unexpected traces of Kuki influences, and the Sema tribe in whom the dominant element is derived from a migration from the south-west in the Manipur State, has its whole social and political system clearly modelled on a Kuki pattern.

To return to Fryer, the Chin tradition, quoted by him from a Chin ballad, of the brick walled city of their forefathers, suggests that the Kukis may have once possessed a higher culture than they have now. If so, this would perhaps account for the exceptional readiness with which he adopts the strange culture offered to him by the American Missionaries, a characteristic in which he differs from all Nagas that I know, except the Ao, and possibly the Sema.—(Ed.)

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Zemi Kacha Nagas and the Kabuis or Songpus are all further south and southwest of them.

No better idea of the clear differences between Kukis and Nagas can be had than by reading Lt-Col. Shakespear's book referred to above with that on the Angamis by Mr. J. H. Hutton.[1]

There is one point that makes me suppose that they must have been previously either ocean-shore, creek, river or lake-bank dwellers. They build their houses on piles and do not live on the ground like Nagas, (excepting the Aos).[2]

Dress.

The men wear a loin-cloth[3] worn somewhat like a "Dhoti" and have one or more clothes to wrap around themselves over one shoulder or both. They also wear a cloth as a "Pugri" about a yard or just a little longer. It is tied round the head with the ends or one end sticking up in front. The women wear a loin cloth which is wrapped round their waists and reaches a little over half-way down their thighs. Attached to the cloth, sometimes separately, is a string which is passed round the waist and so holds it up. In addition they wear a breast cloth which is wrapped tight round the torso, the outer corner being tucked in at the top at a spot between the left breast and the armpit. Sometimes an additional wrapper is used thrown over the shoulders thus completing their wardrobe.[4] Although the

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[1] The differences are usefully summarised by Mills in an article on the Hill Tribes of Assam in the *Assam Review* for March, 1928.—(Ed.)

[2] Many Naga tribes build their houses on platforms also, and if Dixon ("*Racial History of Man*") is right in assigning the brachycephalic element in the population of Burma and Assam to an immigration of the Alpine race, it is just possible that the practice of building on piles in Assam, and the remains of prehistoric lake villages in Europe are to be derived from a common source, though the actual lake dwellers appear to have been dolichocephalic themselves. But see p. 84, n. 2.

[3] It can only be short time since the Thado male went naked. Men are still to be seen naked in the Chin Hills occasionally, though the women wear clothes, and I have heard of Old Kukis being seen naked in their houses in Cachar during the last few years, and the memory of the time when the men wore no clothes is still fresh. Indeed Surgeon MacRae writing of the Kukis of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1799 describes the men as going naked (*Asiatic Researches*, VII, 184), while Damant, writing of *The North Cachar Hills and their Inhabitants* (*Calcutta Review*, 1875), says "The proper dress of a Kookie is a large square sheet, which is thrown loosely over the shoulders; this is still the dress worn in remote villages, but most of the Kookies in the plains have taken to wearing a *dhuti* as well."—(Ed.)

[4] Thado women are careful to cover the breasts until they have borne a child, after which it does not matter exposing them. The same rule is observed by the Lusheis, the Toungtha and the Tipperas of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, pp. 192, 207), the Aos, the Santals (Bodding, in *J.A.S.B.*, LXVII, iii, 6), the Hos of Singbhum, the Dusun of Borneo, the Negritos of Zambales in the Philippine Islands. The reverse, curiously enough, is reported of the Khyengs (Chins) of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Hutchinson, *Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, p. 170). Similarly in some tribes of Australia the

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method of fastening seems inadequate, strenuous action does not seem to make their clothes work loose, or fall off.

All these clothes are woven from cotton which is grown on their lands and spun by the women. Now-a-days quite a number of Manchester goods are gaining sway among them such as shirts, shorts, etc. owing to Missionary influence and advancement of civilisation among them. The villages not near the valley of Imphal have not got as far yet and seem to be the happier for it. Both men and women have also a kind of jumper which is very crudely made. It consists of two strips of cloth about 4 ft. by 9 inches. These are stitched together leaving an unstitched gap in the middle about a foot long. Through this gap the head goes. The sides of this chest and back protector are again stitched together leaving a gap in the centre of each for the arms.

There is another coat-shirt with short sleeves and a collar and a few buttons down the front, but this is most certainly not of Thadou origin but is a copy from the fashions of the foreigner.

The wrappers used by the men and women may be white or dark indigo blue. The white ones usually have one black band at the extremities while the blue ones have some embroidery work in place of those bands. The indigo dye is obtained from the plant *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius* grown by them. The pattern of embroidery that may be worn on a man's or woman's black cloth is varied according to his or her achievements. The shade of blue is varied by steeping the cloth or cotton twice or oftener in the dye. There are other dyes of various shades all from plants of different kinds.

For the rainy season a sort of tray, oval shaped, rather like a tortoise's shell made out of palm or bamboo leaves on a bamboo frame is used as a covering by both sexes. This is large enough to cover the whole body when stooping down during field work. It has a plaited strap of cane or bamboo inside, which goes over the shoulders and thus keeps it in position, while arms are free. The leaves are dried and then smoked before they are used for the manufacture of these rainshields.

Both sexes have usually a small or larger haversack slung over one shoulder in which odds and ends, tobacco, etc. are kept.

Young men and the marriageable girls wear a piece of thread tied just above the ankle. It is supposed to make the feet attractive in their eyes. Similarly around the wrist sometimes a piece of wire is used, but this by the men mostly.

The men also have strings around their necks. Some of these have a tiger's tooth or a few fowl's feathers attached—

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women discard their aprons after the birth of their first child (Westermarck, *History of Human marriage*, 3rd edit., p. 197).—(Ed.)

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occasionally a pair of tweezers and a thorn-pick.[1] The tiger's tooth and feathers are to ward off the evil eye and keep them well on a journey, in addition to preventing them from suffering any misfortune.

The women, if unmarried, wear a spiral brass fore-armlet which starts at the wrist and goes up within 4 inches or so of the elbow. The spirals are flat internally on the flesh and are convex outside with a breadth of half an inch roughly. Just above the elbow an armlet of bellmetal is worn which is about 1½ lbs in weight and 1½ inches in diameter, the section being circular. Necklaces of blue or red beads are worn and a hollow ring about 2 inches in diameter in the lobe of her ear. This latter is very like a napkin-ring, but has an out-turned rim in front about ¼ inch wide. To make the ear capable of carrying these rings they pierce their lobes and extend them by putting in rolled leaves of gradually increasing dimensions. The ring is of bright metal or silver. The idea of having them silver is to my mind of recent formation.

The men wear a cornelian bead in each ear tied with a piece of cotton to the lobe of the ear which is pierced to admit it. The bead hangs about an inch from the end of the lobe. These beads are much treasured by them and often form an item in prices paid for brides.

Both sexes have almost always got a small bamboo tube or gourd which contains tobacco juice. They take a pull at it and keep the fluid in their mouths until its invigorative properties have been absorbed and then they spit it out again. Pipes are smoked by both. These are either wooden, bamboo, earthenware, brass or metal. There is a distinct pipe for producing the juice they use as a drug. It has a large bowl and receptacle of bamboo or wood for the juice. The bowl is earthenware and slants towards the smoker.[2] The tobacco is wetted before placing in the bowl and a red hot cinder is placed on top and then the operation begins. Dried tobacco leaves are also chewed by both sexes and spat out when all the juice has been extracted. The juice is not swallowed either.

Tied round a man's waist is the knife called "Chempong."

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[1] Neck and ankle strings are sometimes worn as love tokens, I think. Round the neck a shell, made I fancy from the kernel of a wild mango or something similar, is hung as a receptacle into which the partly chewed quid of tobacco can be placed when removed from the mouth for any reason. Iron prickers for extracting thorns, and tweezers for that and for depilation are carried by almost all Kuki men, generally on a string round the neck. *Cf.* Fitch's account of the Burmese :—"These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose....for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare." Heylin, *Cosmographie* (1665) p. 890, describes the people of Pegu as "of a mean stature, somewhat corpulent, and naturally beardless. If any stragling hair thrust forth, they alwayes carry Pinsers with them, to pull them out."—(Ed.)

[2] See plate 4, fig. 3.

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In his hand he has a spear called "Tengcha" or a muzzle-loading gun, licensed or unlicensed, and that completes his kit.

The youth of today in villages affected by "civilising" influences wears his hair cropped short, has a shirt and coat, wears shorts, stockings and boots. Often capping it all with a soft felt hat or even a "topee", and tries to converse with one in very bad English with an American twang. He has not the manly appearance of his jungly brothers or their open countenance. He appears to be carrying the whole weight of the world on those weary looking shoulders of his and in that worried expression on his face. He does not appear to be any the happier for the change.

The Thadou chiefs do not dress differently to others, except for Khotinthang (alias Kilkong), head of the Shitlhou branch, who has invested in a "Topee" since his release from his exile at Sadiya after the Kuki Punitive Measures of 1918-19.

Those who have performed certain rites are allowed to wear a blue-black cloth with a special embroidery but this will be dealt with further on. Most of the chiefs having performed those rites naturally wear those clothes on auspicious occasions when there are sure to be many people gathered together, as a mark of distinction.

Tattooing.

This is not practiced as a distinctive mark or as a rite among the Thadous. Some of the young bucks and girls tattoo a small circle or dot, just for fun, between the thumb and first finger in middle of the soft part of the flesh which links the two. It is done with any sharp needle-like implement and any colouring matter which is handy, such as indigo juice or soot, is used. Except for this tattooing is rare[1] among them.

Mentality.

The Thadou is a slow but deep thinker for the average wild man He is very obstinate and wilful It is to be expected from the way the children are brought up. Once the children can run about they are left very much to themselves and no form of disciplinary education is given them. In fact the parents seem to thoroughly appreciate the quality in their children if they see them bounce others or dupe them. They are left to

[1] A circle is sometimes tattooed on the forearm usually in a line with the back of the hand and a little above the wrist, but sometimes in the corresponding place in a line with the palm. The pattern is made by pricking the arm with thorns of the cane plant and applying the circular end of a small bamboo tube which has been rubbed on the sooty bottom of a cooking-pot. Carbon is the usual tattoo pigment from central India to the Philippines, but the Mundas are also reported to use a vegetable dye (Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, p. 370) and also to mark their arms with a circular mark, made in this case with a heated iron tube. Waddell (*Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley, J.A.S.B.*, pt. III, 1900, p. 51) says that this tattooing with a circle on the forearm seemed universal, but he was apparently writing of the Hrankol Kukis.—(Ed.)

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improve their minds in the best way they can with no help. If they ask questions they are told to shut up—and this not even politely—as there are more important matters for consideration than answering childish queries. This may be to cover ignorance, because there is nothing the Thadou dislikes more than being proved to be wrong and ridiculed. He loves to be important and air his knowledge. Drink generally makes him become quarrelsome and look out for a scrap. He is truculent and has a tremendous idea of his own importance. I have often seen Thadous and Nagas pass each other on the paths and in nearly every instance the Thadou has kept the path while the Naga moves aside to let him pass. In Naga villages when some dancing is on and there happen to be some Thadous present they will almost always push aside the Naga lookers-on and get in front so as to have the best position without the slightest compunction. He has the appearance of being the dominant partner in his household, yet, he is very often led by his wife, more especially if she happens to be well connected. Grief does not affect him much but the women have long memories and will be often heard weeping aloud in a village one is visiting, because some one has turned up who looks like or has the same name as a long departed child, relation or friend, or some conversation has recalled some sad day in her life. When deserting a village the men will walk gaily off with anticipatory feelings of new ventures while the women will stay behind a while to shed a tear over the graves of their children and relatives, before catching up the men, because they may never see them again. Life is of very little value since murders are compromised for one or two mithuns (*Bos frontalis*), but the murderer usually becomes the "servant"—I prefer it to "slave"—of some powerful chief in return for protection. Murders are not common among the Thadous, as they look on it as a great sin to take life in cold blood. A very good reason has to be shown before they view it as justifiable. An example of this would be the taking of heads to be buried with the chief, but this is carried out by means of a raid against some village where a score has to be wiped out. The heads are to represent slaves in the next world for the chief, as the souls or spirits of the decapitated work for the Chief at "Mithi Khu." Both sexes like a joke, more so if it is vulgar, and are always ready for a laugh.

The older folk have generally very long faces since they have to remember the long line of pedigrees and genealogies dated back many, many generations in addition to all the marriage prices, etc. due and to be paid by their line, plus all the feuds. These persons are the reference books for the younger generations whenever ill feeling gives rise to quarrels or litigation.

They specially pride themselves on genealogical trees which play a part of importance in some of their rituals and festivities

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The memories they possess for these matters are wonderful, as often far distant persons unknown to each other go through the same long list of names without an error.

The prevailing trait of self-importance and self-exaltation among the Thadous is understood when it is remembered that for long years they composed the levies of the Manipur State and were allowed to do very much as they pleased with all among whom they took up their abode. At times their ambitions have got the better of them and they broke out in open rebellion in 1918-19. Their tails are not down and I have heard it said that they hope to become a "Raj" some day.

The Thadous' developed, or perhaps natural, arrogance and truculence [1] has not abated much since that rebellion.

He is very litigious and his inclination to form small villages anywhere and everywhere with no respect of others' lands is a source of trouble administratively.

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[1] When I first made the Thado's acquaintance and for years after, I regarded him merely as an administrative nuisance. His habit of splitting up his villages into scattered hamlets of two or three houses in the jungle, so that this year's village is never where you expected to find it, and his irritating way of making a fuss about the unpaid price of his defunct second cousin's great-grandfather's sister's bones are not calculated to endear him to a district officer. The operations against the rebellious Thado of the Manipur State in 1918 and 1919 led to a very much better acquaintance with him, and from then onwards the more I have seen of the Thado, the more I have respected him and the better I have liked him. For pluck, intelligence, straight-forwardness and cheerfulness he stands high among his neighbours. I cannot say so much for his industry or his sobriety. He is a bad cultivator, and much behind the surrounding tribes in agriculture, though as much ahead of them in such domestic arts as weaving or working in metal. When there is any killing afoot, he is bloodthirsty. Little game survives where the Thado settles. A few small villages, located for a few years in the Ti-Ho valley in the east of the Naga Hills, destroyed all the rhinoceros, almost all the wild mithun (*Bos gaurus*), all the elephant which did not escape back to Burma, and a very large proportion of the previously numerous sambhar (*Rusa Aristotelis*) there. In war the Thado, when he gets the chance, often carries out massacres on a fairly large scale, partly perhaps because he enjoys killing, partly, at any rate, from deliberate "frightfulness," adopting that method of cowing the other side. Thus during the Thado rebellion referred to, Thongngam, brother of the Dongngel chief Chengjapao, and acting probably under his instructions, joined with one of the Haokip chiefs from Somra to punish the Tangkhul village of Kashom for failing to supply the rebels with rice. The visitors billeted themselves through the village from house to house and got food and shelter for the night. The next morning their hosts awoke to find their weapons impounded. The men were all tied up and laid out in rows, the Khullakpa's wife being tied to the post in front of his house. The men were then butchered by gun, spear or dao according to the fancy of the various executioners, the Khullakpa's wife being presented with her husband's head and her release, and the women and children, who had naturally run off to hide, were partially rounded up and added to the holocaust. Altogether about 40 were killed. Fortunately affairs of this sort were not very frequent but there is no doubt but the Thado is a brigand by disposition.—(Ed.)

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CHAPTER II.

Origins and Genealogies.

Origin.

Before going into the details regarding the Thadou village and customs I have thought it best to give their origin and pedigree so that the reasons for certain customs, etc. may be understood more fully.

It may be noted that the number seven appears to be invested with some particular significance, as it reappears repeatedly.

The story of their origin is that they used to live under the earth, or rather inside it. Noimangpa was the Chief of this subterranean region. One Chongthu, a relative of Noimangpa, went hunting porcupines in the jungle with his dog and discovered a large hole. He perceived through this that the upper earth was uninhabited and there was a great darkness. This darkness, which lasted for seven days and seven nights[1] is called "Thimzin" by the Thadous. Chongthu so rejoiced at his discovery that he gave up his hunt and went back to his house. He conjured up ideas of forming a village of his own on the earth and planned accordingly. Just about then, Noimangpa, the Chief of the under-world was performing the *Chon* festival which everyone had to attend including Chongja, elder brother of Chongthu. Noimangpa's son Chonkim was also present. During this feast Chongthu started waving his sharp sword about so vigorously that he injured some of the folk present, at which all became angered. This action of Chongthu was premeditated as he thought that by doing so he would be turned out from the under-world and thus have an excuse for going out to the upper-world and forming a village of his own. The news of Chongthu's behaviour became known to Noimangpa who said

[1] For the Thimzin *vide* Shakespear, *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, Chapter V, and *cf.* Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, page 314, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 176, 193. The Chang Nagas have the story likewise (*Molola*, '*Man in India*,' II, 100) and versions are found among the Hos and Santals of Bengal, the Shans, and the Ami of Formosa, while similar stories pervade the Indian Archipelago generally (*vide* Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, I, iv.). The Thado version that I am familiar with is that the great darkness was preceded by fire and accompanied by flood, and it was this flood which drove the ancestors of the Thado proper to take refuge in the hills, where they found Lenthang, whom they forbore to kill as he, and his, knew the gods of the country; accordingly it was Lenthang who caused a white cock to dance on a stone and thus lured the detainer of the sun to come and look, whereby the sun escaped and came out again restoring light to the darkened world. The story is obviously suggestive of a separate racial origin for the Thado proper and the Changsen and allied clans, who presumably were in occupation when the Thado arrived in the hills.—(Ed.)

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"Chongthu had better live in Heaven" meaning thereby that he had better be killed. Chongthu hearing of Noimangpa's wrath at once prepared to migrate out of the hole in the earth which he saw and which is spoken of as *Khul* by the Thadous. So Chongja and Chongthu killed many pigs, fowls, etc. and feasted in preparation for their departure.

Somehow Chongja's party was delayed but Chongthu's party moved off followed by Chongthu himself. On reaching the Khul the leaders found that a great snake called Gullheipi was in possession of it and when they made endeavours to pass it the snake killed them with his tail. Chongthu, on reaching the spot, was not to be thwarted in his ambitions, so he tied his cloth around him and placed a *phoipi*, a thick cotton cloth, over his head and so attacked the great snake which was disputing the passage. He used the sword called "Joudichem" in this attack, was victorious and killed the snake which he cut into seven pieces. At the same time a *lhoh*, a lion, also attempted to retard Chongthu's egress but Chongthu got the better of the animal by saying "Are you not created by the Pathen (the Thadou name for the Creator) as the King of the animals? If so I have also been created as the King of men by Pathen and therefore we should be friends instead of enemies". So saying, the lion withdrew and Chongthu's party moved up to the "Khul". They found that it was covered with a stone and one of Chongthu's party called Vangalpa lifted it up.[1] While he was able to do so only seven persons were able to get out and then the stone was dropped and all further attempts to raise it were in vain. The seven persons who thus emerged were Chongthu, Vangalpa, the stone-lifter, Khupngam, the keeper of the dog, and four others. The names of the other four are not known but are said to include the progenitors of the Manipuri, the Naga, the foreigner and the Burmese, however they are not definite about the last two although they are quite emphatic about the number being seven.

Chongja's party, following on, found the stone blocking their passage out and after making many attempts gave up and returned to Noimangpa reporting the result.

Nemneh, wife of Chongja, cursed Chongthu and his party before they left the "Khul" saying that they should suffer from all kinds of sicknesses, deaths, troubles, evil spirits and bad luck. These cursings were heard by Chongthu's party and they made sacrifices in an endeavour to avoid the curse which the Thadous say still rests on them. So, in cases of serious illnesses, etc., sacrifices are always made in the name of Nemneh, wife of

[1] According to McCulloch he went back for some previous belongings, and the bird that was holding up the stone got tired and let it drop (*vide* McCulloch, *Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, p. 55) Later on the party of Chongthu were shown where to find water by a bird (*ibid.*, p. 56).—(Ed.)

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Chongja, in hopes of appeasing her wrath. When such sacrifices are made the *thempu*, *i.e.*, the medicine man or soothsayer, always repeats the name of seven of the most important villages of Noimangpa under the earth in one of which Nemneh is sure to be at the time, so that she may hear his solicitations. The names of those villages are:—1. Noimang, 2. Kholoichal, 3. Khopalva, 4. Khothip, 5. Khomang, 6. Khokanglai and 7. Khokisupi.

On reaching the upper earth Chongthu, in his wanderings, found two persons called Lenthang and Lunkim who had survived the Thimzin by making a fire of the skulls and bones of all the game they had killed as they were great hunters. These two were captured by Chongthu and used as guides during his wanders on the earth. So to this day it will be found that those of the Lenthang and Lunkim tribe of Kukis are living in most of the Thadou villages and have no villages of their own, nor do they possess hereditary chiefs as the Thadous.[1]

From Chongthu to Thadou, in the genealogical tree the persons are mythical and so when festivities entailing repetition of the genealogical tree of the Thadous take place the *thempu* starts from Thadou and not from Chongthu.

From Chongthu to Thadou there were no different languages; and animals and spirits as well as the mythical ancestors all lived together in peace.

The hole in the earth called "Khul" is said to be at the source of the "Gun" river which I find to be definitely identified with the Imphal river in the Manipur State,[2] "Gun" being the Thadou for the "Imphal" river In all the old stories and legends of the Thadous the river "Gun" is frequently mentioned and is of great fame.

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1 *V. Supra*, note 1 on p. 24.—(Ed.)

2 I cannot help suspecting that this *Gun-tui* was originally the Chinor Khyeng-dwin River, into which, of course, the Imphal River runs. *Vide* note on p. 17 *supra*.—(Ed.)

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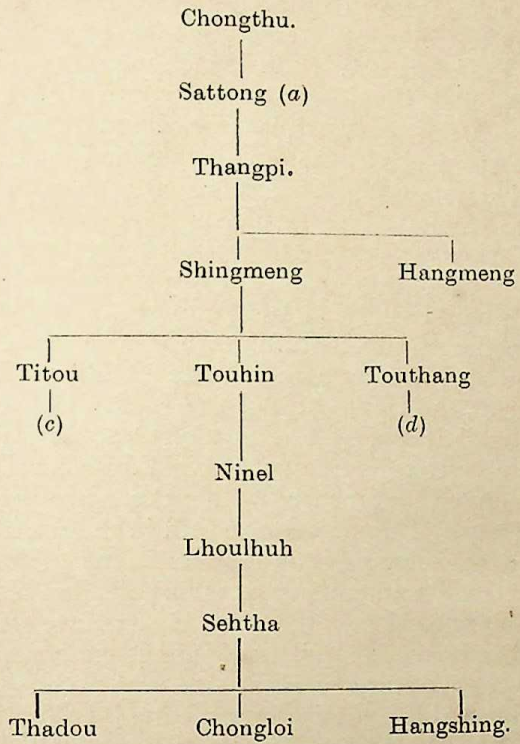
The lineage from Chongthu to Thadou is as follows:—



(*a*) Sattong married Sheichin, a woman of Vanlai village, which means the village in the heavens. There were two other brothers of Sattong but their names have been forgotten as they went east and west and have not been heard of since.

(*b*) Hangmeng is said to be the progenitor of the Kilongs, Koms, Waipheis, Chirus and other old Kukis. Some Koms and others have admitted this to me.

(*c*) Titou is the progenitor of the Dongngels whose seniority is not recognised by the Thadou of other clans now as the lineage has become extinct in the true line and is now represented by the descendant of a slave[1].

(*d*) Touthang is the progenitor of the Lamhao Kukis.

[1] I find it quite impossible to accept this view, which arises solely, I think, from the arrogant vapourings of Khutinthang (Khilkung), who as head of the Shitlho clan would be chief of all the Thado, if the Dongngel clan were really extinct. No doubt the fact that Thado himself, though a member of the cadet branch, has given his name to the whole tribe, has influenced the Shitlho in making this extravagant claim, but it is quite untenable. Even if the claim of the head of the Dongngel clan to an unblemished descent be rejected, there are plenty of cousins whose family tree is unquestioned, not to mention the Thomlhun and Haolai (Jongbe)

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The mythical ancestors were known as Manmasinao while the Spirits were called Thilha.

The next point of interest is that there are two schools regarding the direction from which the Thadous had their origin. The first school support the contention that they come upwards from the south while the second school contend that they came from the north. I have gone into this in great detail and give below what information I have gathered, which leads me to support the latter view.

The Gun river plays a most important part in all Thadou songs and legends of the old days and this river is identified with the Imphal river. At the time of the flood the Thadous say they collected at Kholkipkholjang where every living thing took refuge. This has been located as above Kaithenmangpi in Manipur on the right bank of the Imphal river. The flood is spoken of as Tuitobin by the Thadous.[1] The upper portion of this place of refuge is known as Kholkip where all the animals are said to have congregated, while the lower portion is spoken of as Kholjang. They were then still in the condition of the mythical ancestors according to their traditions. When performing *shalhakou* to the wild animals, this place called Kholkipkholjang must be mentioned by the *thempu*, as never before were so many wild animals seen by the Thadous, nor since. Therefore they hope for its state of plenty to recur some day to satiate their unquenchable appetite for hunting.

This place, I am told, is also known to the Manipuris who

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clans both senior in descent to the Shitlho and with unimpeachable pedigrees. It is unlikely, however, that there is any *bona fide* doubt about the legitimacy of Chengjapao's descent from Dongngel, as otherwise the cousins who reinstated Neingul's son Ngulchin would have claimed the chieftainship for themselves (*vide* Appendix B, 'The House of Dongngel.')—(Ed.)

[1] This mythical flood is sometimes, at any rate, associated with the Thimzin (*V. supra* p. 24 n.). The story is common to many tribes in this area, and the Changs locate the mountain of refuge at a peak of some eight thousand odd feet high called Ngakushom a good deal further north, latitude 26°18', longitude 94° 48' (*vide Man in India*, II. page 100 sqq.). This name Ngakushom is distinctly suggestive of the name Noesakoe given to the mountain of refuge by the Alfurs of Ceram in the Indian archipelago. The Anals and the Lusheis have the same story (Shakespear, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 176), the Lushei account being identical with the Chang Naga story, though of course the names are different and the peaks are located in different places. Obviously the identification of the Thado peak of refuge with a local mountain is much later than the widely distributed story on which it depends, and Mr. Shaw's theory that the Thados originally occupied the Manipur Valley and migrated down the Imphal Valley cannot be substantiated in this way. Even if it should happen to be the case, the event must be far more recent in the history of the race than the flood to which the tradition refers. Stories of this flood bearing a general and sometimes a particular similarity to the Kuki and the Naga versions are distributed all over south-eastern Asia and the Indian Archipelago and seem to extend even to Oceania and America. (*Vide* Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, I, iv.)—(Ed.)

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speak of it as Khongjai Khunman which means the "Old site of the Kukis."

After the subsidence of the flood the Thadou found the plain unsafe for their occupation, since they had only just started living there when the flood took place. So they took to the hills on the east of the Imphal river and migrated down to the Tuihat river which I take to be the Chindwin. It was here that they first were initiated into cultivating rice. The story is that they found a grass growing on the right bank and a king of rats called Ju-thel used to collect the seed in the nests of his species and eat it.[1] The Thadou tried it and found it of excellent quality and so they became paddy growers. Chongthu came out of the earth with millet and Job's tears only to eat.[2] The mithun was found on the hill Sisep, the pig at Bonnol and the fowl at Molkoi.

On reaching the Tuihat river they followed it down some way but found that they came to a large expanse of water which could not possibly be crossed. So, as they were increasing in numbers rapidly they decided to retrace their steps on the left bank of the river and took up their abode at Lhanpelkot and Thijonbung which I am told lies in the country where

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[1] This story of the rat as the originator of the cultivation of rice, appears again in slightly different forms among the Angamis (*vide The Angami Nagas*, page 269), the Iban of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, II, 145), and the Toradjas of the Celebes (Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, I, 222).—(Ed.)

[2] The cultivation of millet and sorghum seems to have preceded that of rice in the Naga Hills, and there are many villages across the frontier which still cultivate millet as their staple crop and grow little or no rice, even though the elevation is not too high for it. In most of them, however, the use of dry rice is increasing. Millet cultivation is to be associated with dry terraces and pollarded alders. Where the alder is carefully preserved and planted on terraces, it is possible to pollard the trees, and plant millet (but not rice) with excellent results once every four years, and this method of cultivation is still followed exclusively by Yonghong, Angfang and probably other transfrontier Konyak Naga villages. It also survives at Khonoma of the Angamis and probably in some of the bigger Nzemi (Kachha Naga) villages that adjoin it. It was no doubt the pre-existence of dry revetted millet terracing that enabled the wet rice terraces so typical of the Angami country to be started in the first place. In most, if not all Naga Tribes the millet crop has its own ceremonial officiants for planting and reaping, though they are now unimportant compared to those who preside over rice. In Formosa, where the culture of the hill tribes is nearly allied to that of the Naga Hills, millet preceded rice, which is still regarded as unclean food (McGovern, *Headhunters of Formosa*, p. 183).

Another Thado legend describes Lenthang (*vide supra* pp. 24 n., 26) as having taught the Thado rice cultivation, which, read with the legend of Chongthu's emergence from below to find Lenthang and Lunkim already inhabiting the upper world, looks as if the millet eating Kuki found his way up from the plains into a hilly country already acquainted with the growing of rice, or perhaps brought up with him rice cultivators from the plains who had been incorporated in the course of migration.—(Ed.)

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the Pois are now living.[1] These two village sites are famous for the fact that the Thadou still believes that all the spirits of the dead have to pass through there on their way to their final resting place at "Mithikho". We hear that they next reached the junction of the Teo and Loh rivers. The names of these rivers come into the song called Langla which is sung only at the burial of persons who have performed the *Chon*. In survey sheet No. 84, E. Tiddim, I find the river Tyao rising in square B. 1 and flowing through squares B. 1, 2, 3, 4 and A. 4. From what will follow I have no hesitation in saying that this must be the river Teo they speak of in their songs. The Loh river is perhaps the Tuipui river shown on that map as flowing into the Tyao in square A. 1. At this stage they say there were four great clans of Kukis and they name them as Lushei, Suhte, Poi and Thadou.

They claim that the Changsan, Lhangum, Lenthang, Lunkim, Kom. Gangte, Waiphei, Kholhang, Chiru and those of inferior lineage were all under the wing of the Thadous and so were then included under that term.

For the elucidation of the list that follows of the names of the villages in which lived the ancestors of Khotinthang, the *Pipa*, or head of the clans descended from Thadou before they moved up to Jampi, his present site, reference may be made to the genealogical tree of the Shitlhous (*infra*, p. 33), which will give the approximate date, in terms of generations, for sites associated with particular chiefs. The total number of generations is twentythree, and taking the Thadou generation at thirty years (they do not marry as young as Nagas), we get the early XIIIth Century A.D. as the approximate date of Thadou's birth.

Tradition records the names of the former sites of what is now Jampi village as follows:—

1 Nanglengbung. In the time of Thadou. It was on this hill that Dongngel buried his *Chon Tul*, which is only used to kill mithun. when performing *Chon*. There was only one of its kind which was kept by the head of the Thadous who was of the Dongngel clan until it became "*ingam*" (extinct)[2]. This is supposed to be on the Gun river.

2. Molphei. Here they lived with the Lionmen and where their *Indoi* (House God [3]) was found. This was on the Tuihat river. Chief Munthom.

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1 *I.e.*, on the right bank of the Chindwin.—(Ed.)

2 Chengjapao, Chief of the Dongngel clan is still the head of the Thado Kukis. The Shitlho Chief, who contested the headship recently, used himself to pay *shathing* to Chengjapao till 1918, and on taking his case into court in Manipur in 1928 had his claim to priority laughed out of court.—(Ed.)

3 "House Magic," rather.—(Ed)

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3. Lhungjang. This was formed by Jelhao after the death of his two elder brothers. This was on the Teo river.
4. Jampi. This is said to be in the Lushei country and on the Loh or Tuipui river. Tongkhuthang was chief of it.
5. Lunglen. This shown on Survey map No. 83. H. Imphal square B. 4/d. The village taking its name from the hill marked 6,531 ft. This was in Thushong's time and it was while here that the Shitlhous and Shingshongs fought a great battle on Songchal Hill (No. 83. H. Sq: B. 4/middle).
6. Lailenbung. In North Cachar Hills. Used to be near Maibong (Assam Bengal Railway) Station in the time of the Cachari reign. This was in Thushong's time.
7. Bollason. Also in North Cachar Hills near Baladhan. This was in the time of Thushong.
8. Saramba. In Tamenlong Sub-division in the time of Khotinmang (No. 83. G/SW. Sq: 6/EF.).
9. Insong. In Naga Hills (No. 83 G/SE. Sq: A/3. b) at time of Khotinmang.
10. Laloi. In Naga Hills (No. 83 G/SE. Sq: A/3. b) at time of Khotinmang.
11. Mechangbung. In Naga Hills (No. 83 G/SE. Sq: A/3. b) at time of Thangchung, also called Thangchungmang.
12. Langparam. In Tamenlong Sub-division. (No. 83 G/SE. Sq: A/5. a) At time of Thangchung and the present head of the Thadous, his son, Khotinthang alias Kilkong.
13. Jampi.[1] Shown as Chongjang in Square B/4 of Survey sheet (No. 83 G/SE.) where Khotinthang was made to take up his residence after being exiled to Sadiya for three years as the result of the Kuki rebellion.

From all this it appears that the Thadous came down the Gun or Imphal river first. Thence down the Tuihat which I take to be the Chindwin till they came to the sea. Finding further progress barred they retraced their steps up the Tuihat river till its confluence with the Teo or Tyao river and thence

[1] There s also a Jampi in the Naga Hills; the Thado takes his place names with him wherever he goes and the older and more recent maps read together will show successions of Jampis, Aishans, Aithus, Kanjangs, etc. usually from south to north. It is the same with many Naga place names; the e are lots of Shipi, Shitz, Longsa, Lungkhung, etc., and the succession seems always to run south and north rather than east and west. —(Ed.)

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up to that where they now are after varying their position on either side of it according to circumstances influenced by war and its economic effects.

The story of how the Haokips have become a distinct group also suggests that they lived then on the Gun or Imphal river. The story is that Thalhun, son of Thadou was fondling his wife who was somewhat careless with her garments. Hearing some people coming Thalhun told her to adjust her dress. As she did not do so at once he flew into a rage and threw a piece of wood at her which struck her in the abdomen resulting in her death. Being overcome with grief and shame, since he loved her much, Thalhun, leaving his son Elmun in his village, crossed the river Gun and lived in Pumtupa's house. There he remained for several years and becoming fascinated by one of Pumtupa's daughters married her. She gave birth to two sons Kipgen and Haokip. His second wife also died and then Thalhun took Kipgen with him back to his village and lived again with Elmun, his son by his first wife. Haokip was too young for the journey and so was left with Pumtupa who brought him up and so the Haokips to this day are almost a separate group of Thadous while the Kipgens for the most part live among the Shitlhous.[1]

All this satisfies me that the Kuki originally came from the north and reaching the sea and finding further progress impossible retraced his steps to where we now find him.

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[1] But there are numbers of Kipgens in the north-east of Manipur and in the Somra tract, where they are mixed up with Haokips.—(Ed.)

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GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE SHITLHOU CLAN.

[*The names which have become those of clans and sub-clans are printed in capitals.*]

Sehtha

THADOU — CHONGLOI — HANGSHING

Thalhun

Elmun (By 1st wife) — KIPGEN — HAOKIP (By 2nd wife)

Ning-el — Hing-el

Ningshong — Shingshit

Songtong — PHOHHIL (1st wife) — SHINGSHON — Shihkil — Thonshong (By 2nd wife)

Jakil

SHITLHOU

Kiltong — Kilphung (LHOUJEM CLAN) — Tongmang (LHOUVUM CLAN)

Lhoushing

Tonglun

Munthom — MANGJEL

Thomhil

Luntong — Khumang — Jelhao

Henmang — Goulen

Haotong (By 1st wife) — Haokhu-tong — Jemkai — Hao-on — Haokhup — Kim-khup — Neilet

(These six sons are all by 2nd wife)

Manthu — Tupshu — Kol-let

Tongkhuthang — Jallun

Thushung — Mangminthang — Letkhulun

Khutinmang

Thangchung (By 1st wife) — Jamkhuthang (By 2nd wife)

Khutinthang — Mangkhukai

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Therefore Khutinthang (also known as Kilkong) is the senior living descendant of the Shitlhou branch of the Thadou clan. He lives at Jampi village in Tamenlong Sub-division of Manipur State. His brother Mangkhukai has enlisted as a sepoy in the 3rd Assam Rifles at Kohima, Naga Hills.

Goupi Kuki of Shongshang village of the Naga Hills is the senior living descendant of the Mangjel branch.

Vumkholal is the head of the Lhoujem branch and lives in Abong in North Cachar Hills.

Mangminlen of Aithu village of Tamenlong Sub-division is the head of the Lhouvum branch.

Lhunjapao of Leikot village of Chura Chandpur Sub-division of Manipur State is the living head of the Kipgen branch.

Lhukhomang of Chasat village in Ukhrul Sub-division of Manipur State is the head of the Haokip branch.

Tonkhohen of Bombal village, of Sadar Area of Manipur State, at present at Chongjang village of the Naga Hills District, is the living head of the Phoh-hil branch.

Mangpu of Tolbung village in Chura Chandpur Sub-division is the living head of the Shingshon branch.

Of the above those branches which have sub-clans as well are given hereafter with a genealogical tree to trace their positions.

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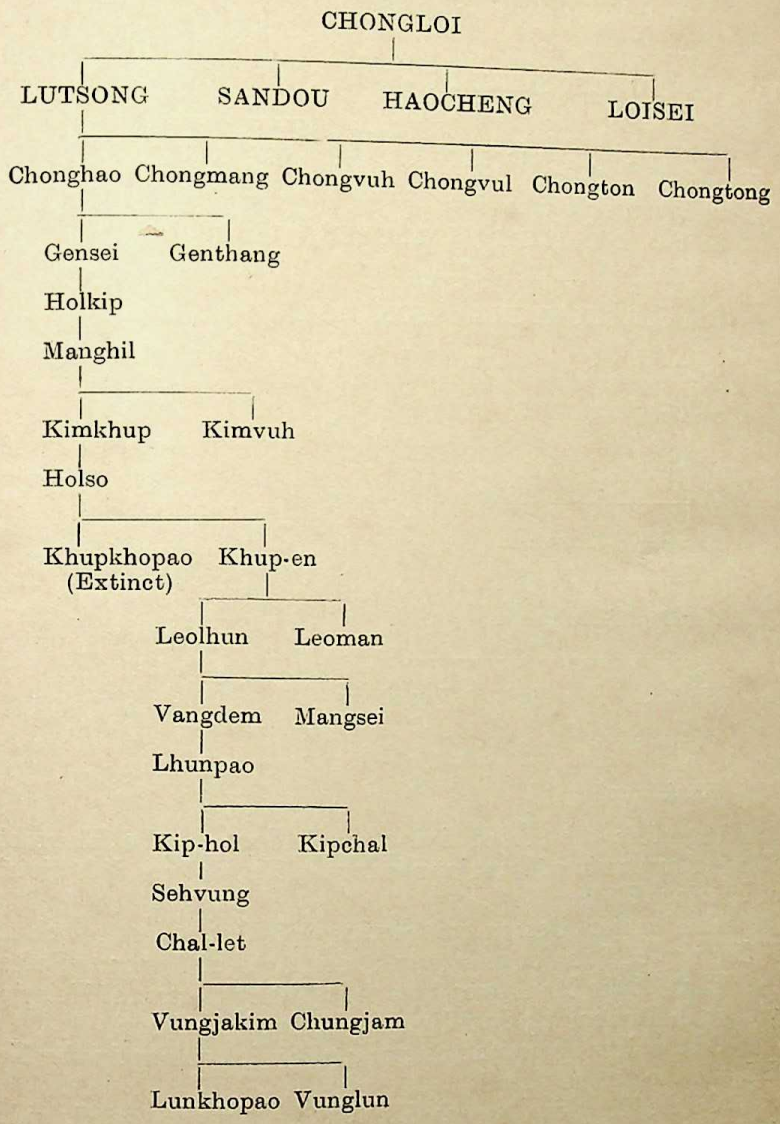
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF CHONGLOI.



The senior living descendant of the Chongloi clan is therefore Lunkhopao who is living in Jangnoi village of Sadar Area of Manipur State.

The senior living descendant of the Lutsong branch is Thangkot living in Thenjol village in the Naga Hills District.

The senior living descendant of the Sandou branch is Ngamjapao living in Ponlen Haohen village of Tamenlong Subdivision of the Manipur State.

The senior living descendant of the Haocheng branch is Sheijakhup of Shongshang village in the Naga Hills District.

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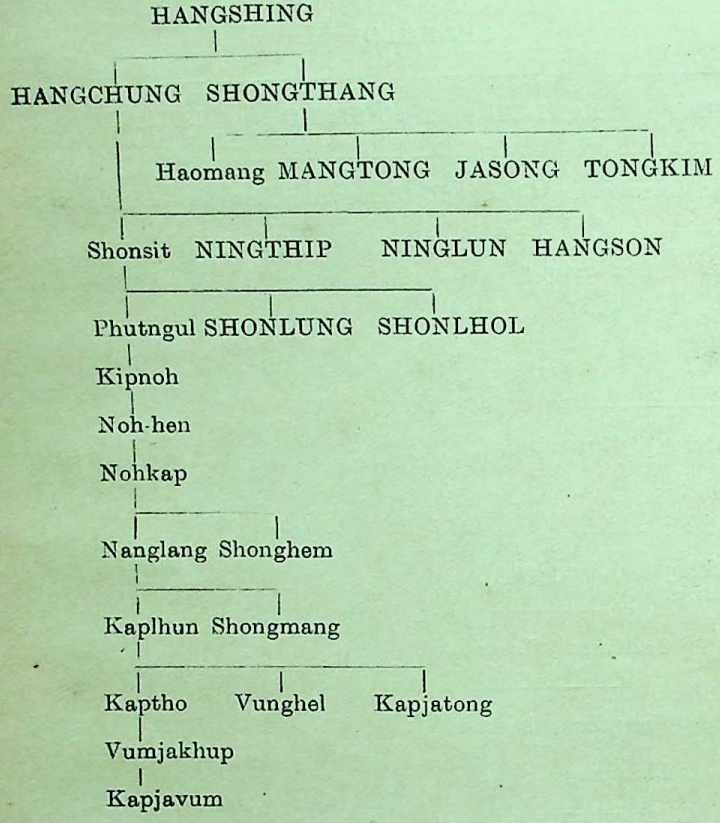
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE HANGSHING CLAN.



Therefore the senior living descendant of the Hangshing clan is Kapjavum of Vongjang village in Tamenlong Sub-division of Manipur State.

The senior descendant living of Shongthang sub-clan is Jamhao of Bongjol village in Sadar Area of Manipur State.

That of the Mangtong branch is Thangkhopao of Vongjang village in Tamenlong Sub-division of Manipur State.

Of the Jasong branch Shempu of Sinjol village in the Naga Hills is the present head.

Of the Tongkim branch Shehpu of Chunglal Chief's village in North Cachar Hills, is the senior living descendant.

Thangachong is the senior living descendant of the Ningthip branch, and lives in Molkon village in Sadar Area of Manipur State.

Of the Ninglun branch there is no heir as it became extinct.

Of the Hangson branch Onkhup of Mongken village of Chura Chandpur Sub-division of Manipur State is the head.

Of the Shonlung branch Khuplen of Saheb Minai village of Tamenlong Sub-division of Manipur State, is the head.

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Of the Shonlhol branch Tongcha of Jangnoi village in Sadar Area is the senior living representative.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF PHOHHIL.

PHOHHIL

Hilhao GOUNGOH LHUHAO DOUHONG HANMANG

Tonghil Vum-el

Haohil

Haosong

Songhao

Songlheng

Koplet

Lhengtong Tonlet

Haopimang (Extinct) Palen

Shongjakhup

Tongkhohen

Therefore Tongkhohen is the senior living descendant of Phohhil. He lives at Chongjang village in the Naga Hills District.[1]

Khatseh of Songbem village of Sadar Area of Manipur State is the head of the Goungoh branch.

Shonthang of Songdop village in Tamenlong Sub-division of Manipur State is the head of the Lhuhao branch.

Pakeng of Tolbung village in the Naga Hills District is the head of the Douhong branch.

Shemjadou of Toloulong village in Tamenlong Area of Manipur State is the head of the Hangmang branch.

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1 Since migrated to Leijim, which he will probably rename Bombăl after the ancient family site.—(Ed.)

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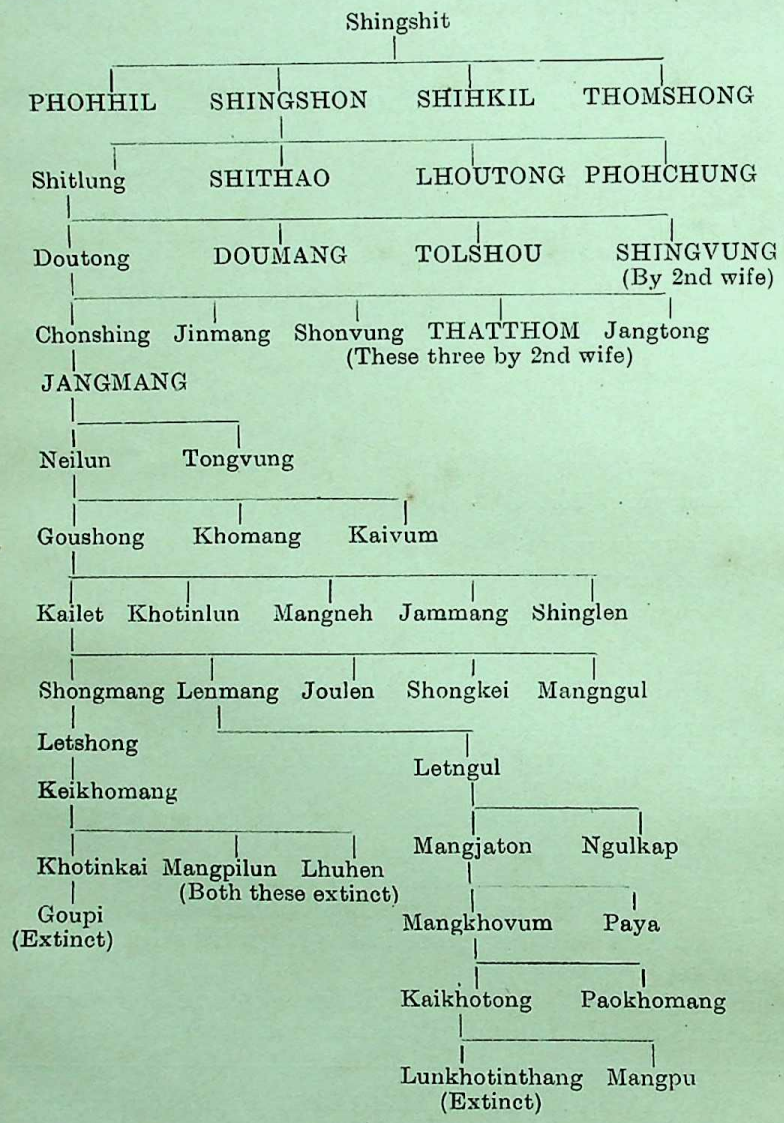
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE SHINGSHON.

Phohhil, Shingshon, Shihkil and Thonshong are all sons of Shingshit. Phohhil is by the first wife and all the others by the second.



From this it will be seen that Mangpu of Tolbung village of Chura Chandpur Sub-division is the senior living descendant of the Shingshons and pays *shating* to Khutinthang the head of the Shitlhous.

Bungkhothang of Khopuibung village of Chura Chandpur Sub-division in Manipur State is the head of the Shihkil branch.

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Of the Thomshong branch the senior living descendant is not known but is said to be in the Naga Hills.[1]

Of the Shithao branch Mangjashei of Leikul village in the North Cachar Hills is the senior living head.

Thongkhumang of Tolbung village in Chura Chandpur Subdivision in Manipur State is the senior living descendant of the Lhoutongs.

Ehkhothang of Nungthut village in Chura Chandpur Subdivision of Manipur State is the senior living descendant of the Phohchungs.

Of the Doumang branch Tongkai of Tolbung village of the Naga Hills is the senior living descendant.

Of the Tolshou branch Nguljamang of Vakot village in North Cachar Hills is the senior living head.

Of the Shingvung branch Lunmang of Bolbung village, Naga Hills is the head.

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[1] Ngulkim of Teijang, I think.—(Ed.)

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CHAPTER III.

Historical Traditions.

The Thadou tradition runs that Chongthu came on to this earth with only millet and Job's tears. We are also told how he eventually discovered rice (*v. supra* p. 29), also that the Mithun was first caught at Sisep and domesticated. The fowl was found at Molkoi hill and the pig at Bonnol. We are also told that Nemneh, wife of Chongja, cursed Chongthu's party as she believed he purposely closed the Khul after passing through so that he might be King on the earth. That that was his real intention they say is proved from what the *lhoh* (lion)[1] was told by Chongthu when the former attempted to resist his egress.

Next Chongthu begat a son who married Sheichin of Vanlai (the sky) village. This goddess used to go regularly to her father's village and used to bring flesh of pigs to give to her husband. But her first three attempts were frustrated by Santhuh Kaoshe[2] her father-in-law's slave, who ate up the meat she brought. When she at last succeeded she told her husband of Santhuh Kaoshe's behaviour. Sattong became so enraged at this that he went and cut off Santhuh Kaoshe's head. However two *chil* (blindworms) ate up a piece of his neck and thereby brought Santhuh Kaoshe to life again but instead of being a mythical being as before he was transformed into a *guldu* (*Hylobates hoolock*) and so Thadous do not eat the flesh of the gibbon.[3]

The Thempu closely observed how the blindworms (*chil*) brought Santhuh Kaoshe to life again, and by studying it have developed the art of performing sacrifices in cases of wounds of all kinds where loss of blood results, and thereby save the lives of many.

Immediately after Sattong had cut off the head of Santhuh Kaoshe he became very ill with pains in his throat and nearly died. At that time his faithful dog having compassion on his sufferings licked his master's hand. At that Sattong became enraged with the dog and killed him instantly with his sword. The blood of the dog spurted out on Sattong's mouth and he became miraculously cured at once. So in cases of serious ill-

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1 It is interesting to find a genuine word for 'lion' and a tradition describing a lion as like a tiger but with shaggy hair about the neck and larger. A traditional lion, is of course, the common property of Manipuris, Shans and Burmese, but not Nagas, I think.—(Ed.)

2 *I.e.*, Santhuh Vampire, *vide* Appendix G.—(Ed.)

3 Cf. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*. pp. 16, 144; Hose, *Natural Man*, p. 223 (Kenyah).—(Ed.)

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ness a dog is sacrificed to the Creator (Pathen) to relieve the sick of their sufferings.[1]

At that time the mythical ancestors were known as Manmasinao[2] and all spirits as Thilha They used to live together in peace until the following happened after which the Thilha and Manmasinao have always been at enmity.

There was a Manmasinao called Changkhatpu to play with whom a Thilha came one night. Changkhatpu lost his temper and wounded the Thilha with a dao on the hand. On this the Thilha said that the Manmasinao should suffer for it and went off to his cave in the jungle.

In revenge the Thilhas, during Changkhatpu's absence, killed his younger sister. In consequence of this the Manmasinaos gathered and pursued the Thilha killing all except a pregnant female Thilha who escaped. This Thilha went to Pathen in the skies. Pathen told her not to worry as the child in her womb would be a male child and that she must marry it and so revive the Thilhas. At the same time Pathen gave her a charm called Chollaivom[3] instructing her to place it in the water supply of the Manmasinaos and thereby they would not be able to see the Thilhas in future. So to this day the Thilhas cannot be seen by human beings who are the descendants of the Manmasinao. A male child was born to the pregnant Thilha and by marrying him the Thilhas multiplied to such large numbers that there were more Thilhas than Manmasinaos.

Later Japhal, the daughter of Kimchal the son of Hangshing younger brother of Thadou, got lost one day and all suspected the Thilhas of being responsible for this. Her parents wept bitterly and prayed to Pathen that they might be given back their daughter or might know where she had gone to. One night Pathen appeared in a dream to Kimchal and directed him to take the thing he (Pathen) had placed on the Shething tree near Kimchal's house and perform sacrifices to him (Pathen) and then Kimchal would be given many descendants instead of the lost one for whom he was crying. On waking up Kimchal did as he was told and so became the father of many children. This thing which the Pathen gave Kimchal is called *Indoi* (The House God). Thadous in consequence always have an *Indoi* hoping thereby that they may have large families. It is placed on the front verandah of the house to the right or left of the entrance door, up near the roof out of harm's way (for *Indoi*, *v. infra*, App. G.).

The next clear tradition is of the time when they used to

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1 *Cf.* McCulloch, *op. cit.*, 56; Shakespear, *op. cit.*, 75, 77, 102; Carey & Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I, 200; *The Angami Nagas*, 204.
For the general belief in the efficacy of the dog in healing both in this area and elsewhere, see my note on p. 17 of *The Ao Nagas*.—(Ed.)

2 That is "Mortals", *v.* Appendix A, vii.—(Ed.)

3 *V. infra*, App. A, *Man and Spirit*.—(Ed.)

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live at Lhanpelkot and Thijonbung, which is placed by them in the country at present occupied by the Pois, and through which place all the souls or spirits of the dead Thadous have to pass on their way to Mithikho (The village of the dead). At that time there was a famous man called Selleh who possessed a magical wand with which he could bring to life any corpse by touching it. He had done so many times. This wand was given him by a Thilha woman friend of his. Selleh's son was that wonderful person Galngam.

Selleh always lived in his jhum house (*lou buh*) and the people used frequently to come to call him to bring people to life. Finally he became much annoyed at their importunity and refused to go. The people thought that they could counter this by saying that Selleh's son had died, but when he went and found they were lying he decided he would never again comply with such requests, as his cultivation was much hampered by the frequency of these calls. Again they came and said Galngam was dead but he refused to go. They came however many times in haste and kept repeating it so that finally he decided to go, and on this occasion he found his son Galngam really dead, but owing to the delay Galngam's body had become much decomposed and in spite of many attempts to bring Galngam to life again with his wand he failed hopelessly. Not despairing he went to Lhanpelkot and Thijonbung in an attempt to arrest his soul there. He found Galngam's soul but it refused to return to the body as it had become decomposed. Galngam told his father that if he really loved his son then he (Galngam) would return to his mother's womb and that another male child would be born to him (Selleh). This child was to be given the same name and would become most famous. Selleh returned to his wife much saddened but did as he was bid and a male child was born to him. The child was called Galngam and is of much fame among the Thadous for all the supernatural things he is said to have done. Next come the happenings at Molphai in the time of Munthom.

Here the Human Beings lived as neighbours of the Lhohmi (Lion-men),[1] having a high fence between them. The latter gradually ate up the mithun, pigs, fowls, etc. of the Thadous and lastly asked them to supply them with human flesh, adding that if this request was not granted they (Lion-men) would attack the Thadous and eat them up.

The Thadous then told the Lion-men to wait as they would have to have a discussion over the matter among them regarding the granting of human flesh as food. When the *ju* (rice beer) was prepared the Thadous invited the strong young

[1] All Naga tribes believe in a village of cannibals, a village of tiger-men and a village of Amazons somewhere a little further East. It is interesting therefore to find Herodotus (IV, 102-110) associating as adjoining nations, head-hunters, cannibals, were wolves and Amazons.—(Ed.)

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men into their village to talk the matter over. This the Lion-men did, and after much drinking and talking the Lion-men became drunk. The Thadous then rose up and killed them all. When the rest of the Lion-men heard of this they became much afraid and wanted to make peace. The Thadous agreed to this on condition that the remaining Lion-men took oath by throwing down *gahoh* (bean seeds) and cutting *moulthing* (a small plant) while swearing future friendship. This was done and so peace was declared. In consequence of this Thadous never discuss serious matters without drinking much ju, since it led to their salvation on this occasion. When peace is to be made between tribes and villages the above form of oath by throwing down *gahoh* and cutting of *moulthing* while taking the oath is resorted to in all serious matters of life and death. The Lion-men then moved off and are supposed to have taken up their abode in Kol[1] (Burma). Songs called *sala* are sung to commemorate that occasion at time of performing Sa-ai for killing game.

At that time there was a man called Chonsing who had an abnormally large mithun. The son of the Chief of the Lion-men who had migrated to Burma visited Chonsing's village and saw this mithun. The Chief of the Lion-men had already told his son not to visit the Human Beings and kill anything as they had taken an oath to the contrary, but the son did not obey his father. This son came to Chonsing's house with his *kolpelteng* (Burmese spear) and drove it into the ground in front of Chonsing's house. Then he jumped on top of this large mithun which he could not resist doing and sucked the mithun's blood from its neck killing it. Seeing this Chonsing shot at him with his bow and arrow but only wounded him in the leg though this was sufficient to make him run away into the jungle. Next morning when a woman of the village went to draw water she saw a strange man there at the spring with a wounded right leg. She asked what was the matter and was told that he had been cut by the *kengkou* (a kind of thorny plant) while passing through the jungle hunting deer and he gave her a leg of the deer and told her not to tell anyone and disappeared into the jungle again. When she returned to the village she told Chonsing about this and on searching the place they found a Lhohmi dead. So to this day when Thadous kill tigers they always blame the *kengkou* plant for it and ask the animal if it was blind.[2]

[1] The Thado word for the Burmese and Assamese is almost the same, and suggests a period when the only plainsmen known to the tribes were members of the Munda (Kol) race. The Talaings who belonged to it occupied Pegu until the Burmese conquered them in 1757, and a lineal descendant of the old Mon dynasty of Pegu still exists in the Bohmong of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.—(Ed.)

[2] No doubt attempting to evade the responsibility, for fear of the enmity of the tiger's ghost, *vide The Angami Nagas*, p. 262.—(Ed.)

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Next we have a story of the time when the Thadous were at the river Teo or Tyao where it meets the Loh river. There was a man called Haophut who had cultivated at the junction of the rivers. One day a long log of wood with a *sajo* (kind of squirrel[1]) seated on it came floating down and being caught at the confluence in a large eddy could make no further progress down stream. There it kept going round and round. Haophut suspecting this as some bad omen returned to his house and found his son dead. He then made a song of what he saw and of what led him to go home to find his son dead. This song is called *langla* and is only sung at the burial of those who have performed the Chon festival.

On the way to Mithikho there sits a woman called Kulsamnu[2] who snatches all those on their way to Mithikho who have not performed *Gal-ai*,, *Sha-ai* or *Chang-ai* and makes them her slaves. So it is believed that only those who have performed these festivals have free passage to the village of the dead. Once a brave man called Ngambom, was captured by Kulsamnu but he got away by killing her by the aid given him by Khupting who loved him and had gone on ahead to Mithikho. She sent a wild cat to instruct him how to reach her. Kulsamnu only appeared dead but was not really so as she at once came to life again immediately Ngambom reached Mithikho. It is believed that Kalsamnu does not separate those who are really in love with each other and wishes them to live peacefully in Mithikho together.

At the period during which the Thadous lived in the present Chin and Lushei country, there was a small clan called Galte who were raided by the Lusheis and took refuge with the Thadous. They say the Galtes only had about 500 houses altogether then. After being given refuge one day the Galtes tried to murder a Thadou Chief but failed. For this treachery they

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[1] I think *sajo* is the binturong, but it is a rare beast and I have never had a chance of identifying it.—(Ed.)

[2] Also called Kumsalnu and described as sitting weaving as she waits by the Path of the Death, and apparently a giantess. Men and boys are not afraid of her, but she makes women search her hair for lice—and eat them. Therefore women carry a tobacco-seed under their finger nails to cheat her. [Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 226.] In some parts of the world there would be nothing outrageous in Kumsalnu's conduct. So near as Borneo lice are apparently often eaten by the Dusun of Tuaran [*vide* Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 123], while South American Indians of the Amazon regard a louse as a tit bit, and so also in Liberia, [*vide* Whiffen, *The North-west Amazons*, p. 130].

This fiend who bullies the souls of the dead, besides being known to all Naga and Kuki tribes [*vide*, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 212, 244] as well to Garos of Assam, is known throughout the Indian Ocean from the Andamans to Formosa, and from Malaya to New Zealand. For references see my note on page 227 of Mills' *The Ao Nagas*, and Moss, *Life after Death in Oceania, etc.*, Chapter X.—(Ed.)

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were raided and many killed. They ran away to the Lusheis again who took them under their wing.

When the Hangshings were living at Khovong, the present village site of Haotinkhup Chief of the Suhtes,[1] they had a strong village at Lhungtin on the Salli range of hills. It was a very big village and harassed the Lusheis a great deal. The Lushei wished to make peace so they went to the chief of the Thadous, Jelhao, with one spear, one shield and one *khipichang* (ear bead) and requested him to influence the Hangshings not to raid them. Jelhao Chief of the Thadous told the Hangshings to stop and there was peace between the Lusheis and Thadous. About this time there was a great deal of internal trouble among the Thadous and inter-raiding among them. The Shingshons in particular were very anxious to reduce the power of the Shitlhous who claimed to be head of the Thadous. At this time some of the Lushei villages had also placed themselves under the protection of the Shingshon clan with the chief of Tuithang village who was the Pipa[2] of the Shingshon. This culminated in a great battle on Songchal Hill where the village of Jolpi was then. In this the Shingshons were defeated by the Shitlhous. It is said the Thilhas helped the latter in the battle. In the mind of the Shitlhous the Lusheis, Suhtes and Pois are all inferior to them according to the usual genealogical accounts, and it is said that the Lusheis actually call the Thadous *Lusong*, which is said to mean pride of birth. The Thadou is naturally a very self-important person and places a very high value on himself, and it may be doubted whether the Lusheis, Suhtes and Pois would admit their inferiority on the Shitlou claim.

The Pois next harassed the Thadous and it is admitted that the then large Thadou villages were destroyed by them *viz*:—Sailhem, Songbem, Songlhuh, Lasan, Tuithang, Chahsat and Lhuntin. Still the Thadous refused to submit to the Pois and so started the general move northwards again. Three main parties were agreed on and they moved as follows :—

Shitlhous with the Shingsons, Changsan, Lhangums and others moved up into the North Cachar Hills which was then in the hands of Tularam Senapati Kachari. The village of the Pipa of the Shitlhous took up their abode at a site called Lailenbung in the time of Thushong Chief, near what is now Maibong Station on the Hill Section of the Assam Bengal Railway.

Sangnao and Khaochangbung Chiefs of the Shitlhous and

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[1] Spelt "Howchinkhup" and "Sokte" by Messrs. Carey and Tuck (*op. cit*, ch. X. *q. v.*) and (?) Sumti or Suti by Brown (*Native State of Manipur*).—(Ed.)

[2] That is the genealogical head of the clan.—(Ed.)

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their adherents moved up along the hills between the Barak river and the valley of Manipur.

The Chahsat Chief with his followers moved up along the hills on the east of the valley of Manipur and so came in due time to their present villages.

We next have the story of the Mutiny in Silchar. Many Thadous had been enlisted into a kind of armed levy and spread out in the North Cachar Hills in villages in an attempt to stop the Angamis from raiding those parts. The Indian troops in Sylhet and Silchar mutinied and after killing their officers gathered together with the intention of going to Manipur and settling there since they had heard that it was most fertile.[1] The Thadou levies said they would join them and fight their enemies with them be they even the Englishmen. So the Thadous were allowed to enter the fort in great numbers. Instead of helping the Indian Sepoys they killed them and capturing all their arms handed them over to the Sirkar. Mangjahu Kuki, the chief of Khodungsei village, was the head of this movement and led the Thadou Sepoys. In consequence more arms were supplied by the Sirkar to the Kukis and they were then used in greater numbers to keep off the raids of the Angami Nagas of the Naga Hills. This latter period seems to relate to the institution of Kuki Militia mentioned on page 148 of the *History of the North East Frontier* by Alexander Mackenzie, but I noticed that Thadou historians do not seem to know of the reasons for the abandonment of this Militia, or should I say that they prefer not to remember it.

The Thadous who moved up west of the Barak river were utilised by the Sirkar against the Angamis. Those who came up along the hills between the Barak river and the valley of Manipur were similarly used by the Raja of Manipur placing them among the Kacha Nagas, while those on the east were used as a barrier against the Burmese.

When Nehlam Kuki Chief of the Chahsat group went to pay his respects to the Raja he was well received. After the reception Nehlam Chief went to the then Political Agent and did likewise. The Raja hearing of this became much enraged and sent for Nehlam Chief. When he was produced he was murdered as the Manipuris thought he would become a follower of the British and not do what the Manipuris wanted done.

Soya Kuki Chief of Songchal village, a great warrior with a powerful following, established himself at the present site of

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[1] These mutineers were not Indian troops of Sylhet and Cachar, but three companies of the 34th N.I. from Chittagong, who had reached Sylhet and Cachar through Hill Tippera, *vide* Gait, *History of Assam*, ch. XVII, who says that the mutineers heading for Manipur were repeatedly attacked by the regular troops and by Kuki Scouts, and that ultimately only three or four escaped death or capture.—(Ed.)

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Lailong village of Chura Chandpur Sub-division of Manipur State. When the Raja heard of this he sent for Soya who appeared presenting a gong to the Raja, but he was also put to death because of his independence. Tungkhopao Chief of Laikot village hearing of this took all the Chahsat group with Soya's following over to the Raja of Alva (*i.e.* Ava—Burma) and requested that revenge may be taken for such a deed against the Raja of Manipur. The Raja of Alva said he would do so in three years' time and permitted Tungkhopao to take up his residence in the hills on the west of Alva. During this time Tungkhopao killed some people of the Raja of Alva's hill tribes and was sent for to answer for the deed. Tungkhopao feigned illness and was persuaded by the Shitlhous to submit to the Raja of Manipur who had the British to help them for safety's sake. And so Tungkhopao and the Chahsat group came back and were allowed to reside in the hills to the west of the Valley. This was in Sana Koireng's time.

The reason why the Manipuris call the Thadous "Khongjai" is, according to the Thadous, because the first village which came in contact with the State was Khongsai of the Lhungum clan and now living in Cachar District. It was destroyed by Chinthang and Toijam, who were great warriors, who put up the heads of those they killed on a tree with seven branches.[1] Each branch had seven stems with a head on each. Both of them died on that day also and were wearing *aimitjing*.[2] So it is said that if any one can repeat what those two did and count the heads correctly then he will die a *thilha* or spirit.

The place where Khongsai village cultivated is known as "Saite Loulen" and was again taken up by Khongson village of the Thanglhai sub-clan of the Lhouvum clan of the Thadous, after Khongsai village was driven out. Only the chili fields were not cultivated. These two villages are famous among the Thadous.

There was a girl by the name of Lenghoi or Nungmaidenga who fell in love with a large snake which resided near the village. She was of the Chothe tribe of Old Kukis.[3] To others the snake appeared as a snake but to the girl it was a very handsome young man. Eventually she became pregnant by

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[1] When the Thado take heads otherwise than for a dead man's grave they are usually stuck up on stakes or on the branches of trees, a point being cut from the wood to go through a corresponding hole in the cranium of the skull.—(Ed.)

[2] *I.e.*, leaves of a magic plant which make the wearer invisible.—(Ed.)

[3] This association of the Manipuris with an Old Kuki origin is perhaps significant, in view of their many similarities both to Nagas, such as the Ao and the Tangkhul, and to Kukis, as in their language. The Old Kukis, generally speaking, are intermediate between the Naga and the Thado. The snake Pakhangba was the ancestor of the Ningthaja clan of Meitheis to which the Maharaja of Manipur belongs, v. Hodson, *The Meitheis*. p. 100.—(Ed.)

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the snake and a male child was born to her. He grew up and all spoke of him as fatherless at which he used to be ashamed. His mother told him not to mind that but to go and make friends with his father the snake. The boy was not afraid and met the snake whom he caught by the neck and the snake told him many wonderful things that were to happen to the boy. The boy then went and told his mother of this and she gave eggs to perform the "Ahtuisan" when searching for a new site upon which he was to make a new village. He tried Langthabal first but the omen was not auspicious, so then he went to the middle of the valley where, on performing the *Ahtuisan*, the result was excellent; so he made a village there and thus the Manipuris were originated. At that time they lived like Kukis and Nagas but later a Brahman came from the south who so impressed them with his preachings that they took on their present religion.

At the time of the Burmese Invasion[1] the Raja of Manipur fled for protection to the house of Khongsat Kuki's father where he ate *ga* (beans) only for several months. When the Burmese left the Valley he returned home with Khongsat's father and Kaikholal Kuki. So the Manipuris have always treated the Kukis with respect since then.

When Ngameingam or Chandra Kirti Singh Raja was on the throne[2] he collected a great force to attack Molbem village (Kamhao Chief of the Suhte clan). Thangkhohen, Chief of Sangnao village, sent his cousin Pumjam, Chief of Bijang village, with some 1000 Kukis to help Ngameingam. The result was sad, as Kamhao Chief won the battle, inflicting great loss on the Manipuris and their Kuki levies. Pumjam, Jamkhupao and Langhel were the leaders of the Kukis. It came about as follows:—Just before the fight started the Suhtes shouted out that the Manipuris were attacking them because the Suhtes had revenged the death of Thangpao and Thanglam at the hands of Kaiap village of Kom Kukis. Also at that time the present village of Khongjang in the Chura-Chandpur Area was living with Kamhao. Thanglam was Pumjam Chief's father. Consequently the Kukis did not help and the force was defeated. The Raja was weeping on the banks of the Gun (Imphal) river at such disgrace when one Chongja Kuki taking pity on him fired off his gun before the Raja and said "The Raja shall not die until I, Chongja, am first killed by the Raja's enemies." This cheered up the Raja and the followers of Chongja having made a

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1 The Burmese invaded Manipur in 1755, 1758, 1765, etc. repeatedly until the end of First Burmese War in 1826.—(Ed.)

2 Chandra Kirti Singh succeeded as a minor in 1834, but was taken by his mother in flight to Cachar. He returned after the death of Nur Singh in 1850 and died in 1886.—(Ed.)

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vailang (cane suspension bridge) got the Raja safely across and into safety.

When Chandra Kirti Singh was about to die he directed that the custom of inheritance as among the Thadous was to be observed in the future and so elected his eldest son to be Raja after him in token of all the help the Kukis had given him.[1] However, Sena Koireng deposed the new Raja and sat himself on the throne. The ex-Raja fled to the British and appealed. In consequence of this the Chief Commisioner of Assam came to Imphal, the Capital of Manipur State, but Sena Koireng murdered him with 4 other sahebs also and drove out the remaining British force. Most of the Thadous fought for the Raja on that occasion. This resulted in the Manipur War of 1891 but the Kukis did not help the Manipuris then, as they knew that the latter had no chance. Sena Koireng fled to Tonglhu Chief of Chahsat and sought his protection. Tonglhu said he was seriously thinking of taking revenge for his father Nehlam's murder but as the Sirkar were in search of the Raja he told him to go away as he (Tonglhu) could not grant such protection. However in revenge for Nehlam's murder the Chahsat group attacked and destroyed a Burmese thana and implicated Manipuris thereby. For Soya Chief's murder the village of Chongjang in the Naga Hills attacked and destroyed a Manipuri Thana at Makui village. This was after Henima outpost had been established.[2]

At that time the Lusheis tried to enter the south-west hills of Manipur but the Shingshons drove them out. They then tried to persuade Goupi, Chief of Tuithang (Shingshon), to forsake the Shitlhous and come and live amongst them. He refused because of the agreement between him and the Jampi Chief, head of the Shitlhous, and so the Shingshons said they would take him by force even if the other Thadous helped him. On this the Shitlhous gathered all their folk and sent a message to Khongjang Chief saying that if they wanted to fight and not observe the previous agreement of peace then they were to come on. On this Khongjang Chief decided not to fight the Thadous to the north and so peace was declared again between them.

The agreement spoken off came about as follows: The Shingshons and Shitlhous fought a great battle on Songchal Hill in which the Shingshons were badly beaten and so the Shingshons became submissive to the Shitlhous. Jangvum Chief of the Shingshons was killed and Thushong Chief of

[1] The Meithei custom seemed formerly to have been for the throne to pass from the elder to the youngest brother, and then to the eldest son of the latter and so on, and not, as one would expect, back to the eldest brother's children.—(Ed.)

[2] The Henima outpost was established early in 1881.—(Ed.)

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the Shitlhous was much grieved and punished the murderer, a man of the Lhoujem clan. It is not the custom to kill Chiefs in war[1] but only to capture them and keep them as hostages.

Since the Shingshons were a branch of the Thadous this sin of revolt was realised when Khotinkai Chief of the Shingshons could get no male issue although he had many daughters. In consequence he went to the Pipa of the Shitlhous who was Khotinmang and asked for his blessing and forgiveness of the sins of his ancestors in their rebellion against the Shitlhous. Khotinkai promised he would never permit such a thing to happen again so Khotinmang gave Khotinkai his blessing and a son was born called Goupi and thus the lineage did not become *ingam*[2] (extinct).

The Thadous believe that they are destined to be rulers of their earth and not to be submissive to any one and so they are sometimes carried away by their ambitions and swayed by this belief in their destiny into illconsidered action, a process which culminated in the Kuki Rebellion of 1918-19. They do not consider themselves beaten yet and still brood over the future ahead of them which to their sorrow, is not developing as fast as they would like. In fact by the establishment of three subdivisions in the hills of Manipur State their prestige among other hill tribes has been much shaken. Also many who went to France in the Manipur Labour Corps are now convinced that the earth is not quite as small as they held it to be previously. However these are in the minority and ancient thoughts and traditions carry more weight among those still only slightly affected by contact with the outer world. Meanwhile conversion to Christianity is spreading rapidly among them and ere long these old thoughts of their destiny are likely gradually to fade and to lead no doubt to a better understanding between the Thadou and other hill tribes among whom they reside. Yet they still think they own the country they inhabit and regard the other tribes as their underlings, a point of view which they frequently evince to those engaged in their administration. Respect of others' property, moveable, and immoveable, they have practically none,[3] but it is slowly dawning upon them that times are changing only too rapidly.

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[1] So too Shakespear (*op. cit.*, p. 58) but Lewin, (*Wild Races of S.E. India*, p. 251) says that a chief may be killed in the heat of battle. Both state that in theory anyhow all chiefs are blood relations, and that this is the reason for the prohibition.—(Ed.)

[2] *Ingam*, cf. the Khasi *iapduh* which has the same significance. Like the Naga, the Kuki and the Khasi have horror of the family line or still more the clan becoming extinct. The trait is natural in people like the Khasi and Naga tribes which are ancestor worshippers at heart, and no doubt the Kuki has absorbed some of the sentiment with the blood of his neighbours.—(Ed.)

[3] According to Lewin, in Kuki custom everything in a village belongs to the chief, who can demand anything he requires (*op. cit.*, p. 251). At

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CHAPTER IV.

Customs.

Thadou Customs. Childbirth.

Among the Thadous birth is given by the woman kneeling on some cloths, while in front of her her husband, sitting on a stool, holds her round the chest. She in turn putting her arms around him. Sometimes a relation or friend also kneels behind the woman and placing his arms above the child gently helps it into light by a slow light pressure downwards.

When the child is born a piece of cotton is tied immediately about an inch or so from the child's navel and then the umbilical cord is cut with the edge of a piece of split bamboo or a clean knife.[1]

The mother usually stands leaning against something or still in the position described above until the placenta comes away. After which she is given *ju* to drink and allowed to put the child to her breasts.

The placenta and umbilical cord are placed in a gourd and hung up at the top of the outside of the back wall of the house, where they remain until the receptacle decays and falls of itself.

The child should be named [2] at once on birth as soon as it is known whether it is a male or female. The name to be given is always previously decided upon and usually contains part of the compound name of grandfather or father, or grandmother or mother of the child according to whether it be

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the same time presents given to the chief are, he says, common property and may be taken by any one (*ibid.*, p. 250). The claim of the Kuki chief to take what he pleases is probably to be associated with the Oceanic custom known in Fiji, for instance, as *Kérékéré*, under which a chief has a perfect right to confiscate an object if the transaction be ostensibly for the good of the community, this right entailing, of course, a compensatory privilege on the part of the owner of the confiscated property to come to his chief at some later date with a request for a favour (Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 119). The Thado disrespect of property alluded to by Mr. Shaw has to be considered in the light of the history of the tribe, who have spread themselves over a large area in very small bands dominating much larger communities of alien race, as qualified by some pre-existing custom of the nature of *Kérékéré* so that what is mere robbery from another point of view may be a very correct and proper action from that of the Thado, or even a compliment to the person robbed.—(Ed.)

[1] If a knife is used at all it is a very recent change indeed; most Thado regard the use of iron for this purpose as taboo like most Nagas, as well as many other tribes, *e.g.*, the Moi of Annam, the Kayan of Borneo and the Tinguian of Luzon.—(Ed.)

[2] Most Thado find a real difficulty in saying their own name. They cannot explain why, and, I think really do not know why.—(Ed.)

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a male or female.[1] Thus Kapjavum is the son of Vumjakhup, and his grandfather's name was Kaptho, whose father was Kaplhun whose grandfather was Nohkap.

Naodopju is the name of the *ju* prepared for the occasion and is drunk by all participating in the ceremony.

Naodop an is the food prepared for the affair and eaten by all present.

The mother of the child is not supposed to go out of the house for 5 days in the case of a son and 3 days in the case of a daughter from the day of birth. This is called *Naolaichan*.

Kilhalho is performed for the child usually on the day after birth, but there seems no fixed day, and a string with some feathers is put around its neck implying that it is free from any evil or illness. The *Thempu* (Medicine man or priest) is called who kills a fowl outside the house taking the child's name and calling on the *Thilhas* (Spirits) not to molest the child and may it grow up strong and famous.

There is an interesting story attached to the naming of the child.

Once upon a time there was a man who went out hunting and as it became night took up a place under a tree for the night. About midnight he was awoken by all the *thilhas* calling to the *thilha* of that tree saying "Let us go to the village of the Human Beings and cut the navel cord of the child who is to be born this night." The Thilha of the tree replied "I cannot go with you as I have a stranger in my house." So the other Thilhas went and after a very short time returned. The Thilha of the tree asked who cut the cord and the others told him it had already been cut by a tiger. The Thilha of the tree then asked when the tiger would kill the child and the others replied saying "When the child grows up he will marry two wives. These wives after a time will quarrel over a paddy mortar. So the husband, in order to make peace between them will go to the jungle and make another mortar so that the two wives may have one each. It is then that the tiger will kill him." The hunter in the morning went back to his village and found that his wife had given birth to a son, so he was determined to remember what he had heard the Thilhas say. When the son grew up he married two wives and they quarrelled over a mortar and so the son went to make another in the jungle. His father secretly followed him and while the son was making the mortar a tiger came but the father killed it with his bow and arrow. The son was much pleased and going up to the tiger got hold of its whiskers and said "If my father had not killed you I would have." When drawing away his hand the tiger's whiskers cut him and he died almost at once. So in

[1] A boy is always given a name from the side of his patrilineal ancestors, but there is no fixed rule as to girls.—(Ed.)

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spite of the father's care what the Thilhas said came true. Consequently Thadous say when cutting the umbilical cord "I will cut the cord and no one else."

After the child is strong enough to be carried distances, it is taken to the house of the father-in-law[1] who performs *Naopui* by killing a pig or a fowl which is merely feasted on, no ceremonies being performed. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the child his blessing by performing *Kilhalho* to ward off the evil eye and any future illnesses.

Among the Thadous, since descent is reckoned in the male line only, great rejoicing and heavy drinking is indulged in when a son is born; although now-a-days the birth of a girl is becoming nearly as important owing to the comparative certainty of getting her marriage price since they can depend on the assistance of the courts, the help of which they did not have in the old days.

Death rites.

When a person is dying all the relations are summoned to the house and they call to him or her not to leave them. It is said that by this means persons almost dead are sometimes brought to life again, since the soul's attention has been attracted back to the house from its wanderings by the calling of the name.[2]

When the person breathes his last the men shout out "Where is the *Thilha* who has taken you away? Let it show itself and we will kill it" and words to that effect.[3] They usually snatch up a dao and hack near posts to show their temper and determination of what they would do to the *Thilha*. There is then much weeping and show of sorrow although it does not last long among the men.

The corpse is then washed and wrapped in a cloth and placed in a log of wood which has been hollowed out to make a rough coffin. It is covered with a rough plank at time of burial.[4]

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[1] *I.e.*, the mother's father.—(Ed.)

[2] Cf. *the Sema Nagas*, p. 209, and Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 278. The Khasis do the same (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 132). So, too, the Maoris (*Old New Zealand*, ch. XIV, and note), and the natives of Yap (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*. III, 165), in Madagascar (Osborn, *Madagascar*, p. 314), the Kayans of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribe of Borneo*, II, 32). See also Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, ch. ii.—(Ed.)

[3] So the Angami (v. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 227, and Butler, *Travels in Assam*, p. 150, and some Konyak Nagas (Owen, *Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam*, p. 24), and so too the Samoans (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II, 208).—(Ed.)

[4] Although the Thado practise burial at present there are indications that this method of disposing of the corpse may be comparatively recent. Apparently up to the last generation, at any rate, cases survived of the separate disposal of the head, which, in the case of important persons was placed in inaccessible holes or niches in the rock on the face of cliffs. I remember a Thado who happened to be with me on coming across a sequestered limestone cliff in previously unvisited country

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If the death is in the morning or during the night the

remarking at once that it would be a splendid place to put a dead chief's head. The explanation given for such separate burial is the protection of the head from enemies. Shakespear, writing in 1912 speaks of a similar custom as then dying out, and gives the same explanation, but describes the practice as one of separate burial of the head in an earthen pot (*op. cit.*, page 204). Soppitt (*Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, pp. 13, 14) describes the process, and definitely attributes the practice to the Thado. The body is put on a platform near the house and visited by the deceased female relatives every three days, who "so fasten up the cloths (as decomposition sets in and is progressing) that none of the putrid matter falls to the ground." When "the corpse has throughly decomposed and nothing is left but the skeleton, the bones and cloths are then carefully gathered and buried in front of the house, but the skull....is bleached in the sun, any loose teeth being refastened in with gum, and then, being thoroughly cleaned, it is placed in a woven cane basket. Another feast is now held, at the conclusion of which this basket is carefully hidden away by the relatives." In any case very diverse methods are followed by the different branches of the Kuki race. The old Kuki tribes bury (Shakespear, *op. cit.*, 164 sq). The Banjogis and the Shendus of the Chittagong Hill Tracts bury persons of position in a sitting posture, the latter using a stone-lined grave (Lewin, *op. cit.*, 246, 286). The Lushei put the corpse in a wooden coffin, with a plank cover, elevated over a fire with a bamboo tube leading from a hole in the bottom to the ground as also among some Kachins (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.*, I, i, 410). When dry the skull is separated and by some preserved in a basket in the house, by others buried in a pot (Shakespear, *op. cit.*, 84 sq; Lewin *op. cit.*, 274). One Lushei clan wraps its dead in pith and buries them after smoke-drying them on a fire, and the "Howlong" clan hang the coffin containing the corpse to the house beams for 7 days during which the widow must spin underneath (Lewin, *loc. cit.*). Rawlins, describing the "Cucis of Tipra" in the XVIIIth century describes them as smoking their dead on a platform and then burying, after which the first fruits of crops are offered on the grave, *cf.* the Ao custom described by Mills (*The Ao Nagas*, p. 279), that of the Kacharis (Soppitt, *Kachari Tribes in North Cachar Hills*, p. 40), and of the Mundas (S. C. Roy, *The Mundas*, p. 465). In all these cases final disposal of the year's dead is associated with the harvest. Others, he adds, put their dead in trees while yet others wash the bones and keep them dry in a bowl, to be consulted for omens in times of emergency (*Asiatick Researches*, II, xii). McRae writing of the "Kookies or Lunctas" in 1799 (*ibid.*, VII, vi), describes the corpse as kept on the platform till the spring festival when the bodies of all the year's dead are burnt together. Probably this spring festival coincided with the sowing. The Nagas of Laruri keep the smoked corpses of their dead until the following crop is sown, when all the past year's dead are brought out and finally disposed of together, probably in order that the soul released from the mortal husk may enter the sown seed and fertilize the springing crop with fresh sources of life.

In the Chin Hills again the Siyin expose the corpse to the weather and ultimately bury the bones in an earthen pot; the Sokte dry the corpse and bury in a family vault where the bones can be inspected. Burial places are outside the village, but the Haka and Tashon Chins bury inside the village (Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, page 192 sqq.). The Old Kuki tribes of the Sakchip (Tippera) and the Hrangkol both burn their dead. (Waddell, *loc. cit.*) also the Biete.

Cave or cliff burial, as formerly practised by the Thado, is practised by several Naga tribes and by other races sporadically throughout the Indian Archipelago from Borneo to the Philippines, in New Guinea and Melan-

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corpse is buried the following day in the evening.[1] It is buried outside the house.[2] The relations dig the grave and are helped by the young men and friends. On the grave a bamboo is erected which is notched to show the number of animals he has killed in his time if a man. If a woman some of her favourite things are hung up and left.

At time of death of a man or woman "*Khunsum*" is performed if they have performed *Sha-ai* or *Chang-ai* in their life. This consists in killing a mithun and in the recital by the

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esia, in Fiji, the Marquesas, and in Polynesia, New Zealand and Easter Island. As well as with concealment from enemies, it is associated with a future life underground (*vide* Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, Moss, *Life after Death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago*).—(Ed.)

1 When the corpse is carried out for burial the fire in the house is put out and the ashes are removed, and afterwards new fire is made. This new fire should strictly be made with flint and steel, but though admittedly tabu, matches are now commonly used for making this new fire.—(Ed.)

2 Carey and Tuck state (*loc. cit.*) that the Thado buries outside the village. This is normal in the case of 'apodia' (bad) deaths, otherwise just outside the house is usual. I have, however, seen Shingshuan graves outside the village where death was not 'apodia', and it is possible that the practice is more frequent among Thado on the Burma side. On the Assam side however the usual practice is to make a square excavation just in front of the house to the north side. From this excavation a vault is hollowed running north again, and into this the coffin is placed foot first so that the top of the head is just inside the vault and adjoins the excavation. A bamboo tube is placed close to the head and gradually drawn up as the vault is filled in. The reason given is to afford a means of exit for the soul, and it is to be noted that in Madagascar a similar means of exit is provided, only there the bamboo tube is embedded in the grave so that the mouth is flush with the surface (Sibree, *Madagascar before the Conquest*, 305). According to Hose (*Natural Man*, p. 213) the similar custom of the Kayans of Borneo is for communication with the dead. So too with the Sea Dayaks who place the bamboo just over the root of the nose, the place where the Angami Naga locates his *rhopfü*, the soul that is conceived of as a diminutive manikin (*v.* Hose and McDougall, *op. cit., II.* 50, and *The Angami Nagas*, 98, 183). The purpose of the bamboo tube mentioned by Shakespear (*vide* preceding note) as used by the Lushei is not quite clear, but it occurs to me that it might conceivably be a survival of a bamboo tube, used in burial, retained when exposure has been substituted by an immigrant culture. Burial seems to be the older form in some parts of this area, as exposure has apparently partially replaced burial in the Chang Naga tribe (*v. The Lhota Nagas*, p. xxv), though burial is now replacing exposure in the neighbouring Ao tribe, as it seems to have done, perhaps in the Angami tribe.

Brown writing in 1871 (*Native State of Manipur*, p. 51), states explicitly, and he is a reliable authority, that the Thado ("Khongjai") buries his dead in a sitting posture, the body having been strapped to a board and smoked in that position. I propounded this to a Thado exceptionally well versed in custom and interested in his own traditions, and he was immensely tickled at the novel idea of anyone at all burying their dead sitting. He affirmed that it was never done by Thado, who always bury the corpse lying at full length on its back. The pattern of the Thado grave is found used in Sumatra [Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (1783) p. 250] and among the Tinguian of Luzon (Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 287, n[1]).—(Ed.

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Thempu of all the good deeds of the person who has died, and in his blessing the spirit on its journey to Mithikho (The village of the dead). Now-a-days any rich person has a mithun killed on such occasions, but this was not the former custom. A pig was all that was killed if the sha-ai or chang-ai had not been performed by deceased. This killing of a pig or mithun is called *khosa*.

If persons die accidentally or of cholera, yaws, leprosy, small-pox, or in battle or child-birth, the above is not performed and the body is buried outside the perimeter of the village.[1] In these cases no *Lōngmăn*[2] ("corpse-price") is claimable. Nor, if a woman should die without any male issue, is it claimable for her.

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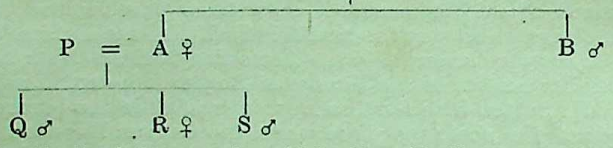
[1] Not in all these cases. There is an intermediate death between a good death, when the ancestral songs are sung, and a bad death (*thishe*), when the deceased is buried outside the village, as in the case of a death in battle. In case of the intermediate death, which is death as the result of diseases entailing corruption of the living body, the body is buried inside the village, outside the house, but the vault is made along one side of the excavation instead of leading northwards from it, and no songs are sung. In all such cases no *lōngmăn* is claimable, as in the case of death in child-birth, when the deceased is usually buried behind the house. In the case of full *thishe*, when the interment is outside the village, no vault is made at all.—(Ed.)

[2] *Lōngmăn* is a payment made to the nearest male kin of a deceased person on the mother's side if deceased is a male, on the father's side if the deceased is a female. Thus in the following table :—



On A's death *longman* is paid by P to B; if either or both be dead, it is paid or received by the nearest patrilineal heir.

If R die after bearing a legitimate son, *who survives her*, her husband will pay *longman* to P.

If Q die, *longman* is paid by P or by S to B, unless it should happen that Q should have been married and die without having had any children at all, surviving or otherwise.

The principle of paying for the children a woman bears as well as for the woman herself appears in Guiana, where the Caribs recognize it (Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, 354) and doubtless elsewhere, but the real significance of *longman* is indicated by its name. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy tells me that among the Ho of Chota Nagpur, a tribe of Mon affinities, parents marrying off their daughter always stipulate that after her death her bones shall be returned to her family; this condition is accepted, but is never carried out in practice, nor is it really expected to be. Now among the Thado a woman the lobe of whose ear is split cannot join her relatives in the next world, is buried therefore as an intermediate (bad) death, and no *longman* can be claimed for her. Obviously the inference is that *longman* (="bone-price") is the price that is paid for retaining the bones of the mother or of her child as the case may

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Before *longman* can be claimed the claimant has to kill a pig[1] for the person from whom he claims a mithun as *longman* and this is known as *longman bepna*, otherwise the claim is not admissible according to custom.

Marriage.

There are four kinds of marriage among the Thadous viz:—*chongmu, sahapsat, jol-lha'* and *kijam mang*. In the first two a proper ceremony is gone through while the latter two amount to elopement.

Chongmu.

In this form of marriage the bridegroom's parents send go-betweens to the parents of the bride to find out if they are willing to allow a union. At the time the parents of the bride if they are agreeable, kill a pig for the representatives of the bridegroom's people and they all eat it and much ju is drunk.[2] This is called *sumtansha*. At this time a settlement is made as to the amount of marriage price to be paid and how much of it should be brought on the wedding day. If afterwards the question of return of the *mān* (marriage price) should arise for some reason leading to divorce then this *sumtansha* expenditure is returnable. The date for taking away the bride is fixed on at the time of this feast and the representatives of the bridegroom's people return and inform him and his parents of the results. There may be some haggling over the marriage price but the full amount to be paid is finally settled before the bride is taken away. When everything is fixed up the bridegroom will send strong young

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be in the husband's or father's family. Presumably were the bones returned the soul would in the life to come foregather with the mother's relatives, and it seems likely that bone-price is a survival from a custom like that of the Khasis (*v.* Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 140) at which the bones of the whole matrilineal clan were from time to time collected at a religious ceremony of great importance. A change to the patrilineal system would obviously entail the abandonment of this practice and ceremony, and the right to claim the bones would then become merely formal, as with the Ho, or would be commuted for a money payment as with the Thado. In this connection it is significant that the Ho have much in common with the Khasi (Dalton, *Ethnography of Bengal*, p. 55. sq.; Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 11), and that Mr. S. J. Duncan, who has followed Mr. Shaw at Tamenlong, is himself of partly Khasia extraction, and is familiar with Khasi custom, tells me that he finds very great similiarity between the religious customs of the Thado Kuki and the Khasi. It may be further noted that the Lhota payment called *echhiman* (i.e. "death-price") corresponding to the Thado *longman* or *dumditman*, is accompained as a rule by a nominal payment called *ming-eshi*,= 'name-buying,' which entitles the family of the payer to use the dead woman's name for children born in subsequent generations.—(Ed.)

[1] In the presence of the man from whom he claims.—(Ed.)

[2] A marriage is broken off or postponed on account of the occurrence of a death in either family during the preliminaries. In case of postponement the parties are careful to note, during the time agreed upon, whether or not further calamities occur, in which case the marriage is usually broken off.—(Ed.)

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men with his representatives to take away the bride on the day fixed, sending that part of the marriage price agreed on to be paid at the time, but leaving the greater part as a balance to be paid later. These representatives are feasted at the expense of the bride's people and both parties wrestle and much dung and filth is thrown at the bridegroom's party.[1] Drums and gongs are played and songs sung in the evening by all together while feasting. The next day the bridegroom's party departs triumphant with the bride and the marriage is complete except for the wrench of paying up the balance of the price by degrees.[2]

Sahapsat.

In this form of marriage the wrestling and other festivities are not indulged in and generally the bride is taken away the same day or early the next morning.

Jol-lha'.

In this no arrangement regarding marriage price is made. It is a case of pregnancy resulting from an intrigue between a young man and a girl. The man takes her to wife in consequence when her state is known. No previous arrangement exists between the parties and there are no marriage ceremonies. A *mān* however is settled upon as a rule.

Kijam Mang.

This is when a young man and girl elope and live together without or against the wishes of the parents of either or both parties. No ceremonies are performed and the *mān* is settled on in due course. In the last two forms of marriage there is no *sumlansha* and so none can be claimed hereafter in case of divorce. In these two forms of marriage a ceremony called *in lut* is usually performed by the husband after a time; it merely means going to the parents of the woman and making his peace with them. It is usually at this time that the marriage price is fixed on. *In lut* means "house-entering," the eloping pair being thus recognised as daughter and son-in-law.

The question of the amount of marriage prices among the Thadous is not definite. Chiefs and wealthy persons usually

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[1] This throwing of mud, dung and rotten eggs at the bridegroom's party takes place at three occasions, first on its arrival at the bride's house; next when the pig is killed for the feast on the following day, and finally when the bridegroom's party departs, which must be before dawn on the day after that. The wrestling likewise takes on these three occasions, and the young men who wrestle must be perfect, none of them must lack a limb or an organ or even a little finger joint. This condition also applies rigidly to the *thempu* who officiates at the wedding.—(Ed.)

[2] After the bridegroom has taken his bride to his house, marriage is not consummated till she has revisited her father's house on a subsequent date previously agreed on, when a further instalment of the *mānpi* (bride-price) is paid. This date may be a few days, a month, or even three months later.

Soppitt (*Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*) gives an interesting account of Changsen marriages, but the customs recorded by him cannot safely be regarded as *bona fide* Thado.—(Ed.)

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claim and pay the equivalent of 10 mithun, Rs. 200 in cash, 2 *Dapi* (large gong), 2 *Dapu* (set of trio gongs), 2 *Khichang* (ear beads); 2 *Khichong* (necklaces). The ordinary person often actually pays a couple of mithun, khichang and a khichong and Rs. 25 or so in cash. In most cases the *mān* is commuted. For example a pig in some cases may be taken as one mithun.[1] I have actually come across cases where Rs. 40 has stood for 4 mithun and a jar of *ju* for a khichang or khichong. Thus the parent of the bride hardly ever receives the marriage price in full, but in the form of more or less fictitious substitutes. They love to name large amounts as the *mān* not with any idea of getting it, but to be able to boast that their daughter was married for so much; when questioned as to what precisely they received, it will be found that actually a much smaller amount has been accepted in full satisfaction by a system of fictitious values. Besides very few, if any, ever intend paying the *mān* of their wives in full themselves, as it is a recognised thing that their sons or next-of-kin male heirs should pay some if not the greater part. Thus often claims are admitted as outstanding for more than 5 generations for balance of *mān* still unpaid. Consequently the present generation is inevitably burdened by debts due for great-great-grandmothers and aunts and other relatives whose descendants they are or represent. So the Thadou tribe is full of litigation on this score and the Christian movement may do good in this direction. But if so I think the Thadou will have to have an outlet for his litigious and quarrelsome tendencies in some other form.[2]

Mankang.

This is a mithun which may be claimed by the bride's father's brother or by the best friend of her father, but in return he must give the bride a dowry in the form of necklaces, etc. To claim his mithun, however, he must at different times, kill three pigs or their theoretical equivalents, for the husband or for his male next-of-kin if the husband be dead, but it is considered a breach of etiquette for the claim to be made against any other than the husband. If the donor die before one pig is killed no claim lies against the bridegroom.

Sumkhao Sat Tan Man.

After a girl has been betrothed by the performance of *sumtansha*, if she marries some one else, then one mithun has to be paid to the bridegroom first elected for breach of pro-

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[1] The first and the last of the number of mithun arranged must be paid in genuine beasts—cow mithun, but for the rest of the mithun substitutes of any kind will serve if the parties are in agreement.—(Ed.)

[2] As stated in the introduction, I think that the litigiousness referred to by Mr. Shaw is the result of a passing phase of social disturbance. In my experience the Thado is not particularly litigious, though the disputes which he has are apt to be of an unsatisfactory nature to the authority that has to deal with them.—(Ed.)

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mise. The same applies should the man fail to carry out his contract, and a mithun is payable to the girl's parents.[1]

Chalam.

The first child that dies in a family is known by this name and no *longman* is claimable for it in consequence.[2]

Jalkhunchonman.

This is a mithun paid in lieu of a second *mān* to the parent or nearest male relative of a woman by a second husband should he be the brother[3] or direct relation of her first husband. It is customary for a brother to take to wife a deceased brother's widow although he be already married. I feel that some ages ago the Thadou must have had the system of wives being common property between relations of the husband, as no shame seems to exist when a brother or his near relation is found cohabiting with his wife and nothing is said.[4] It does not seem to lead to unpleasantness or ill feeling.

Noituichonman.

When a man dies leaving a wife who does not return to her parents again but lives on in her husband's house or in the village and some other person marries her then one mithun is paid[5] to the

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[1] But in this case it is called *jouman*, and I think the penalty of a mithun is less straitly exacted.—(Ed.)

[2] For the purposes of *chalam* the unit taken is a father, mother and children. For the first of this group that dies no *longman* is payable. As soon as one of these children marries and has children he or she is regarded as having left the family for the purposes of *chalam*, and the newly married couple and their children form a fresh unit.—(Ed.)

[3] This custom, as stated, certainly, does not hold good of all the Thado. Many of them declare emphatically that *jalkhun chonman* is not payable when a widow is taken by her deceased husband's brother, but only if the man who takes her is a cousin or some other more distant relative of the deceased. The probability seems to me that the discrepancy arises from attempts to state in definite terms what is really a custom of some flexibility and adaptable to circumstances. Many of the Thado live in joint families, two or three brothers in a house. In the case of a man of such a family dying and his widow being taken by a brother living already under the same roof, I am doubtful if *jalkhun chonman* would be paid by any Thado. On the other hand if a widow were taken by a brother living in a distant village it is possible that a demand for it would be regarded as not unreasonable.—(Ed.)

[4] On the other hand in the only such case that I can think of, a great deal was said, and very bitter too. One point seems worth noting and that is that there is no distinction apparently between the elder and the younger brother in this respect. Whereas in some tribes, *e.g.*, the Rengma Nagas, a younger brother has, or used to have access to his elder brother's wife without a reciprocal right on the part of the elder brother, the Thado seem to have no relic of such a social condition even in sentiment, and the elder brother takes the widow of the younger just as freely as the younger takes the elder's.—(Ed.)

[5] *Jonman* is the name by which I know this payment. I am very doubtful about the correctness of the statement that under such circumstances the second husband pays *man* to his wife's parents. In my experience if a man marries a widow who has not returned to the house of her father or his representative after her husband's death, the first hus-

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late husband's next-of-kin male by the new husband in addition to any *mān* which may be agreed on between him (new husband) and her parents to be paid to the latter. On second marriage full *mān* is never taken for a divorced, widowed or runaway wife. It must be at least one mithun less according to custom. This second marriage price is spoken of as *nungkitman, lamlhang chotlha' man* or *lamlhang lho'lha' man* and not as *mān* or *manpi*.

Dumdi'man.

This is of the value of one mithun.[1] Should a married woman die without having given birth to any children this amount is paid in full satisfaction of all dues to her father or next-of-kin male. No *longman* is due either. *Dumdi'man* is only paid when none of her *man* or *nungkitman* has been paid up. If any part has already been paid of the *mān* or *nungkitman* then the death of the woman merely cancels the balance. *Dumdi'manna* can be claimed if she has only given birth to girls and no boys, but now-a-days there is a new school which advocates that if girls are born then the full *mān* should be paid since the girls *mān* will be enjoyed by the husband or next-of-kin male. I am told that in such cases one mithun of the marriage price of each girl is paid to the next-of-kin male of the mother at the time of the marriage in compensation for the loss of the *mān* the mother's people suffered. If a boy has been born then full *mān* has to be paid although much of it is usually compounded for a smaller sum unless the parties happen to be at enmity, when they fly to the court in hopes of pulling a larger tooth.

Inbo' man

This is an amount equivalent to one mithun which is paid to the person in whose house a stranger has died by the male heir of the deceased person and is for cleansing the house of the evil spirit which has entered it and thus caused the death.[2]

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band's heir male is still responsible for the full amount of the origina *manpi*, and receives the second *mān* from the second husband. Ordinarily, however (unless she marries a brother or cousin of her deceased husband) the widow returns to her father's house and the unpaid portion of the *manpi* due from her first husband lapses, and a *nungkitman* is arranged by her father with her second husband. Where the widow marries the heir or near relative of her late husband, the original *manpi* alone stands, augmented or not as the case may be, by *jalkhun chon man*.—(Ed.)

[1] If a son dies unmarried before his mother, *dumditman* can be claimed as if no son had been born. *Dumditman* means "the price of a (woman's) tobacco pouch," apparently a metonym for an unfruitful wife, it may be noted that the Kayan of Borneo who is looking out for a sweetheart is said to be "seeking tobacco" (Hose, *Natural Man*, page 66).—(Ed.)

[2] I fancy that former custom prescribed not a mithun but a pig and a jar of *ju*. This is still accepted as adequate provided the payer does not contest the claim.—(Ed.)

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Jol-lei.

This is an amount of one mithun to be paid by the paramour of a pregnant girl to her father or male next-of-kin, if he does not marry her. If he intends to take the child when weanable, then he has to pay yet another mithun for maintenance to the father or next-of-kin at time of taking over the child. This is called *Chavaman*. If he refuses to take the child when weanable then it is treated as a member of its mother's family. However, at time when the question of *Jol-lei* is settled the paramour must then say whether he intends taking the child or not and must adhere to that.[1] The child should strictly speaking be born in the paramour's house thus according it a formal recognition of parentage.

Sukai.

Sukai is an amount of Rs. 4 paid by the bridegroom to the Chief or the village to which the bride belongs when he takes her to wife.

It is of interest to give the story of how this came about.

In the time of the chief Munthom one of his villagers took to wife one Kilnem and fled away to Khodai village. Munthom went to Khodai village to call them back but was killed by the villagers of that village. Mangjel, brother of Munthom, was too much of a coward to avenge his brother's death but when Thomhil, son of Munthom, grew up he attacked Khodai village and killed many taking a war drum and mithun horn. He then said he would take *sukai* from all who married girls of his village hence forth as the *longman* of Munthon and so the custom became established.[2]

Jachatman.

Jachatman is an amount of one mithun paid by the man who entices away or makes pregnant another man's wife. It is paid by the adulterer to the husband. In addition he has to recoup to the husband all *mān* or *nungkitman* yet paid. The woman's father or male heir will then sue the adulterer for the balance still due.

Divorce.

If a man drive away his wife without cause then he forfeits all paid *mān* or *nungkitman* and in addition has to pay one mithun as

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[1] Should he ultimately refuse to take the child having originally said that he would do so, *chavaman* will, I think, still be claimed from him by the woman. The death of the child within three years, or the failure of the mother to maintain it for that period nullifies the claim to *chavaman*, unless, in the latter case, the failure be due to the death of the mother.

A son born in this way is among the Haokip Thado given such precedence over legitimate children as the date of his birth warrants. With the Shitlho clan, however, he ranks after legitimate sons, or at any rate after the eldest legitimate son.—(Ed.)

[2] *Sukai* (=*cunni rapina*) is a Shitlho custom, but apparently chiefs of other clans can acquire the right to claim, as if Shitlho, by performing a ceremony to this end, involving a pig and a jar of *ju*, in the house of a Shitlho.—(Ed.)

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Daman. If the woman run away from her husband for no cause then the paid *mān* or *nungkitman* is returnable to the husband. It is customary for the man to attempt to call back his wife if she should go away from him. If he does not do so then it is obviously a case for *daman* and forfeiture of such *mān* or *nungkitman* as has been paid. If she refuses to return in spite of the request to do so, then *mān* is returnable. The causes of divorce are often very trivial and mostly the man is to blame in some way or other. Thadous are extremely subtle and sly in the way they work divorces so as to avoid the customary financial consequences.

Sumken.

Sumken is the dowry given to the bride by the brother or best friend of the father. The original name was *Thilken* which means "Property gift" which has been modernised to "Money gift."

Lutom.

Lutom is the gift of a black cloth (that called *pondum*) to the bride's mother by the husband for having given birth to the girl he has chosen.

Laisui.[1]

Laisui is the gift of a pugaree to the father of the bride by the husband for being the begetter of the girl he has selected.

Villeinage.

There are two kinds of service among Thadous *viz* that of *Shó* and that of *Chengcha*.

In the first case a *shó* is really a servant of the person under whose protection he is and lives in the same house with him.

In the second case the *chengcha* lives elsewhere whether in the same village or in a distant one.[2]

In neither case is it slavery in our sense of the word and merely entails menial work. In the second case it does not even amount to the position of a servant.

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[1] Mr. Shaw has got them the wrong way round, I think. *Laisui* means a woman's waist-band, while *lutom* is a man's loincloth. They were cloths for the bride's parents, now-a-days usually commuted to a money payment of Re. 1 and Rs. 2 respectively. A woman can claim *laisui* in person—perhaps the only claim for property that a Thado woman can make on her own account.—(Ed.)

[2] I am inclined to think that the real test of the difference between *Sho* and *Chengcha* is that in the former case his lord pays the price of his villein's wife, and in return receives the *manpi* of his daughters, whereas in the case of the *Chengcha* the lord is entitled to such services as he can get from the *Chengcha* and also to *shating* (*vide infra*). If that be so the distinction corresponds precisely to that among the Sema Nagas between *akaākhemi*, who are provided with wives by their chief, and *anukeshimi* who merely cultivate his land and pay him service (including the precise equivalent of *shating*) in return for his protection, which is very often sought to obtain payment of a debt.—(Ed.)

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A man becomes a *shó* usually to obtain protection under some circumstances or other in which the *shó* is uncertain of his life. There are also many *shó* among Thadous who are the descendants of captives taken in early raids or obtained by purchase from others. One of the principal dealers in *shó* was Zhuimang of Kandung village[1] in the Naga Hills who used to get his supply from Khonoma and neighbouring Naga villages. Kabuis and Kacha Nagas when in extreme poverty resort to selling their children to Kukis as *shó*. I have actually known more than one example of this in my experience.

Chengcha are usually those who have had their debts paid for them by some wealthy or influential person originally in return for service but who have drifted away.

For the release of a *shó* from his obligations one mithun is usually paid among Thadous. This clears the *shó* and his entire family. Many try to claim one mithun per head for the latter but this is not admitted by existing courts. The same applies in the case of a *chengcha* who wishes to clear himself of the tie.[2] It often happens that the *shó* or *chengcha* gets married and the person whose *shó* or *chengcha* he is pays the *mān*. In such cases if there are children (females) of the *shó* or *chengcha* who marry, their *mān* is taken by the master and not by the *shó* or *chengcha* himself. In consequence it often arises that a *shó* or *chengcha* wishes to clear himself of the bondage by paying a mithun before he has had any daughters. Such cases are now-a-days decided on their merits so that the master may not lose in the transaction in the second case and the *shó* or *chengcha* in the first. But I need hardly add that the *shó* or *chengcha* usually comes off worse in the former case but finds it best not to make a fuss about it so long as he can clear himself and his entire family of the obligations involved.

Sometimes claims are made for one mithun per head per year against the *shó* or *chengcha* but this is not according to custom and is not allowed by the Thadou among themselves.

Changseo.

This is one *dan* or measure of paddy to the chief of the village. Each household pays this to its chief for the right of cultivation annually.[3] Among the Haokips only a jar of *ju* is paid ; it is called *belpeng*.

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[1] He was really a Kachha Naga (Nzemi) originally of Mpaimi village.—(Ed.)

[2] The obligation of a *sho* whose status is acquired by what is called *bangmaisap* (='homicide fence') is regarded as very much more binding and sacred than when the status is otherwise acquired, although it is acquired by the payment by the *sho* himself of a substantial sum to the chief whom he chooses as a protector. For release from this particular bond a very heavy penalty would almost certainly be claimed, but I do not remember hearing of one's ever having arisen.—(Ed.)

[3] The theory is that the land cultivated by any Thado village belongs to the chief. *Changseo* must be paid after the crop is reaped.—(Ed.)

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Khotha.

Khotha is the name given to the free labour supplied by one person from each household in the village, who must work one day for the chief of the village in his fields in every year.[1]

Shel Kotkai.

This is an amount of Re. 1 per head paid by the seller of mithun, buffalo or cattle to the chief of his village. It is by way of quittance to the chief for the past grazing on his lands.

Migration Due.

When a man migrates from a village the chief has the right to attach all his standing crops and any stored grain. This is only if the villager migrates without the chief's permission ; if the chief has caused the man to move out, the chief has no right to confiscate his property, although chiefs are not beyond doing so in all cases. Villagers get over the difficulty by selling off their stock after harvesting and having no standing crops when they actually migrate.

Lamkai.

Rupee 1 is paid by the purchaser for every head of mithun, buffalo or cattle to the chief of the village, from which the purchase is made, as a sort of export fee.

I am of opinion that this due and *Shel kotkai* is paid to recompense the chief for the loss of animals from his village, animals of which he would certainly get a portion if killed there ; also villages are spoken of as possessing so many mithuns, etc., and by reduction of their number the chief's prestige is somewhat reduced, since he takes the credit for any wealth of this kind in his village. In the old days it was a large jar of *ju* and the chief's permission had to be taken before any animals were allowed to be purchased by outsiders.

Thil Kotkai.

Thil Kotkai is an export fee of Re. 1/- paid for a single barrelled gun, Rs 2/- for a double barrelled gun and Re. 1/- for a *Dapi* (large gong). The idea is again that the chief's prestige is reduced, and in the case of guns it is obvious that in the old days considerable persuasion would have to be brought to bear on the chief before he would dream of allowing one to leave his village.

Shamal.

The right hind leg of all game killed by whatsoever means on the land of a chief goes to the chief of that village.[2]

Shating.

This is the flesh between the upper side of the ribs and the hide of all animals killed. It is paid by the killer to his senior male next-of-kin. The head of any family pays in turn to the head of the

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[1] The *thempu* and the official blacksmith have a similar right to a certain amount of free labour, but the amounts are variable.—(Ed.)

[2] The Semas have exactly the same custom. In the Sema case, as also I think in that of the Thados, the right does not stop at game but

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branch from which his family is sprung and so forth until the head or "Pipa" of the Thadous is reached where such payments end.

Shangong. This is the neck of an animal killed. It is paid by the killer to the male next-of-kin of his mother.

N.B.—Any default in paying these customary claims would mean a fine of a mithun. The Thadous are very strict on these dues.

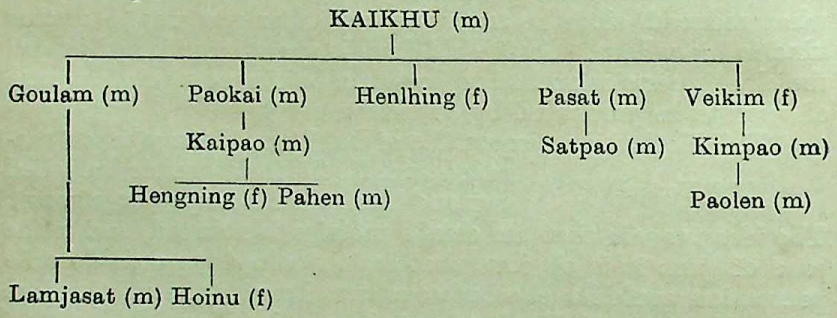
Gu'man.=Theft price. In cases of theft it is customary for the thief to return the articles stolen and to pay one mithun as compensation.[1]

Tolthe.' Tolthe,' is a pig and a jar of *ju* due to the chief from the person who sheds any human blood in a village affray.[2]

Method of trial by chiefs. Both parties bring a jar of *ju* each to the chief's house where the matter in dispute is tried. The old men of the village are usually present also and generally the influence of the *ju* makes a compromise by the chief easy as most are well under the influence of it before leaving and are so genially inclined that they will agree to a great deal.

Thadou law of inheritance. This goes by the male line only and no female has any right to claim as heir of a person, whether male or female.

For example :—



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extends to a leg of all animals killed ceremonially, a right of much value.—(Ed.)

[1] The penalty of a mithun is, of course, theoretical, and would not be exacted except in serious cases or where the thief proved indecently contentious. It has been stated or implied (Crawford, *Handbook of Kuki Custom*, page 22) that a mithun is the penalty for certain kinds of thefts only that are more serious than others, namely, theft of a hornbill's nest, of an animal or bird in another man's trap, of a bees' nest or from a basket inside a house. I think, however, that a mithun is a penalty which can be enforced by custom for any theft but which hardly ever is enforced.—(Ed.)

[2] It would also be payable for rape or other serious crime, and is independent, of course, of claims lodged by an injured party. Should a

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Kaikhu has three sons and two daughters, and their children are given as above. Males are shown by (m) and females as (f).

The youngest daughter, Veikim having married has a son called Kimpao who has in turn a son called Paolen. If Paolen dies then Kimpao is his heir. Kimpao's heir is his father and therefore none of Kaikhu's family can claim for Kimpao or Paolen. Veikim has married out of the family and her marriage price, etc., due for her will go to Kaikhu, if alive. If Kaikhu is dead then Goulam is the heir. If Goulam dies then Lamjasat who in turn also eats any dues of his sister Hoinu. When Lamjasat dies then Paokai is next in order and so Kaipao and then Pahen, not Hengning his sister. When their line becomes extinct for want of a male heir (called *ingam* in Thadou) then Pasat and his son Satpao inherit and so on. Henthing, being a female, has no say in any claims. If the entire family of Kaikhu becomes "Ingam," then the male representative of the eldest of his brothers inherits. A younger branch cannot do so until all the senior branches are extinct in the male line.

Adoption.

This is very seldom resorted to and even when it does take place is usually only recognized during the lifetime of the adopter on whose death his next-of-kin male takes no further notice of the fact.

Oaths.

It can be safely said that oaths have fallen sadly in value from what they used to be, but even now oaths between relatives are usually avoided if possible. A list of oaths in their order of gravity [1] is of interest.

(*a*) *Aitui don.* Drinking of the juice of the Ai plant.[2] It is prepared by the Thempu (Medicine man) who

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man be accidentally killed, the killer has to provide *khosa, i.e.* a mithun and black cloth for the funeral. *Tolthe*="ground cleaning."—(Ed.)

[1] I am doubtful if this order would be found to obtain throughout all the Thado. I have generally found that (d) is regarded as preferable to (b) and I have rarely had (a) or (c) asked for in my court.—(Ed.)

[2] This oath appears to be a very near relative of the Sema oath on the *aye-shu*, where the name seems to retain a trace of the common origin though the plants used are different. A former practice of drinking the juice is possibly to be traced in the second part of the Sema word, for *shu*='drink,' though the existing Sema custom is to bite a piece of the plant. As in the case of the Thado plant the posionous property of the plant is magical not chemical. The Thado eat their plant on certain ceremonial occasions, and with the Semas the destructive principle is apparently sympathetic, for the plant dies down and disappears in the winter (v. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 165). It has however, a pungent juice and is used as a remedy for snake bite. The ordeal by drinking *bona-fide* poison is, of course, a widespread custom particularly in Africa (v. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, III, ch. V.), but this Thado custom of drinking a magical potion is on rather a different footing, though, as a Thado admitted to me, their practice no doubt affords the *thempu*, who incidentally gets Re. 1/- from each party as his fee, an excellent opportunity of

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utters all kinds of things to suit the occasion, and there is no definite formula since it is impromptu, while extracting the juice. Then the person willing to take the oath repeats his contention in the matter and then drinks down the concoction. This is done in the presence of both parties and the chief. This form of oath is considered the most grave since love charms and other magical potions are said to be made from this plant. Those possessing the evil-eye and having magic powers of turning into animals at wish and killing people are said to use this juice. Such people are called Kaoshe by Thadous.[1]

Formula.

(*b*) Eating the earth of a newly made grave[2] is next in importance to which the *thempu* may add other odds and ends to suit the occasion. This addition, however, varies in different villages and in the hands of different *thempus*, and may be a little salt, ashes, a few grains of rice, a bit of ginger, or any such like matter. Here again the person taking the oath must first repeat his contention before all concerned and then eat the mixture.

(*c*) Drinking water from the barrel of gun.[3] The water is poured into it and the swearer drains the amount after stating his version of the dispute. His own gun is used by preference; any other if he has not one.

(*d*) Diving.[4] In this the *thempu* first kills a fowl at the pool where the diving is to take place. He calls on

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mixing some chemically dangerous ingredient into the potion, and though this would be contrary to the principle of the oath it would be rash to say it had never been done. Both the ordeal by real poison (probably aconite) and by a magical poison (water with which an idol had been washed) were used by the Hindus (*Asiatick Researches*, I, 404).—(Ed.)

[1] See Appendix G—Vampires.—(Ed.)

[2] So too Semas (v. *The Sema Nagas, loc. cit.*).—(Ed.)

[3] The Lhotas and Rengmas sometimes bite the barrel of a gun, a dao or a spear in taking oath; the biting of a tiger's tooth is the normal form of Sema oath but as with the Thado it is of little or no weight, man-eating tigers being rare in the now thickly populated hills. By Nagas some hair is plucked from the head and bitten along with the tooth or gun-barrel, etc., as the case may be.—(Ed.)

[4] Unlike the ordeal by poison, this ordeal by diving appears to be limited to south east Asia, and to have a distribution roughly conterminous with that of elements of the Mon race. Thus we find the same ordeal as that of the Thado among the Moï of Annam (Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People*); in Siam, where poles were used as by Tangkhul Nagas (La Loubére, *Royaume de Siam*, I, 334; Turpin, *Histoire etc. de Siam*, ch. iv); in Burma (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.*, I, ii, 485), where this form of ordeal was applied to women as well as to men (Sangermano, *Burmese Empire*, pp. 72, 190 [1885], Symes, *Embassy to*

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the spirit of the water to do justice in the case as the blood of the fowl trickles into to it while its throat is being cut. Then the two parties stand breast deep in the pool and repeat their respective versions. They must stand with the water touching the nipples of their breasts otherwise when sitting in the water it would not cover them. On a given signal they dive, or rather sit down, under water. The first person who breaks the surface with any part of his person, be it his hair or clothes or part of his body, loses. Both are then dragged out by their supporters. If a man, after standing breast high, cannot get under at all he likewise loses.

(*e*) Official Diving Oaths. In this no *thempu's* preparations are made. On the signal from the officer the parties dive for it after standing breast high as before. The conditions otherwise being the same.

(*f*) Biting a spear or a dao. The man taking the oath bites the spear-head or dao after giving his version of the case and thus wins.

(*g*) Biting a tiger's tooth. The same as (*f*) but a tiger's tooth replaces the weapon.

In these days the last oath given is practically valueless as Thadous themselves admit. It is only resorted to in trivial matters if a compromise is impossible because of deep-rooted enmity between the parties. After this form of oath a smile is usually noticeable among the crowd of onlookers.

Ava, ch. xviii); in Pegu (*Voyage of Ralph Fitch, 1583–1591*, Hakluyt; Hamilton, *Account of the E. Indies*, II, 58), and in Assam, where it is practised not only by the Thado but by the Tangkhul Naga, by the Memi apparently (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 110), by the Khasis (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, II, ch. xxviii; Dalton, *Ethnography of Bengal*, 57; Gurdon, *The Khasis*, 94) and in Manipur. Hodson (*The Meitheis*, 92, sq.) seems to imply that its use in Manipur was restricted to cases between hillmen, but Gurdon (*loc. cit.*) quotes Col. Maxwell as describing such an oath between two Manipuris who held on to stones at the bottom of a river. A very similar form of ordeal indeed but applied to a single accused person is described from Bengal by Warren Hastings in his paper 'On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus' *Asiatick Researches*, I, xxiii. The accused person in this case has to remain under water holding the feet or the staff of a Brahman during the time occupied by certain prescribed actions. An ordeal by water used to obtain in Europe in which the accused was thrown into the water with a rope round his waist. If he sank he was innocent and was hauled out. If he swam he was guilty. (Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 1655, p. 52). It survived ultimately as a test for witches, and curiously enough precisely the same test for witchcraft was used in Burma (Sangermano, *Burmese Empire*, 121). Among the Thado of the Naga Hills there is a variant of the form described by Mr. Shaw, in which the contestants have to pick up stones from the bottom.—(Ed.)

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Civic Funds.

There are no such things among Thadous. If any money has to be raised it is usually done by the chief himself unless the villagers offer to help, which they very often do in cases of administrative fines imposed on the chief for any reason.

Young men's House.

Among some of the Naga Tribes there is a recognised house where the young men sleep at night and where they keep their guns, spears daos, shields and other weapons of attack and defence. Among the Thadous this does not exist these days but they have a word for it, *shom*, which, in my opinion, shows that it used to be a recognised establishment.[1] Just after dark is spoken of as "*shom leng phat*" which is an additional reason to presume that such an organisation did exist. It means "Going-to-the-Young-men's-house-time." After eating their evening meal they used to move off there for the night. I am told that it was not very long ago that there was a young women's house[2] where the unmarried girls all slept but as this led to too much trouble among them it was abolished. This house was also known as "*shom*."

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[1] The Lushei still retain this institution under the name of *Zawlbuk*, but I am doubtful whether it can be regarded as a genuine Kuki institution. It is, however, typically Naga, and in the Sema Naga tribe, where it has disappeared except for certain ceremonial purposes when an imitation is built (*vide*, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 37), I am inclined to regard this disappearance as the result of an overlay of Kuki culture. My own view is that it is an Indonesian or Austroasiatic institution, rather than a Tibeto-Burmese one, and that the traces of it perceptible in Kuki tribes are due to survivals from other elements absorbed by the invading Kuki. See Note 2 on p. 73 of *The Ao Nagas*. The Thado have certainly, however, possessed the institution for a time. and still speak of shooting stars as stars "going to their *shom*."—(Ed.)

[2] I have never heard of this, and such Thado as I have asked have denied that they ever heard of it either, but of course if, as I suggest, the whole institution is Naga rather than Kuki in origin, it may well be that tradition should in some case remember the previous existence of girls' 'morungs,' which some Naga tribes possess.—(Ed.)

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CHAPTER V.

Rites and Beliefs.

Rites and Beliefs. Pathen.

The Thadous believe that life is given to everything by Pathen who rules the universe. He has the power to subdue the evil influences of the Thilhas and it is to Him that they do their sacrifices in order to regain health or escape any adversity they may happen to have fallen into. He is supposed to have made the heavens and earth and is all-powerful.

World.

To the Thadou the world is the land they live in and the surrounding country, for the peoples of which they have names, and there it ends. This may be an additional reason for their self-importance. The sun and the moon[1] go round the earth and they cannot believe that the earth revolves. The idea of its being a sphere is not comprehensible since, to their minds, the people on the sides and underneath would surely fall off. They give no reason for gravity and merely state that as a thing is heavy it must come to earth again. Only very light things which are carried away by the wind fly about for a time and these must eventually fall to earth too, as the wind does not always blow and there is some weight in any object whatsoever it may be. No explanation of rain exists beyond stating that it rains just when the Pathen pleases. The stars also go round the earth but certain stars are usually seen in one direction which is owing to their great distance from the earth.[2] They have a tradition of a flood which took place when they were at the upper end of the Gun river but this was before they became ordinary beings and in the time of their mythical ancestors.

Thunder and Lightning.

These[3] they explain as an exhibition of the powers and anger of Pathen, who visits those with whom he is displeased by striking

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[1] The markings on the moon's face are said to be a tree, as by the Angami, Ao and Rangpang Nagas and in Polynesia (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III, p. 171.)—(Ed.)

[2] They seem to have certain definite beliefs about stars, which are associated, as so often, with the dead. In the folk-tale of Ashijoul the heroine ascends into heaven as a star, at least that is what I infer from her name and fate, (v. Appendix A), and at any rate the morning and evening star, called Valpa, is identified with a man named Thăng-bāpū, who was a great warrior, while the Pleiades are seven brothers trying to cover themselves simultaneously with the only cloth they have between them. Shooting stars are said to be stars retiring to the Stars' Morung for the night. Orion on the other hand, or rather his Belt and Sword, are described as the hole of a species of rat which digs down very straight and deep at first (the Belt), and then turns off at right angles (the Sword).—(Ed.)

[3] The rainbow is described as the spirit rope (probably for the ascent of spirits to the sky. See *The Ao Nagas*, p. 304 n[2] 305 n[1]).—(Ed.)

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them with lightning. Thunder is to remind them that Pathen is still very much alive as the Thadous admit they are very careless and forgetful.

Earthquakes.

There are two versions about this. The first is that a large serpent encircles the earth (perhaps something to do with the serpent which disputed the passage at the *khul* when Chongthu came out upon the earth. He cut it into seven pieces) and goes round and round. This serpent overtakes his tail sometimes and nips it which causes him pain and the earth shakes in consequence.

The other version is that Chongja shakes the earth from his underworld home just to see if Chongthu's party are still alive. For this reason the Thadous always shout out "We are here, we are alive" while an earthquake is on.

I prefer to accept the latter as the version generally accepted as correct.[1] I understand the former as being the story given to children.

Khichang.

This is the red cornelian bead worn by the men in their ears. One in each ear hangs horizontally on a piece of string from a hole pierced in the lobe.

The story of how they became known to the Thadous is that in the days of Galngam; when they all lived at Lhanpelkot and Thijongbung, the man Galngam went into the jungle one day and met Hangshai of the Lionmen. They made friends and the latter invited the former to his village. Galngam went and saw much hard red fruit on trees which Hangshai told him was the fruit of the Lionmen and offered as many

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[1] One cannot, I think, justly distinguish between a correct and an incorrect version. Both explanations occur elsewhere in Assam (*v. Folk-Lore*, XXXVI, pp. 113 sqq), the second version, or something very similar, being held by the Kabui of the Manipur State, with whom very many of the Thado are in touch, by the Akas of the lower Himalayan slopes north of the Brahmaputra and by the Kachins. Traditions on the same lines are widespread outside Assam, being found among the Karens of Burma (Marshall, *Karen People of Burma*, pp. 230, 289) the people of Bali, Sunda, Timor and other islands of the Indian Archipelago, the Tami of New Guinea, the Conibos of Peru and even in Africa (*vide* Frazer, *Golden Bough*, V, viii § 5). The first version given by Mr. Shaw agrees closely with that of the Abor, again on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and that of the Lushei, while the Shans combine the two versions attributing great earthquakes to this serpent in words almost identical with the Thado account and slight earthquakes to the other cause (Milne, *Shans at Home*, 54), while the Fijians seem to combine them in the same individual (Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, 80, 81, 85, 255, 269). This story of the serpent coiled round the world biting his tail is strongly reminiscent of the *midgards ormr*, the serpent that encircles the world, of the Edda of Norse mythology. This serpent is regarded as personifying the ocean (Stallybrass, *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, II, 794) and it is significant that Frazer (*loc. cit.*) points out the natural association between earthquakes and the sea.—(Ed.)

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as Galngam could take away with him. Galngam did so and these he distributed to the Thadous on his return to their village. They could not eat them so they wore them in their ears as they do to this day. There are said to be very few of the real old ones and they are so well treasured that their possessors are most secretive about them. A good old bead may easily be valued at 5 to 10 mithuns even in these days, but transfers at such prices are rare as the possessors do not now-a-days part with them.

Mithuns.

The first mithun known to the Thadous was to their mythical ancestors, when they were in the underworld. They used to have 4 horns. Chongthu when he came up to the earth brought a two-horned one with him and the keeper was called Lepokpa. One day this mithun was killed for a feast and the skin was placed in a neighbouring stream to soften. It disappeared and shortly afterwards one Lendou saw another mithun of the same markings as the previous one so they presumed the skin had come to life again. This all occurred at Sisep and the mithun was known as *Noimang shel.*

Later Sat-song, the son of Chongthu, found a mithun grazing in his millet fields and caught it. This mithun is spoken of as the *Van shel* (Sky Mithun).

In Doi.

This is the house-god. It is not taken away by the next-of-kin male on the death of the house-holder. Each house-holder has his own *in-doi.* It serves the whole family so long as the members all live in one house, but on separation new *in-doi* may be made. There is no fixed time for this and it is usually done when a separate household feels that it is suffering from a lack of health or of wealth and that the want of the *in-doi* may be the cause.

In making a new *in-doi* the *thempu* plays an important part

The following things are to be collected :—

A piece each of the *shething* and *thinghi* tree. Small bits of *gopi* (a garden bamboo), *vomgui* (a creeper), goat, pig, fowl and egg. Also small portions of a gourd, *khaopi* (a tree the bark of which makes excellent rope), and *hailhi* (a particular species of gourd) A sword and spear and a woman's brass wristlet called *chao* have to be produced.[1]

Then the *thempu* taking a very small bit of each of the above with the spear, dao and wristlet in his hand says :—

" Pathen bless so and so (The person whose *in-doi* is being made.).

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[1] The *in-doi* (= " house magic " or " house charm " has a very close parallel in the *siap aioh* of the Kenyahs in Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo,* II 124). So far as I know it is typical of the Kuki culture as distinct from the Naga. See also Appendix G.—(Ed.)

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Bless him as you blessed the *Shetoinampha, i.e.*, the best of the *shething* trees (to be the *in-doi* of man).

Bless him as you blessed the *Thinghitoinampha* (=the best of the *thinghi* trees).

Bless him as you blessed the *Gopichengnampha* (the bamboo), *Vomguipha* (the creeper), *Vohpimaikem* (the pig), *Kelchalkihe'* (the goat), *Pengjompa* (the round gourd), *Hailhipha* (the long gourd), *Chemkolpha* (the old dao), *Tengmunpha* (the spear), *Chaoveipha* (the wristlet), *Khaopithosom* (the tree whose bark makes rope), *A'tolngo* (the white fowl) and the *Katuilungtheng Katui lungva'* (the clean and clear egg).

The *thempu* then carries on the blessing praying that the householder may have many sons and daughters, riches and power and a long life. After this the genealogical tree of the household from Chongthu has to be repeated in full and the *thempu* asks Pathen to exempt the present maker of an *in-doi* from the consequences of the sins of his forefathers. So saying the bits of articles enumerated are put into a small gourd and hung up on the outside of the front wall of the house near the top usually above the door out of the way of children and fowls searching for something to play with or for food. So the ceremony ends and there is much *ju* drinking and eating. There are no special animals to be killed; that merely depends on the circumstances of the person performing the ceremony. The *in-doi* thus made is carried with him by the maker where-ever he goes until his death, when his son or sons have to repeat the ceremony if they intend having an *in-doi* also. The house-god therefore is apparently only for the protection of the person for whom it is made, which is also evident from the ceremony given above.

Chang Ai.

This is a feast to the entire village and is the only known ceremony in which a Thadou woman plays the leading part. In the old days when Thadou villages consisted of houses in their hundreds it meant a very expensive affair which could usually only be done by the wives of chiefs' or of very wealthy men. In these days as households in the majority of Kuki villages reach double figures only, it is not such a great affair. The woman performing it has to feed the whole village for one day and she puts up a platform of earth about 6 inches above ground level which is held in position by a border of small stones placed upright. Within this border small upright stones are placed and represent the number of *bings* (woman's baskets) of paddy which is being consumed on that day. In the centre are two stones also upright with one larger than the other known as *Shong mol* (spirit stones). They say these do not represent the spirit of the woman and her husband but are the sign for Pathen to know where Chang-Ai has been performed before

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he selects a good place at "Mithikho" for that person.[1] This feast can only be done three times. Much singing eating and drinking goes on the whole day and night in the house of the person performing it. The *Sheltoldel, Boncho* and *Lholhil* dances are performed on the third occasion, when the person is said to have assured herself a safe entrance and specially selected place at "Mithikho."

Women who have performed this feast are permitted to wear the dark blue cloth with the embroidery at the two ends in red and white cotton of a special design. The name of the cloth is *thangnang*.

Sha Ai.

This is performed by men and implies a feast to the entire village for a day. Some have been known to have done so for more days. In the old days only those who have killed all the different kinds of dangerous animals were allowed to perform this ceremony but now-a-days it is mostly a question of wealth and all want to make out that they have done so. However one animal at least must be killed even these days to justify the ceremony although trapping an animal is sufficient for this purpose.

On the day of the ceremony the *thempu* appears and with *ju* in his hand calls upon the Pathen to permit the "Y-shaped post" to be erected. The Pathen is supposed to tell the *thempu* that He has left the charge of the earth to Noimangpa so in turn the *thempu* asks the latter where the post may be erected. Noimangpa is supposed to give his authority by saying that wherever the *thempu* spills some of the *ju* on the earth there it is to be erected so the *thempu* does so and then digs a small piece of the earth out, and the actual erection is done by the young men of the village. After this the mithun to be slaughtered is to be tied to this post which must be of the *shething* tree and no other. It is then killed by piercing it with a spear or sharp bamboo. Generally the *thempu* does the killing after blessing the man who is performing the Sha-Ai after the gene-

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[1] Nevertheless, I strongly suspect these two stones of being a degenerate form of the two stones set up by so many Nagas as representing the husband and wife, and as phallic vehicles for the fertilization of the land and its produce, from human to vegetable by the soul matter of those who have demonstrated by their prosperity that they are fit persons to do so (*v. Carved Monoliths, etc., J.R.A.I.*, LIII). The connection with the dead still obtains in the association with *Mithikho*, and the fact that the stones are erected by a woman rather suggests that the ceremony dates to a matrilineal period before the intrusion of the patrilineal Kuki, which would perhaps, not inappropriately, associate the custom of erecting stones with the Mon-Khmer element which seems once to have dominated these hills and which still survives in the stone-erecting matrilineal Khasis and Syntengs. This feast is called also, I think, *Buh ai* (v. Shakespear, *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, page 205 sq., illustrated at p. 207).—(Ed.)

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alogical tree from Thadou has been repeated down to this person. Then there is the usual orgy during which *Saipi Khupsu'*, *Sagol Pheikhai* and *Theiphit* are danced three times each, while the feast is being prepared but *ju* is going round all the time. Generally the entire village is unfit to be seen the next day.

Chon.

This is considered the most highly prized feast of the lot and can only be performed by those who have done the Sha-Ai three times.[1] In this everything has to be done seven times. Seven mithuns are to be killed and everything else must be in multiples of seven. This has not been done for a very long time and so the exact rites are not clearly known. It was originally done by Thadou himself and only three or four persons are supposed to have ever done it since, but even then it was not done properly as the *Chontul* which was the only weapon by which the mithuns or other animals could be killed on such occasions, was buried and lost owing to a quarrel between the Dongngel and Thadou families at a very early date. Even the songs and genealogical trees had to be repeated seven times. The whole ceremony taking days to complete and the expense incurred being fabulous. Even after the death of such persons the corpse had to be carried round seven times and everything pertaining to burial rites had to be done seven times so that they resorted to smoking the bodies of such persons to avoid decomposition before the entire rites were completed.

The performance of the *Chon* gave the soul of that person a paramount seat in Mithikho and ensured eternal happiness.

Village ceremonies.

These are performed by the *thempu* for the village when any rumour or news comes through of Cholera or any such like fatal epidemic. One is called *Aikam*. The most serious form is with a *nguldu* (Hoolook ape), the *ai* root, a piece of *thingsaphulip* and of the *thingthu* tree. The gibbon is cut in two and the blood mixed with the other things. All the people of the village then come and anoint themselves with a little of the mixture and also taste a little. The anointing is generally on the forehead. After this the *thempu* takes the remainder of the mixture and the two halves of the gibbon and places them on the frame work of the arch made a short way out of the village on the main path. Half of the hoolook being on either side of the path. At the time of preparing the mixture and killing the hoolook the *thempu* calls on Pathen to protect the village from the epidemic and the entire village is "taboo" for 15 days. No one is allowed to enter or

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1 I find in my notes that the Thado have a series of three "feasts of merit," to use Mr. Mills' apt term. For the first a three-pronged post is set up, for the second a forked post surrounded by bamboo poles (cf. the Sema *aghuza*, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 227), and for the third a stone. The three-pronged post is a familiar sight in Thado villages.—(Ed.)

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to go out of the village, and on the day the ceremony is performed no cocks must crow in the village, so they are all taken into the jungle out of hearing for one day and kept there in baskets. It is said that one gibbon dies each moon and so they are not heard making a noise between the old and the new moon. The death is the toll taken by Pathen from them in order that they may be quiet then. In consequence a gibbon is thought the best animal to sacrifice in case of approaching fatal epidemics.

Another village ceremony entails the killing of a dog to keep away evil spirits, as *thilha* detest dogs, as already mentioned apropos of the killing by Chongthu of his favourite dog. In this case the taboo is for 5 days only but the rites otherwise are the same.

The third is a village taboo accompanied by the other ceremonials, but without any sacrifice. This entails a 3 day taboo.

A fourth is the one day taboo for crops or feasts or the like. In this the *ai*, etc., play no part unless the particular reason for the taboo requires it for some further cause than for merely closing the village to all strangers.

After a field has been cut and burnt, *Daiphu* is performed.

Field Pujahs. For this the *thempu* has to make small earthen images of the following :—

Saipiha (Elephant's tooth).
So'long nupa (Slaves).
Vengke (Partridge).
Thoche (Squirrel).
Shel (Mithun)
Khichang (Ear bead).
Langbel (Mica).

With these he takes an egg and some cotton and goes to the field and asks Pathen to excuse the cultivator of that field for all the damage he has done by cutting and burning the land. All the objects are then placed on the bole of a tree and the *thempu* then returns to the village The day following nothing is done but the day after that the *thempu* goes to the field to see whether the objects which he placed there are still where he left them. If any of the images are missing or broken it means that someone of that household will either die or suffer illness as Pathen has considered the damage done excessive. Consequently *kilhalho* will be performed in the village to ward off any ill effects which may be expected from the *thempu*'s interpretation of the *Daiphu*.

The *Changlhakou* follows the reaping and storing of the paddy crop. It consists in the killing of a fowl for the spirits of the paddy for their kindness in yielding so much. The story is that once upon a time a terrible famine was rampant all over the

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earth. No one had anything to eat. Then a woman staggering with weakness came to the village of the Thadous and asked to be maintained, but no one would feed her at first because they had not even enough for themselves. Eventually she was taken in by an old lonely widow and in return for the kindness the strange woman gave the widow some paddy, which she (the strange woman) stated would never die, so that she (the widow) would never want for rice. This came true and the widow became very rich and paddy seemed to come to her even if she did no cultivation.[1] So the Thadous do this to the spirits of the paddy in return for the kindness once shown to one of them who was an old useless widow, and ever since the Thadous have thrived on rice.

Unwanted Children.

These were either allowed to die after birth by not feeding them or handed over to the old women of the village to dispose of in some way or other. It is said that the old women used to put thorns into the soles of the feet of such children before burying them so that their souls should not be able to chase them in the after-world where they may meet.[2]

Head-hunting

The Thadous consider themselves great head-hunters[3] and have not given up the practice as was seen so recently as the Kuki Rebellion

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[1] In the Golden Age that preceded the *Thimzin*, rice, firewood, and everythingelse that has to be carried in this weary world moved of itself to the desired place when ordered, but as a woman who was with child died on every day that this power was used the practice of calling in the paddy and the firewood was abandoned. The Ao likewise believe in this Golden Age (Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, 108), while the Angami look for its return. The beliefs of the Karen of Burma in *Apu Lagan* and the Kayan of Borneo in *Apu Leggan* and that of the Fijian in *Tavuki* are pobably all connected (*vide* my note on Mills, *loc. cit.*). The Angami call it *Tikidzü-rüke ketsonhye*, 'topsy-turvy of the Universe.'—(Ed.)

[2] Infanticide of bastards is also followed by pricking with thorns the soles of the child's feet among Angamis, at any rate in the Khizami group, and the reason given is virtually the same, to prevent the return of the ghost.—(Ed.)

[3] It would be an error to regard the Thado as a typical or even a *bona fide* head-hunter. True head-hunting in Assam, at any rate, and probably over a much wider area (*vide* 'Head-hunting' in the new (1929) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), is a conscious attempt to convey the soul of the individual beheaded into the victor's possession as a source of life and fertility, the head being regarded as the location *par excellence* of the soul. The Kuki is really a slave-hunter, who also takes heads having probably acquired the practice by contact with genuine head-hunters, and having fused it with his slave-hunting propensities and beliefs, so that he now takes heads in order that the soul, conceived of as a person and quite different from the true head-hunter's conception of it as a sort of life essence (*cf.* Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma*, p. 221 sq.), may serve his dead in Mithikho. The practice of the Kachins, who seem merely to produce the head as evidence of prowess (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.*, 1, i, 430), is probably another instance of the effect of the contact with a head-hunting tribe of non-head-hunters who have copied

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in 1918-19. They place great value on a head because each head means an additional slave for the soul at Mithikho; also that unless a man take a head he is not keeping up the traditions of his ancestors who were all famous head-hunters.

Before a party leaves on a raid the *thempu* makes a mixture from the *ai* plant and then annointing each warrior on the forehead says "May your enemies become stupified so that you may kill them easily and may Pathen bring you safely back with many heads to your count." This is called *Gal-him*.

The Thadou places most value on a child's head, male or female, as it means that to obtain it he must practically enter the enemies' village. Next in value is that of a woman since this would mean going very near to the village. After that comes the head of a known warrior of the enemy since it would require much prowess to kill him and then last of all the ordinary man or youth.[1]

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the practice without sharing the beliefs from which it arose. It may be noted that the Assam tribes north of the Brahmaputra are not head-hunters. The Thado practice seems to have a close parallel in that of the Kayans, Kenyahs and Klemantans of Borneo, the Iban perhaps, corresponding to the Naga in the *rôle* of genuine head-hunter. The Kayan like the Kuki regards it as necessary to put a head on the grave that its soul may serve the deceased in the next world (*vide* Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, I, 190; II, 105). On the other hand the Sebop Klemantans have a story of the origin of head-hunting which is entirely Naga in spirit (*ibid.*, II, 138 sq.). My conclusion is that Borneo has been subject to the same head-hunting culture as Assam and to the same intrusion of a subsequent slave-hunting culture, which I associate in Assam with the Kuki and Kachin races and which I am tempted to associate with the Kayans in Borneo. Col. Shakespear (*op. cit.*, p. 60) denies that the Lushei was ever a head-hunter, but also that he ever sacrificed slaves at the graves of chiefs, but the evidence of Woodthorpe (*Lushai Expedition*, pp. 181, 282, 293) is conclusive against him in the latter respect, and both the Thado (Soppitt, *op. cit.*, p. 14) and the Chins had the same custom (Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, I. 196); the Ao Nagas believe that the souls of slain foes serve the taker of the head in the next world, which I ascribe to the intrusion of Kuki into Naga culture (Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 200).—(Ed.)

[1] Frankly I regard this list of valuations as suspect. It is too logical and suggests the attempts which have been made to rationalize the preference felt by most Nagas for a female head over a male one, *vide* Johnstone, *Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, p. 30, and Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 114. In these cases the statement may, as Shakespear in his note on the latter passage suggests, be an attempt to excuse a practice known to be regarded with disapproval, though there is some evidence to the contrary, *vide*, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 163 sq.; the reason given by Hutchinson (*Account of the Chittagong Hill tracts*, p. 146) is obviously an aetiological effort of the Kukis who recount it, and my own opinion is that the value of female heads is higher than that of male primarily on account of a higher fertility rating (*v. The Sema Nagas*, p. 178.) When Johnstone says that to kill a baby in arms is a greater feat to an Angami than to kill a man, he is drawing on his imagination entirely, and he should have made it clear that to an Angami unless it has cut its teeth an infant's head does not count at all, though I believe the Kukis have been known to take the infant from the mother's womb and decapitate it, and this is specifically stated by Rawlins (*Cucis or Mountaineers of Tipra*, 'Asia-

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After returning from a raid with heads the village turns out in full strength with drums and horns and the raiders will then sing the song called *Hanla* in which the number of heads is to be sung. They then enter the village in procession. For three days they are fed on food separately cooked and eaten off banana leaves. This food is called *Gal an*.[1] Immediately on their arrival *Minlo* is done which is merely the reciting of the genealogical tree of those who have taken heads. The *Gal an* is supposed to be the enemies' food and no one else must

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tic Researches,' II, 188). This latter practice is also reported of the Kagoro of W. Africa (Tremearne, *Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria*, 180). —(Ed.)

[1] The first food eaten by a warrior who has taken life must be eaten with the unwashed hand which has been deliberately imbrued with the victim's blood. This custom is obviously intimately connected with the practice observed by the Lushei of licking from the spear-head the blood of the first man killed (Lewin, *Wild Races of South East India*, page 269). The custom is obviously a form of that in which the enemy's blood is drunk, probably in order to imbibe his soul or his vital principle, which is a very widely spread custom, to be traced no doubt in a final degenerate form in the Sema custom, pointed out to me by Mr. Mills, of compelling every warrior who has shed blood, or assisted thereat, to take a ceremonial meal before entering the village. This 'meal' is purely formal and consists of a mere mouthful of cooked rice, but the fact that the warrior must take it before entering his village suggests very strongly that the real point is that he eats it with bloody hands. The Sema insistence is now on the eating, but the Thado insistence is on the blood on the hands, affording a connecting link between the modern Sema custom of a mere ceremonial meal before entering the village and the original custom of quaffing an enemy's blood.

The Melanesians of Florida and the Ibo of Nigeria do just what the Lushei does, lick the dead man's blood from the blade that killed him (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 305; Leonard, *The Lower Niger, etc.*, p. 180). Actual drinking of the blood is reported of the Kafirs of the Pamirs (Leitner, *Dardistan*, 53, 61,), of the Maoris (Lang, *Polynesian Nation*, 72, where a parallel from Nubia is cited) and of the Scythians (Herodotus, IV, 64). A degree further is the tasting of the liver, heart or brain of the dead enemy. The liver is tasted by the Lushei (Lewin, *loc. cit.*), and by the Tinguian, Bagobo and Mandayan of the Philippines (Cole, *The Tinguian*, 374, *Wild Tribes of Davao*, 94, 203), and the heart or brain or both is eaten or tasted by the same three tribes of the Philippines as well as by the Italones (Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p..268), as probably by some of the Bornean tribes; also by the Kafirs (Leitner, *loc. cit.*) and by the Maori (Donne, *The Maori*, page 281), who refer to their victim as "the first fish," and is reported also of the Chinese (Sawyer, *loc. cit.*).

Although the general intention is probably the absorption of the vital essence of the slain, other possible reasons must not be overlooked, such as the desire to acquire the qualities of the deceased, or the desire to insult and to degrade the deceased; the Ibo explains the practice as intended to slake the desire for bloodshed and thus prevent the slayer's running amok among his own tribe; and that the idea of preventing the slain from avenging his death on the slayer by establishing a physical community with him may give rise to the practice, is suggested by the fact that cases have been reported in Europe of murderers eating parts of their victims flesh with this idea, shared also by the natives of Queensland (Tremearne, *Tailed Head-hunters*, 183).—(Ed.)

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partake of it. The village is taboo for those three days and the women folk must make *Thu'po* for each of the successful raiders from cotton which is worn in the knot of hair behind as a sign of their great deed.[1] After the three days the village re-enters its normal routine.[2]

In the old days when a chief died it necessitated a raid as the more slaves the chief had for his soul at Mithikho the better.

Petty Pujahs.

These are many and mostly for curing different kinds of illness or for warding off the same. Or they may be for some reason such as poverty or loss of property.

I merely give the names of some since they are all really household pujahs and do not concern the village. They are:—

Uitheng, Neovei, Doivei, A'them, Veishe,' Koldoi, Gamla kithoi, Tuigaldou, Tombil, Sahapban, Bo'them, Loulam, Tuilam, Thingvei, A 'themkoldoi, Janchan, etc.

Some of these are for the waterspring, path, tree or stone which they think has caused the trouble, be it illness or a wound or a sore. All these merely entail killing a fowl by the *thempu* or by the sick man himself.

Shalhakou.

This is a pujah performed for a person who returns successful after a hunt.

First the wife of the hunter puts some *ju* into the mouth of the killed game and then the *thempu* does likewise saying "All you beasts of the world and flying game taste this *ju*, it is much better than any *ju* you all will ever have, so come here for it when you are thirsty." By this it is meant that they will be enticed to come to that village and the hunter will kill them all.[3] The *thempu* will call on Kholkipkholjang site, where the

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[1] See Plate 3 fig. 3.—(Ed.)

[2] The Thado takes the head only as a rule, not other limbs also, as a Naga does so often, though among the Lushei Woodthorpe records an arm on Volonel's grave (*Lushei Expedition*, page 282). When a Thado takes the head he takes the whole head unless he has felt particularly bitter against the dead man, in which case he takes the head above the jaw, leaving the rest. This is done when the life taken is an act of revenge, and apprises the victim's relatives of the state of mind of the slayer. When not affixed to a grave the head is impaled outside the village on a pointed branch or on a stake the top of which has been cut away to leave a vertical point projecting upwards from the centre of the stake which is cut off level round the base of the point. This point apparently transfixes the skull projecting through a hole in the cranium, though the only specimens actually seen by me consisted of crania only (some with the hair still attached), the skulls having been reported to have been divided between Chengjapao and the Haokip chief Tongkhupao. What is probably the last specimen of a Thado's human trophy is now in the Oxford University Museum. I collected it in 1922. —(Ed.)

[3] *Cf. The Angami Nagas*, pp. 239, 240.—(Ed.)

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Thadous saw gathered all the animals of the world, before he pours the *ju* into the mouth of the killed game.

There is always much drinking and singing, when any game is killed and brought into the village, at the expense of the hunter.

When a Thadou dies a bamboo is erected over his grave which gives in niches on it the tally of the game which he has killed in his lifetime.

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CHAPTER VI.

Village and Occupations.

Village.

The Thadou usually selects the dense jungle for his village site, either on the top of a ridge or on the slope just below. There is no special orientation of the houses that are promiscuously scattered about the place. Being migratory he attaches little sentimental value to an old site which has been occupied for any length of time. When the mood takes him he leaves his house and goes elsewhere. He has no village perimeter like the Nagas and takes no pride in the village either. The chief's house is generally the largest while the majority have houses about 20ft. by 14ft. on an average. Before the Chief's house, and those of some of the wealthier villagers, is usually found a platform made of wood and bamboos upon which men congregate of an evening or at any time to discuss any village politics or disputes. Those that are able, either from wealth or the number of inmates, make a palisading around the house—forming an enclosure to keep out the mithuns and probably protect a small kitchen garden. This palisade is made of logs split into planks roughly and then tied together with cane or bamboo binding to keep them in position, with posts at intervals to hold them upright, and cross strands of wood or bamboos to keep them in line. It is all a very crude and apparently carelessly-put-together construction. A few banana trees are some times found, otherwise, fruit trees are conspicuous by their absence Pigs, fowls, dogs and children play about anywhere they please and in the rains all the ground is a quagmire with a few logs thrown down here and there to avoid sinking shin-deep into the filth. The sanitary installation is the pig for the grownups while the dog is specially kept to assist the mother of a child who has not learnt yet to do for itself. Very little care is taken of the water supply where people may be seen drawing water while others are either bathing themselves or washing their clothes or hair. However, as the bathing propensities of the Thadou are practically zero the contamination is slight.

To form a new village omens are consulted and also dreams, the interpretations of which are strictly followed. There are two kinds of omens consulted. One is with an egg. A small bit of the shell is removed at one end and the egg is then placed on three sticks under which a small fire is lighted. If the egg bursts or overflows then it is bad, but if the liquid comes out and congeals on top like a cap and none of it trickles down to the sticks holding up the egg or to the ground then it

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is a good omen and a village is established. The other omen is with water. A small hole about the size of a dinner plate and about 6 inches deep is dug. This is lined with any kind of leaves and then water poured in quickly to fill the hole. After the pouring if the water goes round clockwise it is bad but if counter-clockwise it is good. These omens are consulted on the proposed site by the *thempu* or village soothsayer of the village to be.

Houses are made of wood posts with wooden rafters. Thatching grass is used for the roof which is held in place by split bamboos and bamboo or cane lashings. The walls are bamboo matting. The whole structure is raised about 4 to 6 ft. at the back according to the nature of the ground surface, while the front rests on the ground.[1] The house contains one large room and a verandah in the front. In the verandah the mortar for pounding paddy is placed, on one side. About the middle of the room a hearth is made where all the cooking is done. Some times this is on one side of the room. It is made of mud about 6 to 9 inches deep which is placed on the split bamboos which are laid flat on the trusses which support floor. It is usually about 3 ft. square. In the centre are three stones of conical shape placed slanting inwards so as to hold the utensil for cooking and the fire is placed between the stones. Over this cooking place there are two or more platforms hanging from the roof upon which things are dried. The sleeping bed is either of planks or split bamboos laid flat at the back end of the house. Sometimes it is to be found on one side. Shelves, brackets and hooks are on all sides made of bamboo or wood tied and held in place by bamboo or cane lashings. A length of bamboo is usually found placed across one corner of the room upon which clothes are hung. A few cooking pots, some gourds and a basket or two make the total of the property.

Some pieces of flesh either drying or dried and a few bamboo tubes for drawing water will also be found about in the room. Before building a house no regular consultation of omens is indulged in but a few rather like having their dreams interpreted on the eve of the erection, probably by way of curiosity rather than of custom.

The fact that the Thadou does not erect his house entirely on a "machan" or platform, but with the front always resting on the ground leads me to believe that they must have originally been ocean-shore, river, lake or creek-bank dwellers rather than mid stream.[2] I do not consider that the idea is a

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1 The reason given for putting part of the house on the ground level is the weight of the wooden mortar in which paddy is husked. Field houses where no mortar is kept, are raised entirely from the ground and approached by a ladder.—(Ed.)

2 I think Mr. Shaw has overlooked the fact that the habit of building a house partly on piles is just as likely to originate in the use of a steep

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remnant of building in trees or the like to be safe from wild animals, because then they would have no portion of the house resting on the ground which is the general practice and which the very old men do not remember to be in any other form.

The average size of a Thadou house is about 20 ft. long by 14 ft. broad. The chief and the wealthy villagers indulge in much larger ones. These larger ones only consist of one large room, as the smaller ones, but inside cubicles are some times found for the slaves or servants to sleep in. I wonder if the cubicle arrangement is a remnant of some form of captivity which the slaves were subjected to in the old days? No one has been able to enlighten me on this among the Thadous.[1]

The paddy is left in the fields and carried up in such quantities as is required from time to time. Gongs are concealed in the jungles mostly, although some place them inside the *lel*, a conical shaped basket, with other treasures such as new clothes, beads, etc.

On the whole the Thadou house is a miserable construction and the average man takes very little interest in his house except to keep the rain out. Very likely the migratory feeling dissuades him from wasting his energies on a house he may vacate at any time that the whim takes him. When asking the reason why I have often been told "We are like birds and are lazy," which describes the Thadou very accurately.

Domesticated animals are mithuns, buffalos, pigs, goats, dogs and fowls.

The mithun are left to roam about the jungles on their own and are really only half tame. The same applies to the buffaloes. Sometimes they are persuaded to collect near the village for salt, but this is only done to keep them from wandering too far and thus calling for the use of tremendous amount of energy when the time comes to kill them.

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slope as a village site, as in the use of a river or lake-shore. If the principal purpose of lake dwellings may be taken to have been defensive, and as this purpose would not be served by houses half on land, perhaps the former alternative is the more likely.—(Ed.)

[1] It may perhaps be taken that the original house was similar to the Bornean "long house" and accommodated the whole community, which from building cubicles inside came to building semi-detached and finally detached apartments outside, *vide* Peal, *Eastern Nagas of the Tirap and Namtsik*, J.A.S.B., i, of 1896; *On the Morung, etc.*, J.R.A.I., XXII, iii. The preferred plan of a Thado village is still a double row of houses facing each other across a street orientated according to the slope of the ground; houses must not face down the slope, but across it. A house that looked up or down the street would be liable to catch all the spirits going about "as a basket fish-trap in a weir collects the fish moving up or down stream." Presumably spirits about in the street are less dangerous than in the house. That, at least, is Korean view for "Korean devils are.....far more powerful indoors than out, and so the Koreans are at special pains to exclude their devilships from.....interiors" (Miln, *Quaint Korea* p. 236).—(Ed.)

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Pigs are fed regularly and come to the call of "*Lui*" from their owners while "*Chi*" is the word used for dogs. The voice is the only distinction recognised by the pigs and dogs as to whether their master is calling one or the other. Pigs play a very important part in the sanitation of a village which does not debar them from being a delicacy on the breakfast table. Male pigs are castrated after they are 3 to 6 months old and are never allowed to grow up to full size naturally. This does not seem to reduce the reproductive properties of the stock, but the standard in size is low.[1]

Dogs are kept for two purposes mainly. One is for the chase.[2] The other has already been referred to earlier in this chapter. No special breed of dog is kept. The dog is not always fed and hence the poor condition in which they are often seen. Nagas are very fond of dog's flesh[3] and so a good trade exists in this line between the Kukis and Nagas. Thadous are not averse to dog flesh but do not place it in the front rank. Male dogs are not castrated.

Goats are kept for trade and food, and are not fed but allowed to graze in the jungle. Sometimes miniature houses are built for the goats to sleep in at nights. The same for the fowls. Fowls are also scavengers of the village and are not fed.

I have very seldom come across cats in Thadou villages. Apparently they have very little use for them otherwise they would not be omitted from their stock of domesticated animals.[4]

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1 This method of dealing with pig is universal in these hills, and it appears again in the Philippines, where the Tinguian castrates them, as do all Nagas, at two to three months old. In the case of the Tinguian the stock is apparently propagated by breeding with the wild species (Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 412), but that is not the case in the Naga Hills, where I have only once heard of the domestic pig breeding with the wild one. In that case the young were brindled like the wild young as in the Philippines, but this is not the case with the ordinary litter. Probably this practice of castrating all the males when still very young obtains widely in south east Asia, but I cannot find that is reported except by Methold who in his *Indian Observations* reports the "strange increase of the Swine of that Country (Siam) amongst which there are found no Boares, yet have they Pigs according to the custome of other Swine" (Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, 1626, p. 1007).—(Ed.)

2 As by Nagas, hunting-dogs are treated by the Thado with due respect. When hunting-dogs die they are buried with four corner-posts (*vakot*) to their grave. Other dogs are eaten before they reach old age or else sold.—(Ed.)

3 They regard it as having medicinal properties v. *The Ao Nagas*, p. 17 n2. With the Thado, however, its curative properties seem rather magical than material; an account of how Chongthu discovered them is given by McCulloch (*Valley of Munnipore*, p. 56).—(Ed.)

4 Cats are rare in most parts of the hills, and I think the rarity is primarily due to the fact that the cats find life in the jungle easier than in the village and stray away and turn wild, where they readily mate with the small leopard-cat, or so it appears. In most Naga tribes cats are the subject of many superstitions. *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 82, 242, 340, *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 65, 59). The Lhotas (Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*,

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One hardly ever sees the Thadou on affectionate terms with his dog or any other animal. One often doubts whether such a thing as affection is included in his composition at any time.[1] He exhibits all the traits of a bully, very clearly, in his daily life. He kicks his dog, beats his wife, speaks roughly with everyone just because he is annoyed over something which is not connected with his dog or wife, etc. He suffers permanently from an enlarged liver, which, after all, is to be expected from the capacity for "*ju*" that he possesses at all and any time of the day and night taken in conjunction with the climate. He is also very fond of eating rats of all kinds and this may be a reason why he does not like keeping cats which would reduce his supply of this delicacy. Practically all animals and birds are eaten by the Thadou and fish are a particularly appreciated diet.

Cultivation.

The Thadou's staple diet is rice but the Lhouvum and Lhoujem are said to be particularly fond of *bal* (taro) and rely on it a good deal.[2]

There are many kinds of rice but all are grown on the hill-sides and are not irrigated. They have to depend on the season entirely. Other crops are beans, millet, Job's Tears, sesamum, maize, chillies, mustard leaf, cotton, ginger, turmeric, onions, pumkins, cucumbers and gourds.

The Thadou does not sow his seed broad-cast like some Nagas [3] but with a small hoe called *tucha* digs a small hole and puts in a few seeds and then covers them up. The Nagas who live among the Kukis sow broadcast and then lightly hoe over with some earth by merely scratching the ground with their small hoes. This may be one of the causes that the Kuki generally gets a better yield than the Naga. Tree jungle is best liked by the Thadou,[4] and they hardly ever cultivate more than two

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p. 63) are reputed never to keep cats, though they sometimes purchase them for food, and Mills remarks that the Aos do not care about cats as they soon run wild and supplement their meals with the domestic fowl (*The Ao Nagas*, p. 135). The hill man here is always in the dilemma between feeding his cat, when, he says, it will not trouble to catch rats, and not feeding it, when it goes off to the wild on its own account.—(Ed.)

[1] I can by no means subscribe to this estimate of the Thado; on the contrary his family affections are strong enough to make it frequent for several brothers with their families to share a common house, which to Nagas would be utterly unworkable, and his domestic behaviour is just as good as other people's. He is about the only tribe in these hills which ever takes the trouble to rear and tame wild animals as pets.—(Ed.)

[2] It is said that it is only of comparatively recent years that rice has supplanted taro as the staple crop of the Thado, and taro (*colocasia*) is still largely cultivated.—(Ed.)

[3] Similarly the Sema Naga dibble in the seed, whereas the Ao sow it broadcast.—(Ed.)

[4] The Thado's ideal of really satisfactory cultivation is to fell virgin

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years on one field. They show a tendency now-a-days to take up irrigated rice cultivation, and the heavy initial outlay of energy required in the preparation of this type of field may eventually lead to the Thadous' dropping their migratory inclinations when this form of cultivation gets a greater hold on them.

In *jhuming*, which is the name given in Assam to the dry cultivation, the jungle is cut in January or February annually. It is then allowed to dry thoroughly and is burnt. After that the field is cleared of debris and the sowing begins. Three to four times is the usual number of weedings when the crops are growing. In the one field nearly all the crops mentioned are often seen planted promiscuously. The crops are cut with a sickle which has a sawlike edge. The heads are collected on the field and there thrashed and winnowed, and the paddy is stored in the field house called *lou bu'*. It is carried up to the village as required and pounded into rice for daily consumption. The harvest starts in October and ends about the early part of December according to whether the crop is of the early or late ripening type. The Thadou, however, prefers the late ripening kind of rice which he says has a better flavour and is more sustaining.

Hunting.

In hunting the Thadou is particularly expert. Nothing pleases him so much as to be out after game with his muzzle-loading gun or arranging and setting up traps to snare wild animals. He is a good tracker and has an uncanny knack of knowing where the game is likely to be. For large game such as elephant he puts a spear into his gun and wounds his victim in such a place that the beast finds it very painful to move, then he kills it while it is thus anchored. Another form is to dig large pits with sharp pointed bamboos placed firmly upright in them, so that when the animal falls it is literally pinned. This form of pitfall is also used when driving any kind of game. Next we have the *pel*, a large falling trap made of logs of wood which fall on and crush the animal, used for tigers, bears and the like. A smelly piece of decomposing flesh is placed inside to attract the animal. When the beast touches it, it releases a trigger and thus causes the heavy platform of logs to fall and crush it. For smaller game there is the *pelkop* which is a smaller fall trap of a different pattern. Logs of wood are placed upright in the ground parallel to each other thus making a passage. Over the space between these walls a large log weighted with stones is hung so that when the animal passes through the passage it is crushed. Another

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forest and grow a single crop of rice among the fallen logs and then repeat on fresh forest for the next year. This method gives the highest possible return for the lowest expenditure of labour, but is so extravagant in land that it can rarely if ever be indulged in now-a-days.—(Ed.)

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trap for squirrels and such small animals is made with a stick planted in the ground and pulled down with a piece of string, at the end of which is a noose. When the game passes over the noose it releases the spring and the animal is held strangled in the air by the noose, which is whipped up by the string on the peg which kept it down.[1] This is called *thangte*. Small deer and wild pigs are sometimes caught in it. In addition spring-gun traps are also made. The height at which this is to be is ascertained by doubling the circumference of the animal's footprint. There are innumerable other forms of traps for birds and game all based on the spring-release system.

For fish they make a bamboo weir across a river and then poison the stream with various kinds of seed, leaf, root and bark poisons which are to be found in these hills. The weir holds up the stupefied fish which are then collected.[2] Another form is to make a weir with a platform run at one end, and the fish, in their frantic efforts to go down stream, jump into this run which is high and dry and there die or are caught. This method is used about October, just at the end of the rains, as the Thadou says the fish then begin going down stream. I have seen some very large catches made in this way. Yet another form is to make a weir as above but with an attached platform on the downstream side at the top upon which the fish jump and are caught. For the smaller fish bottle-shaped traps are affixed to the base of these weirs in which small apertures are made and the fish swarm through them to be held in the bamboo traps until removed.[3] In the smaller streams just a weir across below a pool is made early at the end of the rains and then when this pool is seen to be full of fish which have come down owing to the want of water higher up the Thadou jumps in and puddles it. This chokes the fish and they are easily caught as they come up to the surface. In addition to all these traps[4] and poisons there are the ordinary night

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[1] V. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 79.—(Ed.)

[2] This method seems to be in use throughout the Indian archipelago; at any rate it is practised in Borneo, in the Philippine Islands and in the Torres Straits. It is also used widely in South America.—(Ed.)

[3] The basket fish-trap, to be effective, should be set with the opening facing down stream in the spring and up-stream in the autumn. The mahseer come up (? to spawn) in the rains and go down again for the cold weather.—(Ed.)

[4] One form of Thado fish trap which Mr. Shaw has not mentioned is interesting on account of its distribution. It consists of a piece of bamboo split into half a dozen slats joined by the node and kept splayed out by a bamboo ring at the end and a smaller one in the middle, making a skeleton cone, the longditudinal ribs of which are lined with rachides of the cane plant so tied that the points of their formidable hooked thorns are directed towards the node of bamboo. From this node a spike projects inside the cone on which a white bean is impaled to act as a bait. The fish enters the cone without difficulty, but the thorny hooks make it impossible for it to back out. The trap is opened at the node,

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lines which are fastened to a rod consisting of a length of bamboo well planted in the ground and bent over. Projecting horizontally on the water and just above it is a smaller piece of bamboo with a " V " shaped cut at its extremity. Through this the line from the bent bamboo is brought with a cross piece of stick tied to the line and placed under the V-shaped cut thus holding the rod bent. An ordinary bazaar hook is used with a small crab, frog, snail, fowls' entrails or a minnow attached. This is hanging in the water about a foot or so below the surface. When the fish takes it the cross-piece of stick is pulled out beyond the end of the V, and the bamboo straightens, retaining the fish with its head well out of the water suspended on a stout line.[1]

Many kinds of tree-gum are used also for birdlime when trapping the smaller sorts of birds.

The Thadou has no compunction in killing a male or female of any kind of game. They are all edible flesh to him which is the only thing that really matters to his mind.

Game laws have been brought in by the State and some attempt is being made to restrict his unsatiable desire for game. The Thadou interpretation of this law is that the Sahebs want to shikar game and catch fish and so this preservation has been brought in to avoid having too many blank days while so doing.

It is said that the following things were originally made at Thijonbung and Lhanpelkot by one Tamlopa Thadou :—

Manufactures.	
Da'pi	.. Large Kuki gongs.
Da'thibu	.. A set of of three gongs.
Tuidol[2]	.. Large basin.

---

which is divided in half to facilitate the extraction of the fish by the node end when the node is untied. A stone is tied to the node as a sinker and anchor when the trap is set. Balfour (*Thorn-lined Traps, etc.*, 'Man' 1925, 21) shows that the use of such traps extends from the Naga Hills to the Solomon Islands and Santa Cruz. The Chins use them, as do the Lhota and Konyak Nagas, but though the Thado uses them, the Kachha Nagas (Nzemi), among whom the Thado live, apparently do not. The trap is a cruel one, fish taken in it being literally covered with gashes inflicted by the hooked thorns in the attempts of the victim to escape, but it is simple to construct and exceedingly effective..—(Ed.)

[1] I have seen this spring fishing rod among the Thado, but never among Nagas. A virtually identical method of taking fish, minutely described, is reported by "Fins" in *Country Life* (October 27th, 1923), as used by the Arawak Indians of South America. Cole, (*The Tinguian*, p. 385) mentions baited lines on sticks stuck into the ground, but does not state that they are arranged like the Thado and Arawak lines to strike the fish automatically when the bait is taken.—(Ed.)

[2] The Tuidol (Page 146 (a). fig. 1) is particularly associated with the killing of elephants. It has elephants cast in relief round its frieze and is filled with *ju*, and the killer of a wild elephant must quaff the whole—a sort of sconce, in fact. Mr. Duncan is my informant.—(Ed.)

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Lumdal .. Brass plates placed on shields.
Chaldep .. Brass dao-shaped plate worn upright on head in full dress.
Chinking .. An iron rack [1] with flat serpent-shaped ends to the arms projecting from a central stem.
Chemkol .. An old type of genuine Thadou knife.

Now a-days none of these things are made and the art has been lost,[2] Burmese or other foreign made gongs and utensils and knives having now taken their place.

Cloths are made in the same way as the Nagas from cotton grown by them but the pattern is different: They are:—

Thangnangpon .. Very dark blue cloth with embroidered ends in red, white and yellow cotton.
Saipikhup .. Same as *Thangnang pon* but with different pattern for the border.[3]
Pondum .. Plain dark blue with no border.
Ponmongvom .. White cloth with one black stripe at each border.
Ponlhe' .. A plain white cloth with no borderings.
Del .. A white cloth used either as a "pugri" or a "dhuti."
Phoi .. A thick white cotton cloth made with coarse thread. In between the warp and woof wads of cotton with the seed extracted are worked in at the time of weaving and fastened at the middle of each wad. The ends stand out and thus make a pile surface on one side of the cloth.
Ponpho' .. This is the same as *Phoi* but without the wads of cotton worked in.
Ni .. .. A petticoat worn by women. It is of red and black alternate stripes.
Ponve .. A plain back cloth worn round the torso by women. There is a plain white one also by the same name.

---

1 It is a sort of collection of hooks branching from a central stem on the lines of a candelabrum. We may compare, perhaps, the decorated brass hooks of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *op cit.*, II, 220). See Page 146 (b), fig. 2.—(Ed.)

2 Beautiful brass and bronze tobacco pipes, dao-handles, flint and steel boxes, *ju* syphons, vases, and gauntlets for women used to be made by the *cire perdue* process. This art, though rarely practised now, is not extinct, *vide* Appendix C.—(Ed.)

3 The cloth takes its name from the resemblance of the pattern to the leg of an elephant (*saipi*).—(Ed.)

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The first two, *Thangnangpon* and *Saipikhup*, were only worn by chiefs and those who had done the *Chang-ai* and *Sha-ai* pujahs and by no one else. It was necessary to perform a pujah called "*Kithenthou*"[1] by killing a pig on the completion of those cloths as the borders were supposed to represent the images of "*Thilha.*"

Now this is not observed and anyone able to have them made may wear them, while the patterns of the border are varied according to taste.

The ordinary hand loom is used in making all these clothes and one or more lease-rods are used when weaving in patterns according to the complications of the design, with one or more heddles.[2] The work from the reaping of the cotton to the weaving is all done by the women. To extract the seed from the cotton a machine consisting of two wooden rollers closely fitting is used through which the cotton wads are passed.[3] This is called *patlhe*. Then it is ginned with a bow which is called *patsai*. Next it is rolled into lengths of raw cotton, like elongated wads, on a stick which is withdrawn when its wads are completed. These wads are then spun into cotton on a machine called *mui* which is a revolving piece of thin iron worked by hand on a frame.

Their cups are lengths of bamboo planed with a dao while their plates are made out of wood. The cooking utensils are mostly earthenware bought from Manipur but many are now going in for iron and aluminium.

Their daos and spearheads are made by the *thishu*' of the village out of scraps of iron got from bazaars or stolen. The bellows used consist of two adjacent large sized bamboo tubes with a piston to each padded with fowls' feathers and worked

---

1 *Kithenthou* is performed by the *maker* of the cloth, a woman, of course, who kills a chicken and puts one of the feathers in her hair and a string round her neck.—(Ed.)

2 The loom is a simple tension loom exactly like that used by Nagas (*e.g. The Sema Nagas*, p. 50) and elsewhere in the Indonesian area. The Thado, however, in addition to the single laze-rod used by Nagas, employs a large number of pattern laze-rods such as those used by the Iban and Dusun of Borneo on their precisely similar looms. The Thado is ahead of the Naga, too, as also of the Iban, in the shuttle he employs, for whereas the Naga and the Iban use a simple spool, the Thado puts his spool into a bamboo shuttle with a smooth nose and a hole at the side through which the weft is released. The apparent difficulty of threading the weft through the small hole in the side of the bamboo shuttle from the inside is ingeniously got over by blowing into the shuttle, which immediately causes the loose end of the weft to protrude through the aperture.—(Ed.)

3 These rollers have rough spiral cogs in reverse directions cut at the end of each roller so as to draw the cotton through as a mangle takes clothes to be wrung. Both this ginning machine and the spinning wheel are of the pattern used in the Manipur valley and in the plains of Burma.—(Ed.)

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alternately.[1] They are connected with the fire by smaller bamboo tubes well below the fire level with earth forming the actual connection. To temper the iron a hole in the ground is made and water placed in it with which some clay is stirred up.[2] A hard stone or piece of hard wood is used for an anvil. Now even this art is slowly fading away as they are buying ready-made daos and spearheads from Manipuris and from Cachar markets. In fact the same may be said of clothes as there seems to be a preference for foreign made stuff which appeals greatly to the Thadou generally with his excessively lazy and careless disposition. He never intends doing more than he can possibly help he would do less than that if he could conceivably manage it—so gradually foreign goods are getting a hold on him and the habit is not a little promoted by the advent of missionary work in Thadou villages.

The Thadou is naturally handy with his *chem* (dao) and *rheicha* (axe) and takes great interest in all constructional work. Perhaps there is to be found here the makings of first class carpenters and blacksmiths with training—and perhaps in time excellent contractors. But this all means work—a very detestable thing to the Thadou.

He is a great drinker of rice beer called *ju*. There are three kinds namely *jukha*, *vaiju*[3] and *anthom*. The first is distilled while the last two are made by fermentation caused by adding yeast. He prides himself on the amount he can consume and competitions take place to see how much a man can drink in one breath without discomfort to himself and the party.[4]

The bulk of the work falls on the women-folk who in addition have to bring up their children without the help of ayahs and nurses no matter how things go. This accounts to a great extent for the fact that the women age very rapidly, while the men seem to keep remarkably youthful till much later in life.

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[1] The familiar Indonesian type used from Assam to the Philippines and from Siam to Madagascar.—(Ed.)

[2] If mud is not used the surface of the steel has a cracked appearance and the weapon is brittle. Salt is added to the tempering mixture.—(Ed.)

[3] *Vaiju* is readily distinguished from other varieties of rice wine, as the husks of the paddy are also used in making it and give it a distinctive flavour. An identical liquor is brewed in the distant Konyak Naga village of Ukha, far to the north-east.—(Ed.)

[4] When guests are entertained great care is taken to see that each man gets the same measure of liquor, and if a man cannot finish this he usually gets a friend to do it for him, for when they have all finished another round is measured out. When drinking through siphons from jars the measure is indicated by a length of cane or stick standing in the lees at the bottom. When the top of the stick appears the drinker stops and the jar is filled up again to make a fresh infusion.—(Ed.)

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CHAPTER VII.

Language.

Language.

The Thadou language is spoken by all the descendants of Thadou and by the Non-Thadou clans absorbed by them. Most of the Old Kukis can speak Thadou fluently although they have languages and dialects of their own such as Kom, Khotlhang, Waiphei, etc. The fact that the Old Kukis[1] use Thadou as a *lingua franca* is possibly an indication of the manner in which the earlier Kuki immigrants were overrun by the later.

Sir George Grierson classifies Thadou in the Northern Chin sub-group of the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman Family (*Linguistic Survey*, III, iii), and an account of the language has been given by Mr. T. C. Hodson in his *Thado Grammar*.

The language has undoubted affinities with Metei (Manipuri), Kachin, Garo Lushei and the various dialects spoken by the Old Kukis. I agree with Mr. Hodson when he contradicts Lieut. Stewart who affirmed that most of the Thadous knew Manipuri. Lieut. Stewart was correct if he meant only to speak of those on the ranges of hills bordering the valley of Manipur, but, further in, where the Thadou is really to be found in his true state, the knowledge of Manipuri is conspicuous by its absence.

It is not a written language and so this perhaps accounts for the variations of pronunciation and phraseology which differ, although very slightly in some cases, from village to village. There is a story among the Thadous that very long ago Pathen (the Creator) gave the Thadou, Naga and Manipuri a separate language each, written on skin. The Thadou owing to his admitted habitual laziness and casualness lost his script which was probably eaten by rats, dogs or pigs.[2] The Naga, because of his almost insatiable hunger ate his. The Manipuri, who is not a flesh eater, and who is also provident and thrifty carefully kept his and eventually studied it. So neither the Thadou nor the Naga has a written language while

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1 The Thado are sometimes spoken of as New Kukis in contra-distinction to the Old Kukis, consisting of the Hrangkol, Chiru, Biete and other tribes who preceded the Thado migration from the south (*vide* Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki clans*.—(Ed.)

2 The Angami Nagas, the Sema Nagas, the Padam Abors (D. S. Dunbar, *Abors and Galongs*, p. 51, *M.A.S.B.*, V), the Kachins (Hanson *The Kachins*, p. 117) and the Karens (McMahon, *Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 143; Marshall, *Karen People of Burma*, p. 280) all have this story in slightly varying versions.—(Ed.)

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the Manipuri has. This applies to the old Manipuri script which is now-a-days obsolete owing to the use of Bengali characters throughout Manipur.

The fluidity of the language makes it far from simple to form grammatical rules as Mr. Hodson also found, but for the purpose of this book it is not proposed to go into details though a revision and expansion of Mr Hodson's "Thado Grammar" is needed by officers who have to work among Kukis and who desire to learn the language.

The purpose of this chapter is merely to give a general outline of the language and to supplement the information given by Mr. Hodson. It is to be hoped that some one will publish an exhaustive work on the language before it changes, as it seems likely to do, under the influence of semi-educated Thadous, whose tendency is to twist it to what they suppose to be English forms and thereby to outrage both languages at once.

Alphabet. *Vowels.*

A .. .. as "a" in "father."
A .. .. as "aw" in "awe," or the "a" in "ball."
A .. .. as "a" in "company."
E .. .. as "a" in "may."
E .. .. as "e" in "then."
I .. .. as "ee" in "keen."
I .. .. as "i" in "in."
O .. .. as "o" in "bone."
O .. .. as "o" in "dot."
U .. .. as "oo" in "fool."
U .. .. as "u" in "pull."

All the above have a glottal stop shortening them in certain words which some contend represents a silent consonant which is either "k" or "h."[1]

Consonants.

B .. .. as in English.
C .. .. used only in combination with "h."
D .. .. dental.
F .. .. Not used.
G .. .. as in English.
H .. .. as in "hen" and also aspirates the consonant which it is combined with. There are two schools of thought as to whether the "H" as an aspirate should be

[1] The silent consonant if not 'K,' must be 'T.'—(Ed.)

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placed after or before the consonant it is combined with. I belong to the first school and so place it after the consonant it is to aspirate in all Thadou words.[1]

J, Y and Z .. These are all interchangeable and the only possible method is to use one of them which should be the "J" for preference since it is most generally in use.

K .. .. } All as in English.
L .. .. }
M .. .. }
N .. .. }

Ng .. .. as "ng" in "bringing" and not as in "finger."

P .. .. as in English.
Q .. .. Not used.
R .. .. as "r" in "rank."
S .. .. as "s" in "this."
[2]T & V .. as in English.
W & X .. not used.

Tone. It is a tonal language and so can only be properly learnt from among the people themselves. I give one example :—

Kol .. Precipice or cliff.
Kol .. Burma or Burmese.
Kol .. Foreigner.

Which meaning is intended can only be ascertained from the text and intonation, whether high, medium or low.[3]

---

1 In my opinion the aspirate should sometimes precede and sometimes follow the consonant qualified. It seems reasonable enough to write H before R. e.g. *Hrangkol ;* on the other hand to write it before K as is done in Burma is merely perverse. No one can pronounce Khamti as "Hkamti." In the case of L & H there is in Thado a distinct variation of use.

Thus

lhun=to reach, arrive

hlŭn or *hlon*=to accompany.—(Ed.)

2 T is generally at any rate dental not palatal.—(Ed.)

3 There is a clear tonal distinction between *Kôl*=cliff (high register) and *Kŏl*=Burman (low register), but *Kŏl*=foreigner (mid register) has also, a shorter vowel in the ŏ, at least that is how I hear it. I suspect that in Thado, as in Sema and probably other Naga languages, the tone is deliberately used as a method of distinguishing different words, *vide* J.R.A.S., Jan. 1927, Bor and Hutton, *Use of Tones in Sema Naga.*

Grierson, *On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages,* distinguishes nine tones which he represents by a mark before the syllable in which the tone occurs, thus :—

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Euphony.

There are many changes in form of the word for which they can give no other reason than "It is the custom" or "It sounds better that way." For examples :—

1. **Kicha** .. To be afraid,
   becomes
   Kichatsha .. To frighten.
2. **Man** .. To catch,
   becomes
   Matsha .. To cause to be caught,
   and
   Matding .. In order to catch.
3. **Lho** .. To weed,
   becomes
   Lha .. (the "aw" sound) weeded.
4. **Len** .. To be big,
   becomes
   Letsha .. To make big,
   and
   Letding .. In order to be big.

	Level	Rising	Falling
High Register	¯ka	´ka	`ka
Mid Register ..	-ka	ˊka	ˋka
Low Register ..	_ka	ˏka	ˎka

These indication marks can be combined when necessary to signify compound tones. Eg. ¬ ^ ˘

The mark for the level mid register will normally be omitted, as if used it is liable to be mistaken for a hyphen, but as the tone it indicates is the ordinary one the sign can be taken for granted. It is not very likely that all these tones are found in Thado, but Mr. Bor and I have identified four or five, e.g.

fire	=	-*mei*	sit	=	`*thou*	opposite	= ki `*dong*
clouds	=	ˋ*mei*	rise	=	´*thou*	tender	= a _*dong*

But probably for practical purposes the use of four tonal marks would be enough for the Thado language, that is, omitting the mid register ¯ka, _ka, `ka, and ´ka.

I give below a few similar words differentiated by marks as they might be in a dictionary. I do not think it will entirely eliminate the difficulty of identical spellings, but it should help. In texts I imagine the difficulties will have to be borne.

The following may be taken as examples :—

fire	*mei*	drink	`*don*
tail	*mei*	tube	_*don*
cloud	ˋ*mei*	nurse	*nau-don*‘

[The sign ‘ is used to indicate a glottal stop]

beginning of house-building	*gêl*	rain	*gū*
plan, think	*gêl*	poison	*gū*
thin	*agël*	bone	_*gū*
kind of tree	_*gël*	bamboo	_*gu*, _*go* (which ?)
hail	*giel*	kindle fire	*gou*

I think the first two *gels* and the first two *gus* are the same, in which case I defeated by them, but they are no worse than *bat* and *bat* in English.—(Ed.)

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5. **Dong** .. To ask,
becomes
Do'ding .. In order to ask.

Yet it cannot be stated as a general rule that words ending in **a, n, o** and **ng** all follow these peculiarities, because many do not change their root form.

Noun.

An agglutinative language such as Thadou can hardly be said to possess any true case endings, but the Agentive, only used when an action takes place, acts as the subject of a transitive verb and is indicated by the suffix *in* or *n*, but the suffix is dropped sometimes when it is not required and the sense is shown from the context. The Ablative and Dative cases are formed by adding *Koma*, or *Henga*.

The Possessive Case is indicated by placing the possessing before the possessed word thus *Chem kung*="dao' shandle;" where the possessed word is omitted, *a* is suffixed to form a possessive—e.g., *hiche Lengjang a hilo Doujon a ahi*=this is Doujon's not Lengjang's. The Instrumental Case is formed by adding *in* or *n*.

Adjective.

This follows the noun it qualifies. *A* is prefixed to the root word and the negative form is made by adding "*lo*" or "*hi*" to the root. Thus *Chem ahemlo khat ume*, means "There is a blunt dao." The word for word translation would be "Dao sharp-not one is."

Comparisons are effected in three ways :—

1. By use of "Sangin":—
   Hiche sangin hichekhu alene
   This than that larger.

2. By use of adversative sentences :—
   Hiche aneo, hichekhu alene.
   This small, that large.

3. By using "**Sangin.....jo**":—
   Hiche sangin hichekhu aphajoe.
   This than that is better.

4. By use of "**Sangin.....pen**":—
   Hiche sangin hichekhu alenpene.
   This than that is bigger.

Superlative degrees are formed as follows :—

1. By use of "**la-a.....pen**":—
   Hiche la-a hichekhu alenpene.
   This among those is the biggest.

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2. By using "**pen**" only :—
   Hiche alenpene.
   This is the biggest.

3. By adding "**penpen**" or "**chacha**" when speaking of one out of many big or small things respectively:—
   Hiche alenpenpen.
   This biggest.
   Hichekhu aneochacha.
   That smallest.

Pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns are formed as follows :—

(1) **Hiche pasal hi** ..	This man (here).
(2) **Hiche numei khu** ..	That woman (there).
(3) **Hiche**	This (near).
(4) **Khuche**	That (At a distance).
(5) **Hikoma**	Here (close).
(6) **Khukoma** ..	There (Some distance away).

Interrogative pronouns are :—

(*a*). "**I**" or "**Ipi**" ..	What ?
(*b*) **Ida**	Why ?
(*c*) **Itile**	When ?
(*d*) **Itina**	How ?
(*e*) **Ijat**	How many ? (Articles).
(*f*) **Ichan**	How much ? (Length, size, etc.)
(*g*) **Ijatve**	How many times ?
(*h*) **Hoja** ..	Where ?
(*i*) **Hoikoma** ..	Where to or from ?
(*j*) **Hoilanga** ..	Where ? Which direction ?
(*k*) **Koi**	Who ?

Personal pronouns are :—

(1) **Kei**	I.
(2) **Keho**	We (all of us).
(3) **Nang**	Thou.
(4) **Nangho, Naho** ..	You
(5) **Ama**	He, she or it.
(6) **Amaho**	They.
(7) **Eini**	We two (Speaker and spoken to).
(8) **Keini**	We two (Speaker and another).
(9) **Nangni**	You two (Spoken to and another).

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(10) **Nang le nang** .. You and you (Pointed out).
(11) **Ama le kei** .. He and I.
(12) **Ama le nang to** .. He and you.

Possessive pronouns are:—

(*a*) **Ka** .. .. My
(*b*) **Na** .. .. Thine.
(*c*) **A** .. .. His, her or its.
(*d*) **Keho** .. .. Our.[1]
(*e*) **Naho** .. .. Your.
(*f*) **Amaho** .. .. Their.

To express "own" the Thadou uses **mongmong** but the ordinary possessive pronoun conveys the same idea yet not so emphatically, thus :—

1. **Ka in mongmong** .. 'My own house.'
2. **Keho bong mongmong** 'Our own cattle.'

Relative pronoun. Where this is used in English with a subordinate verb, the Thadou uses a qualifying adjective composed of a noun or verb root with **chu** suffixed.

1. The man who came yesterday,
   Janha ahungpa-chu.
2. The child who died,
   Naoshen athi-chu.
3. The horse which I sold,
   Shakol kajot-chu.

Reciprocal pronouns are formed as in the following instances :—

(*a*) We beat each other,
Keini akidentoutoulhone.[2]
(*b*) They two steal each other's property,
Amateni thilkeo akigutoutoulhone.

Reflexive pronouns are formed as in the cases given below:—

1. I broke it myself,
   Hiche keima mongin kachu' shet ahi.
2. I ate it myself,
   Kei mong kane ' ahi.

Cardinal Numerals are shown clearly in Mr. Hodson's "Thado Grammar." so I shall not deal with them here. However there are some points worth elucidating.

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[1] There is also a dual possessive *i-* ='belonging to the two of us.'—(Ed.)

[2] The infix—*ki*—almost always, if not always, gives a reciprocal sense to a verb, *vide* note [8] on the story of Khutshibi (*infra*, p. 117).—(Ed.)

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There are no **ordinal** numbers as in English but only the following :—

First	..	**Amasa.**
Second	..	**Khat bana** (This means the one after the first).
Third	..	**Ni bana** (One after the second and so on for the rest).
Last	..	**Anu nungpen.**

Ordinal Adverbs are formed by adding " VE " thus :—

Once	..	**Khatve.**
Ten times	..	**Shomve.**

Multiplicatives thus :—

Singly	..	**Khat khat nin** (By one and one).
By fours	..	**Li li-n.**
By 20,000s	..	**Taima taima-n** or **Taima ma-n.**[1]

Fractions :—

One half	..	**A ke.**
One quarter	..	**Ake ke.**
Two-fifths	..	**Chan nga-a chan ni** (Share five-in share two) and so on.

Verb.

It is doubtful whether a verb in an agglutinative language can properly be said to have moods at all therefore I merely give a list of illustrative sentences to convey a general idea of the verb and its habits.

I nabol em ?	What art thou doing ?
I nabol um ?	What are you doing ? (Plural)
I nabol ta vem ?	What didst thou do ?
I nabol ta vum ?	What did you do ? (Plu:)
I nabol ding ham ?	What wilt thou do ?
I nabol diu ham ?	What will you do ? (Plu:)
Iti nabol lo vem ?	Why dost thou not do ?
Iti nabol lo vum ?	Why do you not do ? (Plu:)
I nabol hi ' am ?	What didst thou not do ?
I nabol hu ' um ?	What did you not do ? (P)
I nabol lo ding ham ?	What wilt thou not do ?
I nabol lo diu ham ?	What will you not do ?
Bolin ..	Do. (S)
Bolun ..	Do. (P)
Bolhi ' in ..	Don't do. (S)

[1] *Taima*, I am told, means 10,000 not 20,000. However, it is only a purely theoretical term, and never used in practice, and as the score is the unit for calculation in some Naga tribes, it is possible that *taima* is used by some Thado for a score of thousands (*shang*) instead of for a decade of them.—(Ed.)

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Bol hu ' un	..	Don't do. (P)
Boldingin	..	Will have to do. (S)
Boldiuvin	..	Will have to do. (P)
Bolloding ahi	..	Will not be done. (S)
Bollodiu ahi	..	Will not be done. (P)
Ka bol e	..	I do.
Na bol e	..	Thou dost.
A bol e	..	He, she or it does.
Ka bol lo or Ka bol lo ve.		I do not do.
Na bol lo		Thou dost not do.
Ka bol tai	..	I did.
A bol tai	..	He, she or it did.
Ka bol nange	..	I will do.
Na bol inte	..	Thou wilt do.
A bol inte	..	He will do.
Keho bolunge	..	We will do
Naho bolunte	..	You will do.
Amaho bolunte		They will do.
Kei cheponge	..	I will not go.
Nang che ponte		You will not go.
Che taite	..	Let us go (Two persons).
Che taute	..	Let us go (More than two).
Che taihen	..	Let them go (Two persons).
Che tauhen	..	Let them go (More than two).
Che po hi ' te	..	Let us not go (Two persons).
Che po hu ' te		Let us not go (More than two).
Bolinlang	..	Having done. (S)
Bolunlang	..	Having done. (P)
Boldanlang	..	Not having done. (S)
Boldavinlang	..	Not having done. (P)
Bol-na-ding	..	In order to do.
Bol-lo-ding	..	In order not to do.
Bol-intin	..	If (it) had been done.
Bol-hi'-intin	..	If (it) had not been done.
Hiche na bolle	..	If you do this.
Hiche na bol lo le		If you do not do this.
Na bol phat-a	..	While you do.
Na bol tengle	..	When you do. (S)
Amaho bol tengule		When they do. (P)
Ama bol jongle	..	Even if he does.
Nang bol hi ' jongle		Even if you do not do.
Ka bol jo le	..	When I finish doing.
Na bol jo lo	..	When or if you do not finish.
Ka bol che po ve		I have not done all.
Ka bol jing e	..	I am doing.
Ka bol nang e	..	I will do (Not definite when).

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Ka she nom e	..	I wish to say.
Ka she da e	..	I do not wish to say.
Na bol jo lo jong le.		Even if you do not finish doing.

These illustrative sentences will suffice to give some idea of the peculiarities of the Thadou language with its niceties of phraseology and meanings.

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APPENDIX A.

Seven Thado Folk-Tales

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Thado Folk-lore.

The seven folk-tales which follow have been recorded by me from the same narrator—Lenjang of Taning, in the original Thado and then translated. Where the Thado itself is given the literal translation will be found underneath each word, and a freer translation of the whole at the end. Where the Thado is not given, as in No. vii, I have been very careful to keep as close to the meaning of the Thado as linguistically possible (any interpolations required by the English being shown in brackets) except in the matter of participles, which I have freely translated as finite verbs in order to obtain sentences that end, instead of carrying on interminably from participle to participle as in the original story. Indeed the same liberty has been taken to a lesser extent in recording the original Thado of the first six stories, as I found it otherwise extremely difficult to keep the thread of the original. The references at the end of the English versions of stories iv. and v. are to the notes on the Thado which immediately precede them. The titles are given by the narrator in response to a request for a title. I gathered that they were not themselves traditional.

The tales given here are scanty specimens of a very voluminous folk-lore, but fairly typical. Many themes familiar in English folk-lore are found. Thus in one tale a girl is carried off by a demon. Her six elder brothers perish in the attempt to rescue her, but the seventh and youngest succeeds in reaching her. By simulated affection she coaxes from her demon lover the whereabouts of his external soul. The hero succeeds in ascending to the house of God (Pathen) in the sky and obtaining possession of the pigeon in which it is kept. The girl flees with him, they are pursued and raise obstacles behind them, a cliff, a swamp, etc., in the pursuer's path by means of magi-

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cal objects purloined from the demon himself.[1] In the final struggle between the demon and the hero, the former is disabled by the latter's breaking the pigeon's leg. Again in the story of Ashijoul we find the spiteful bully wearing a full blown flower in his hair, contrasted with the modest and kindly lad who prefers to wear a bud only. The two go out to woo Ashijoul, and the former maltreats those he meets by the way, the other is kind to them. The former is sent about his business with contumely while the latter finds favour with the lady and with the help of the animals he has befriended performs the impossible tasks required by her parents of a suitor for their daughter's hand. On their way home a wer-lioness treacherously devours the bride and takes her place, but a fruit-tree springs from the bride's blood, the bride-groom plucks and puts by the fine fruit from the tree top, from which emerges the true bride who cleans up the house while the couple are in the fields. She is one day caught by her husband, who kills the wer-lioness, from whose corpse springs a plantain tree, and whose severed head becomes a stone. In spite of warnings Ashijoul tries to pick a plantain leaf from the tree, which devours her, and her husband rescues her by cutting down the tree and finding her reduced to miniature inside the tree (cf. the somewhat similar episode in story vii, The Magic Fiddle). She recovers, and again disobeys him by spreading a cloth to dry on the stone that had been her rival's head and is devoured by the head. The husband fails to break it and the story ends by his pulling down the whole village fence and burning it upon the stone which splits with a loud report and discharges its contents to heaven. The fact that *Ashi* means a star may be connected with this but I can find no meaning to attach to *joul*. One rather curious episode is the somewhat fanciful inclusion of a cloud among the "animals" scornfully treated by the villain and helped by the hero. It amazingly rewards him by bringing the other clouds to carry for him up to the house of his prospective father-in law an enormous stone which he has been told to fetch. The clouds carry the stone and the hero walks in the midst of them singing "Ho, ho" as if he were doing the work himself. Most of these stories are extremely discursive and contain many repetitions of approved formulae. They contain much in common with Naga folk-lore (*e.g.* compare the story of Ashijoul with that of Muchupile or Hunchibili, *The Sema Nagas* p. 357, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 280, and Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 188), but much that is distinctively Kuki and in contrast to Naga Folk-lore in general, in particular the introduction of

---

1 So too in the *Story of Kungori* (Lewin, *Exercises in the Lushai Dialect*, p. 84) not only do we find these magical objects, in this case the "seeds" of fire, thorn and water, but two episodes from Jack and the Beanstalk, the *Fee fi fo fum* episode, and the Beanstalk itself.—(Ed.)

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magical paraphernalia in a material form. The heroine of Hunchibili no less than Ashijoul is able to re-incarnate herself in the fruit of a tree, but the Naga stories seem to lack entirely such Aladdin-recalling treasures as Khutshibi and the Magic Fiddle, or the *lohaldang*, which is no less than our old friend "Stick-out-of-bag" scarcely disguised at all, The stories of *Khutshibi* and of the Magic Fiddle contain a number of incidents closely paralleled in the folk-lore of the Lepchas (*vide* *Lepcha Folk-lore*," J.A.S.B., xxi.)—(Ed.)

i. Man and Spirit.

Masangin mi le thilha takhat ahin ; min thilha athat-
Formerly man and spirit alike being man spirit kept
thatnin ahile thilha achen Pathenpa-koma " Min ei-that-
beating and so spirit going to God (said) Man me keep
thatne ei-thatgamding ahithai." Pathenpan thilha-koma
beating me to kill outright is. God to spirit
" Chol-lai-vum na-bolinlang tuikhu-a na-koile-
Yeast-centre-black you having made in water hole you
chun, amit-lai vum-intin, chutheing mutheitapon-
place his-eye-centre black-will-be and thence will be unable
atin." Hiche-kal min thilha amutheilo ahithai.
to see. Since then man spirit unable to see has been.

Free translation of the above :—

In the beginning man and the spirit were alike, but man kept beating the spirit, so it went to God and said " Man keeps beating me the way he will be killing me entirely." God said to the spirit "If you make some yeast cakes with black centres and put them into his well, the centres of his eyes will become black and then he will be unable to see you." From that time man has been unable to see spirits.

ii. The Change of Skin.

Masangin ganhing miong akilipmin, ahitile
Formerly animals mankind changing (their skins) thus
aphapui atiin, uphoh le tang akihousain, ashei-
not good saying toad and lizard causing to contest the one
masa-sa changhin. Tangin "Gul kilip, tang kilip"
to say first will get. Lizard Snake change lizard change
atile, uphoh-in " Mi kilip, phoh kilip" atile, anu-
saying toad Man change toad change saying hav-
nungtan hiche-je-in gul le tang akilipmin,
ing been behind for this cause snake and lizard changing (skin)
mi akilip-theipui. Mi kiliple teshi aumtheipui,
man change could not. Man if changing old could not be

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atething akiliple gullhang ahikitne.
when aged changing (skin) young man would have become again.

Once upon a time animals and men used to change their skins. As it was not regarded as fair[1] a contract was arranged between the toad and the lizard, the first of which to say the word was to have the privilege of changing skins. The lizard said "Snake change, lizard change" and meanwhile the toad said "Man change, toad change" but he was slower. For this reason snakes and lizards change their skin, but man cannot. If he could he would never become old, for when ageing he would change his skin and become young again.

---

[1] That is to the reptiles, who did not change their skins then. The toad is apparently not classed with the reptiles, so perhaps the Thado has not observed that he also changes his skin. Legends of this sort about death are, of course, widespread (*vide* Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, Vol. I, ch. ii), but the Kenharingan version (Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, 176) may be compared with this one.

iii. The Dao-Sharpening.

Chim-that-the.

Chimthatpan[1] **chim athatle kaikongin atôh ahŏlle.**
Dao-sharpener dao sharpening craw-fish fundament prodding
Chimthatpan gova ji aban. Gova ji
Dao-sharpener bamboo tip-end sliced. Bamboo tip-end
apa ngei akhoe Apa akithaile chenai
jungle fowl's cheek pricked jungle fowl scuttling red ant
athaidoh-in chenai avāle ngălchăngpa[1]
having scratched up red ant running along wild Boar's
tīl apetle ngalchangpa akitŏmle ba chen-na
testicle biting wild Boar rushing about bat's abiding place
shaishophung ashulhun; ba alengle saipipa kul-a
wild banana tree overturned bat flying Elephant's ear in
alenglutne saipipa[2] **akitomle meithainu in ashulhue**
flying into Elephant rushing off widow house knocked down.
Meithainun "Saipipa, ida ka-in na-shulhu-
widow Mr. elephant why my house have you knocked
ham?" Saipipan "Ba ka-kul-a alenglutnin." "Ba,
down? Elephant Bat my ear in having flown into. Bat,
ida saipipa kul-a na-lenglutham?" Ngalchangpan
why Elephant's ear-in you fly into?. Mr. wild boar
ka-chenna shaishophung ashulhue." "Ngalchangpa,
my living place wild banana tree overturned. Mr. wild boar,

---

[1] *Pa* suffixed to the names of animals or persons is a sort of honorific = Mr. or the "Brer" of Brer Rabbit, etc., in Uncle Remus.

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ida ba chenna shaishophung na-shuhlhuham ?"
why bat's living place wild banana tree you overturn ?
Chenaiyin ka-til apetnin." "Chenai, ida ngal-
Red ant my testicle having bitten. Red ant, why Mr. wild
changpa til na-petham ?" "Apan ei-thaidoh-e."
boar's testicle you bite ? Jungle fowl me scratched up.
Apa, ida chenai na-thaidohham ?" "Gova ji-
Jungle fowl, why red ant you scratch up ? Bamboo tip-
in ka-ngei akhôe." "Gova ji, ida apa ngei
end my cheek pricked. Bamboo tip, why jungle fowl's cheek
na-khôham ?" "Chimthatpan ei-bane." "Chimthatpa,
you prick ? Dao-sharpener me sliced. Dao-sharpener,
ida gova-ji na-banham?" "Kaikongin ka-tôh
why bamboo-tip you slice ? Craw-fish my fundament
ahŏle." "Kaikong, ida Chimthatpa tôh na-
prodded. Craw-fish, why Dao sharpener's fundament you
hŏlham ?" Kaikongin asheiding ahetapui. Kaikongin
prod ? Craw-fish to say did not know. Crawfish
"Mei-a nei-golechun moltheipthumintin lilai-a nei-
In fire me if toasting will be fruitless in deep pool me
koilechun sanpiintin chapang deidei-
if placing will become very red boy will be delighted
umine" atiin, lilai-a alelutle "Ka-chenna lil
to watch said pool in jumping in my abiding place pool
thujinjen" atiin lilai-a achengthai.
very deep said pool in remained.

The Dao Sharpener was sharpening his dao when the Crawfish came and prodded his anus. Mr. Dao-sharpener sliced off the tip of a bamboo end. The tip of bamboo pricked the cheek of a jungle-fowl. The jungle-fowl, scuttling off, scratched out a red ant, which ran and bit Mr. Wild Boar in the testicles. The Wild Boar dashing about kicked down the wild plantain tree which was the bat's home. The bat flew out and fluttered into Mr. Elephant's ear. The elephant dashed off and knocked over the widow's house. "Mr. Elephant" said she, "why have you knocked down my house ?" Said the Elephant "The bat flew into my ear." "Bat, why did you fly into Mr. Elephant's ear ?" "Mr. Wild Boar threw down the wild plantain tree I live in." "Mr. Boar, why did you do that ? "The red ant bit my testicles." "Red ant, why did you bite the Boar's testicles ?" "The jungle fowl scratched me up." "Jungle Fowl, why did you scratch up the ant ?" "The bamboo tip pricked my cheek." "Bamboo tip, why did you prick the jungle-fowl's cheek." "Mr. Dao-sharpener sliced me off." "Mr. Dao-sharpener, why did you slice off the bamboo tip ?" "The Crawfish prodded my posterior." "Crawfish, why did you prod the

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Dao-sharpener?" The Crawfish did not know what to answer. He said, "You can do nothing by toasting me at a fire. If you put me in a deep pool I shall turn very red,[1] and the boy will be charmed to see it." He jumped into the pool. "The pool I live in is very deep," said he, and in the pool he stayed.

1. One cannot help suspecting condensation here and the loss of some such incident as that of Brer Fox and Brer Rabbit and the briar patch.

iv. The Elephant-apple Carrying.

Ailhanglhum 'puthe.

Nupani acha apu-y-in gamla ha lai-y-a
Wife-husband-pair child carrying in jungle yams to dig
achele, mun khat-na ailhanglum-thei,[1] amĭnin
going place at one elephant apple fruit having ripened
anehlŭnle chuin athei akishiemhlŭnin apuhlŭnle
eating then fruit having made up loads carrying
apujouhlŭntha-hih-in, ajipan "Athei keikhat dalha-
having been unable to carry husband fruit, part leave
hite" atile, ajinun "Ahipui, thei hibang thei-tui dalha-
saying wife no fruit very fruit-sweet will not
puihite. Icha[2] thai-jol-a[3] pengna atha peng-
leave our child womb-threshold-in birthplace new will be
nante, icha dalhahiting thei puhite" atiin. Acha ha
born our child for leaving fruit will carry said child yam
khu-shunga akoi-y-in athei apun ahunghlŭn-
hole-within having placed fruit having carried come to-
thai.[4] Chuin acha chu nishihle akăpkăpjin, nikhat
gether. Then child indeed all day having cried one day
hlominu amuthai. "Vahleningthing nenange" atiin,
wer-lioness found having brought up will eat having said
apuyin avahle alenphatnin nunga-ni-to
having brought having reared when grown big two girls with
akilômin, lo-a akunle[5] shunin lo
having accompanied to field in field going in the day field
ahloule anumeitenin asheipihlŭnin "nanu le
weeding the two girls having explained your mother and
napan naneolaiyin ha chovin napuihlŭnin
your father when you were small yam digging having taken
mun khat-na ailhanglhum thei aminin
you place one-at elephant apple fruit having ripened
ailhanglhum apulhonin nang na-dalhahlŭnin hlominun
elephant apple having taken you having left you wer-lioness
na-puyin 'kavahletthing nenange' atiin,
having taken you when I have reared big will eat said
navah ahi. Tunjong vai nalhunphateing kitomin-
is rearing you. Even now when you get back home having
lang in-shung na-lutlole phapunte.

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become terrific into house you not entering will not be well.
Hlominu kot-sa kot-lhanga[6] **apangin**
Wer-lioness on one side and the other of the door waiting
nathatding nague.'' Chuin amajong inshung
to kill you wishes you Then he too into the house
alutdingteing akitomin alutle hlominu akichan
when entering becoming terrific entering wer-lioness being
athat-ngamthapui. Chujovin amipan hlominu
frightened kill was not brave. Then the man wer-lion-
athatthai. Chuin amajong anu le apa-koma achein-
ess killed. Then he too mother and father-near went
''Thushim sheijinge'' atiin, masanga akhanchanu asheile,
Story will tell said first beginning having
anu le apa akăpthai. Chuin anu acheïn
said mother and father wept. Then mother having gone
athei agasatkeïn anăp anit-khumin sampôn
fruit having cut in half blew her nose[7] hair-combings
ahinkoiyin ''Nangjea kacha kahiti-bol'' atiin
having placed on account of you my child thus did said
ahungin achapa-to mun-khat achengtave. Hiche-
having come son together with dwelt. Thence-
kalchun ailhanglhum thei-shunga apon-khu sampôn
forward elephant apple fruit within filaments hair-combings
ahiin amugil aum-khu anap ahiin.
are kernel that is phlegm of the nose is.

A married couple carrying their child went into the jungle to dig for yams. At one place they found some ripe elephant-apples[1] and ate the fruit and made up loads of what remained but found them too heavy to carry. The husband said "Leave some of the fruit," but the wife said "No, the fruit is very sweet, we won't leave it. More children will be born to us from the womb that bore this. Let us leave the child and take the fruit." So they put the child in a yam-hole and carried the fruit home. The child cried all day long, and one day a wer-lioness found it and said "I will bring this up, and eat it." So she took it and reared it. When the child had grown big he went to the fields with two girls and while weeding the field during the day the girls told him how his parents had taken him a-yam-digging when an infant and had left him behind to take ripe elephant-apples, and how the wer-lioness had found him and was rearing him to eat him. "Even now," said they, "when you get back home you had better go into the house looking very ferocious, for the wer-lioness is waiting inside the door on this side or on that wishful to kill you." So when he went into the house he was very ferocious, and the wer-lioness was scared and dared not attack him. Then he himself killed the wer-lioness,

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and he went to his parents, and he said "I will tell you a tale." And when he told them the beginning of it, they wept. Then his mother left them and cut in half an elephant apple and blew her nose and put the phlegm and the combings of her hair into it, and said "For your sake, my child, I do this." And she came back and they all dwelt together, and from that time forward the hair-combings are to be found as the fibres of the elephant-apple and the rheum of the nose is its kernel.

---

1 **Ailhanglhum** is the tree *Dillenia indica*, the "**o-thenga**" of the Assamese, having a big heavy green fruit, with a very fibrous flesh and a slimy kernel.

2 **I-cha—i** is the dual form of the possessive pronoun of the first person.

3 **Thai** is all the abdomen below the naval; **jol** is usually a horizontal stick laid on two uprights as in the doorway made for ceremonial purposes outside a village, but it may be also used for a horizontal stick similarly placed on the ground.

4 **Hlŭn** here is the root implying accompaniment, and in this as in several preceding verbs gives a dual sense.

5 **Kun** is the root which implies leaving the house, to go to work or to hunt, trade, etc., the departure from the house being the essential sense conveyed.

6 **Kotsa kotlhanga**, i.e., on each side of the door inside the house, not outside and inside the door. Kotsa is the right hand side of the door when facing it from the inside and **Kotlhang** is the left hand side. The **hlominu** is, I think, imagined as moving restlessly backwards and forwards inside the door of the house (? lashing her tail).

7 **Anăp**=mucous from the nose, **anit** is the act of blowing one's nose by wringing it with the finger and thumb and snorting, **khum** is the act of putting inside a receptacle.

---

v. Khutshibi.

Meitai khat achah pashal khat aumthai. Avaichan
widow one child male one remained. Being poor
achahpan acha khat apuun, aju-a achele vadung khatna
child fowl one brought to sell going river one (at)
Milonghon gulpi khat ngoi-a aputave. Gulpi
Nagas[1] big-snake one in fish-trap had brought. Snake
chu Milonghon akihomtave. Chuin pashalpa
indeed Nagas had (agreed to) divide. Then boy
chu achen, "Thathiu'n! Ke acha lavin, gulpi
went do not kill my[2] fowl take snake
lhatavin!" ashei. Chuin amahon alhatave, aacha
release said. Then they released his fowl
alatave. Achuin Milonghon achethai. Ama pashalpa
took. Then Nagas went. He boy
alungdongin vadung-a achelele chuin vadung-a mi
grieving river-in going along then river-in man
khat-to akishutoin. Mipan "Hungin!" atie. Anung-a
one met. Man Come said after him

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achele "Gulpa, nang umhihlechun ke Milonghon
going Friend you if not remaining me Nagas
eithatding ahitan. Nang-in nihin sātthai.[3] **Hungin**
me-about to kill were you my life saved. Come
Ka-in-a cheite." **Achehlunle lampa agulpan asheiin**
my-house-in will go. Going together on path friend said
"Gulpa, ka-nu le ka-pan thilkeo aphapha
Friend my mother and my father property very good
pejonglechun kilahih-in. Ka-nu mecha khutjem
if giving do not take my mother little finger ring[4]
'eipen' tithang" atie. Chuin achelhunle a-in-kom
give me say said. Then going together his house near
aphalhunin amipa alut ngămtapui Chuin agulpan
having reached the man enter was not brave. Then friend
"Ven, gulpa, chung-a vakol lengpikhu" atile chuin
look friend above stork[5] fly big there said then
agulpan avetle avetka-in akengnin amanin lilaia
friend looking while looking legs both seizing in pool
alutpithai. Chuin alutle anoī ahule chuin agulpan
made enter. then entering below being dry then friend
akhănna anu-apa -koma asheile, anu-apan
experiences mother-father with speaking mother-father
atile "Ka-nao, na-gulpao nahinsat. Tun ka-in-a
saying my son, your friend life-saved. Now my house in
thilkeo nadeidei kiputhang" Chuin aman
property you wish-wish take away[6] Then he
"Hepi-hepu, ke mi vaicha ka-i-to
Grandmother and father I man poor me[7]
kilommopunthe nakhut mecha nakipu khutjem chu
cannot but befit[8] your hand little finger wear ring that
ei-pethang!" atile; anomtapui. Chuin agulpan
me-give said (she) was not willing. Then friend
Henu, napelole chekiningthing
Mother, you not giving having gone back
kaŏhna-a ohkithangi kei-shanga
my-be-trapped-place-in will be trapped again me-above
nakhutjem na-itjohle." Chuin anu "Ahile, Icha
your ring you choosing. Then his mother it being so my child
iitjohhidam" atiin, akhutjem apethai. Chuin mipan
will rather choose said ring gave then the man
ahinpuin ahungthai.
having taken came.

Ahunglhunphatnin anukoma "Henu, kōng
at the time of arriving back his mother-with Mother, dish
hinlān" atile anun "Ima-beh-in kong
bring saying his mother "There being nothing dish
kalāĭn ipiding ham?" Chuin anu kong
I having brought what for eh? Then mother dish

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alan apele, akōng-gei chu akhutjemin
having brought giving dish-rim ring-by
akīvin, bu le me akong-a ahungdimin
having struck rice and curry in dish having appeared
anehlunthai. Chujuvin ajiding adonghlunthai
they two ate. Thereafter for wife they two asked
Anumeithen shūmtam shieltam dapi
Relations-in-law many rupees many mithun big gong
dabu kichăng kichung angeole anu
little gongs[9] single bead string of beads asking mother
alung adongin,[10] **"Hijat thilkeo jānkhăt-kaä**
heart having searched This much property within one night
nahinkoile kăchā kipuithang." **Ama-nu**
you depositing my daughter take-in-exchange. His mother
alung adong akăpthai. "I-in-a bu-bel bon
heart Search wept. In my house rice-plate even
umloa, mān ijad huiya kilādeham?" **atiin**
is-not price so much whence am to bring having said
achethai. **Alhunphatnin achapan anu adongthai**
went. At time of arriving boy mother asked
"Nape naüm?" **ati.** **"Epenai ahivangin shum-le**
Did you give said to give though be rupees and
shiel tampi angeove," **atile, achapan "Ipipiham**
mithun much demanded saying boy how
sheithang," **asheithai.** **Chuin akhutjemin akovin**
say said. Then ring (by) called
jankhat-kāïn ange ejadjad akoithai. **Chuin anumeinu**
one night-within ask as much as placed then girl
akipuithai. **Chuin ashu-akol tampi ahithai.** **Chuin**
brought back then retinue much was then
haosha[11] **ahithai.**
chief was.

Nikhat ashuhon loulhoh vetdinga achele, akhutjem
One day servants field-clean to look at going ring
in-a kongvo-shunga akoiin ahaithai. **Ahungkaïn**
in house bag inside[12] having placed lost Before came
mikhat akhutjem aguthai. **Ahunglhunphatnin**
a man ring stole. At time of coming and arriving
Khutshibi[4] **aholmothai** **Chuin alung adongin**
Khutshibi searched in vain then heart having searched
awicha le amengcha angoe, **"Naholdohlole nangni**
dog and cat put to You not search find if you two
kathatding." **Chuin awicha-le amengcha aholin**
I will kill Then dog and cat searching
achehlunthai. **Wichan "Kanao mengcha,**
went together. Dog (by) My younger brother cat
itidinghitam?" **Mengchan "Hëu, pal-kom**
how is this going to be? Cat (by) Elder brother fence-near

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chān!" hiti. **Achanhlunle yucha khat**
wait so said Having lain in wait together rat one
amanthai. Mengchan "Hëu, nang alulang
caught Cat (by) Elder brother you head side
chăngin kei atholang chăngding netahite"
taking I fundament side will take we (two) will eat
atile, yuchan "Ei-nehlunhih-in na-titi
saying rat (by) Me-you two don't eat if your whatever
hol-pe-in" atile, "Kapu Khutshibi min
will search give saying My grand-father Khutshibi man (by)
agun, hi-chu galan." Yuchan le noi-a ku ashin
stole this bring rat earth under hole burrowing
a-in noia achedoh-in alel atuvangin
house under having emerged "jappa"[13] having pierced
aholle; amupui; chuin amipa-chung aholle;
searched did not find then man-over searched
akhutna akibun; ahinlan; mengcha-le wicha apethai.
on hand remaining having taken eat and dog gave
Chuin mengchan "Ken ka-mei-a pung" atile. Wichan
Then cat (by) I my-tail-on will carry said dog (by)
"Ken ka-kam-a möm-nang"[14] atile. Wichan amömin
I my-jaws-in will hold saying dog (by) having held
ahunghlunle vadung khatna lilai-a nga amu; ahăple
going together river one pool-in fish saw barking
Khutshibi ahlalutnin; nga-meibong khatnin avălthai.
Khutshibi fell in broken-tailed-fish[15] one (by) swallowed
Chuin wichan "Kanao, i-itiding-hitam?" atile.
then dog (by) My yr. brother what about it saying
Mengchan "Hëu, vadung chan" hiti.
cat (by) Elder brother river Lie in wait thus
Achanhlunle satuilu te-nupa
Having lain in wait together other male and female
amanhluthai. Mengchan "Hëu, nangin achal
they two caught cat (by) Elder brother you (by) male
nenlang, ken anu nenge" atile. Satuilu tenupa
if eat I (by) female will eat saying otter pair
"Ei nehlunhih-in natiti bolpiinge" atile.
me do not having eaten you whatever will carry out saying
"Hea ngameibong khun kapu Khutshibi
there broken-tailed-fish that my grand-father Khutshibi
avălle, galan!" Satuilunin agamanin athătnin
swallowing bring otter (by) having caught having killed
agil ashouvin akhutjem aladohthai.
stomach having disembowelled ring brought out
Shoung-chunga aphoule mu-vanlai-in ahunghlohthai.
stone-on drying kite (by) came-snatched.
Chuin wichan "Kanao, itiding hitam? atiin, meng-
Then dog My younger what about it? said Cat
brother

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chan "Hëu! Lhangdung changhiti," atile. Achang-
Elder brother hill Let us go up said. On re-
lhunle khuili tenupa amanlhunthai.
aching the top marten male and female succeeded in catching.
Chuin mengchan "Hëu! nangīn achal nenlang
Then cat Elder brother you male eating
ken anu nenge", atile. Khuili tenupa "Ei nehlun-
I female will eat said. Marten pair Us do not
hi-in! natiti bolpiding" atile. Khua mu-
eat whatever you say will do said. There kite
vanlai khun kăpu khutshibi ahlohin, galan!" atile
that father Khutshibi has seized, catch said
Chuin khuili anchălpa thinga akalin anupan
Then marten male on a tree having climbed female
toula mu lie atōpan, doi-y-in abolhlunin
on ground kite shadow sat on with magic having done
amanlhunthai. Amu athătnin akhutjem ala-
succeeded in catching. Kite having killed ring took
dohthai. Chuin mengcha apethai. Menncha le
out. Then cat gave. Cat and
wichan ahinpun ahunghlunle lămpa mengchan
dog carrying while coming on path cat
wicha-hienga "Ilhunthing ipun 'Meh tuwi
to the dog When we have arrived grandfather viands nice
bu tuwi hung nehlunin' tiintin, itivekuyongle
rice nice come you two eat will say although calling very persistently
ganepu-hi-ti" atiin. Achelhunle alhunlhunin
don't go eat up said. When they arrived as soon as arrived
apun bu nedinga akule. Iiti akuvangin mengcha
master rice to eat called. Thus on calling cat
anompui: wicha achein aganethai. Chuin
did not obey dog having gone ate up. Then
wicha ahungdohle kimpuma mengcha-to
dog when coming out in the porch with the cat
akidilthai. Hichekalchung wicha le mengcha akitomôthai
fought. Thenceforward dog and cat have not agreed.

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1 **Milong** is used more particularly for Kabuis and Kachha Nagas, but is also used generally for any Naga as distinct from a Kuki or a Manipuri.

2 **Ke**—an alternative form for **Ka**, probably used here to avoid the awkwardness of identical vowels in juxta position.

3 **Nihinsatthai**=(You) have saved my life.
Nahinsatthai=You have saved (his) life.
Kahinsatthai=I have saved (your) life.

4 **Khutjem**=literally "hand-ornament"—**Khut**='hand,' **jem**='gem.' The exact meaning of **Khutshibi** I have been unable to

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ascertain. It is the name given to the ring or to the genius of the ring.

5 **Vakol**—a bird not certainly identified; said to be seen flying over head in line and wedge formations at a very great height indeed, to be long-legged and of large size, though not like the **Mulaopi** (?=the roc) which can carry off men.

6 This **ki**-always conveys a reciprocal sense and here implies "in exchange for what you have done"

7 **Ka-ito**—the *i* gives a sort of deprecatory emphasis and the sense conveyed here is "as it is only me, a very humble individual".

8 **Kilom**='becoming' (precisely).
mo=not
Punthe=cannot be.
The idea conveyed is that the meanest ornament will fitly become so humble an individual. Thado women commonly wear on their fingers brass wire rings of no value at all.

9 **Dabu** is a set of three small gongs which should be in tune at a semitone apart.

10 **Adong** by itself='ask,' only with **alung** ('heart') does it mean 'be troubled.'

11 **Hao**='rich'
sha= (1) 'thick', (2) 'animals'. Probably the first meaning is the one in this compound which implies a man of substance

12 **Kongvo**=a small flat bag-like basket of woven cane used, in particular, by women when sowing grain.

13 **Alel**=the tall covered basket used for carrying and storing property. It is made of cane and bamboo in two thicknesses with bamboo leaves in between to keep it water-proof. For illustration *vide* Shakespear *Lushei Kuki Clans*, page 10.

14 **Möm**=to carry in the mouth without biting; **pit**=to carry in the closed teeth.

15 Apparently a particular individual, not a species.

There was a widow with an only son. As they were in need, the boy took a fowl to sell, and coming to a river found some Nagas who had got a big snake in a trap, and had agreed to divide it. So the boy went up to them and said "Don't kill it, take my fowl and let the snake go," so they let it go and accepted the fowl, and went away. While the boy was walking sorrowfully along the bed of the river, a man met him. "Come", said the man, and, as the boy followed him, "my friend, only for you the Nagas would have killed me. You have saved my life. Come! let us go to my house." As they went along together the stranger said to his companion, "Friend, whatever valuables my parents offer you, don't take them. Ask for the ring on my mother's little finger." But when they got near the stranger's house the boy was afraid to enter, so the companion said "Look, friend, at that great stork[1] flying up there," and as he was looking he caught both legs and pulled him into the pool. Down below it was dry and when the stranger had told his parents his

[1] See above note 5.

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adventure they said "My son, you saved your friend's life. In return take anything in this house that you fancy." So he replied "Grand-parents, I am a poor man; the ring on your little finger is fitting enough for such as I.[1] Give that to me" said he, but she was reluctant to comply. Then his friend said "Mother, if you don't give it I will go back and get caught again in the trap as before, for you will be valuing your ring above me." On that his mother said "Very well, my child, I would rather have you," and gave the boy the ring, and he took it and went home.

As soon as he got home he said to his mother "Mother, bring a dish," she answered "and when I have brought it, what use?—and we with nothing to put in it." But when his mother had brought the dish he tapped with the ring on the brim of the dish, and rice and curry appeared in the dish and the two of them ate it. By and by the two of them asked for a girl as a wife for the boy, but as the girl's relatives asked much cash and many mithun, big gongs, little gongs in sets,[2] single beads, and bead necklaces the heart of the mother was troubled. "This property you must hand over to us by to-morrow morning" said they "if you want our daughter in exchange." So the boy's mother's heart was troubled, and she wept. "And me without one rice-dish in my house" said she "where will I get so great a price?" and with that she went home. When she arrived the boy asked his mother, "Did you give the price?" Said he, "Even if I would be giving it" said she "they asked very many rupees and mithun." "Tell me how much," said the boy, and with the help of the ring he produced all that was asked within one night, so the bride was brought back, and the boy became a chief with many retainers.

One day when going to see his servants weeding his field he missed his ring, which he had put in a bag[3] in his house. A man stole the ring during his absence. As soon as he got home he searched for Khutshibi, but in vain. Then in his trouble he put it to his dog and his cat "If you two do not search for and find (Khutshibi), I will kill you" said he, so the dog and the cat went a-searching together. Said the dog "Young cat, my lad, what about it?" "Sir," said the cat, "let us hide by the fence," so they lay in wait together and caught a rat. "Sir", said the cat, "let you start at the head and I will start at the tail, and between us we will eat him up." Said the rat "Please don't eat me, you two, and I will find and give you whatever you want." "A man has stolen grand-father Khutshibi", was the answer, "fetch it!" The rat burrowed underground and came up inside the man's house, and gnawed a hole into and searched

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1 See above note 8.
2 ,, ,, ,, 9.
3 ,, ,, ,, 12.

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his clothes-basket,[1] but did not find the ring, so then he searched the man's person and found that he was wearing the ring, so he took it and gave it to the cat and the dog and the cat said "I will carry it on my tail" but the dog said "I will carry it in my mouth," and as he was carrying it they saw a fish in a pool in a river and he barked at it and Khutshibi fell into the river and a broken-tailed fish[2] swallowed it. Then the dog said "My boy, what about it?" "Hide by the river, Sir", said the cat. They did so and caught a pair of otters. "If you will eat the dog otter, sir, I will eat the bitch" said the cat. "Don't eat us," said the otters, "and we will do whatever you tell us." "Bring us that there broken-tailed fish that has swallowed our grandfather Khutshibi." The otters caught the fish, killed it, disembowelled it and got out the ring. As it was drying on a stone a kite swooped down and took it. "What about it, young man?" said the dog. "Let us climb that hill, sir" said the cat, and on reaching the top they managed to catch a pair of martens. Said the cat "Let you eat the jack, sir, and I will eat the jill," but the martens said "Don't eat us, and we will do whatever you wish." "That kite there has seized Father Khutshibi; catch him" said they. Then the male marten climbed a tree and the female sat on the shadow of the kite on the ground, and by using magic they succeeded between them in catching the kite. So they killed the kite and extracted the ring and gave it to the cat. While the cat and the dog were carrying it along the homeward path, the cat said to the dog "When we get home our master will call us both to come and have a really good meal. However much he keeps on calling don't you go and eat it up." The moment they got in their master called them to come and eat, and although he called them thus the cat did not obey, but the dog went and ate it up. Then as the dog was coming out he fought with the cat in the porch. Since that time the dog and the cat have not agreed together.

N.B.—An elaborate version of this theme appears in Bompas' *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, XXII—'Sita and his Animals', as well as an impoverished one in XXXIII, 'Ramai and the Animals'.

vi. The Vine-cutters.

Lengbanthe.

Pasal	**khat**	**acha**	**pasal**	**sagi**	**ahi.**	**Ni**	**khat**
Male	one	children	male	seven	were.	Day	one
lo	**avatnule**	**alo**	**laia**	**lengpe**[1]	**alen**	**khat**
field	when cutting	field	in midst	vine	great	one

[1] See above note 13.
[2] " " " 15.

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aume. **Apavin** "**Chathe, hiche lengpe ki-bănthetnu-**
was. Father children this vine let us cut for
hite! **Abăn-than-lolo** **Hlo-kotna**[2] **kithunghinte.**"
a wager! The one who does lion's door way shall sit.
not cut right through

Ni khat anu chimpong nolin apangin
Day one mother dao to sharpen set to
achathe-a heimthetnin anolin apava akalelangin[3]
children's extremely sharp having father's wrong side
sharpened

anolin achevin akibanthetnule achathen abanthanin
having having cutting for a children having cut
sharpened gone wager through
apavin abanthanjoupui. **Chuin achathen** "**Hepa,**
father did not cut through. Then children Father
chedathan." **Apan** "**Ithisha ida jou kishei-**
do not go. Father My spoken pledge why false say
dam?" **atiin.** **Achein Hlokotna akithungthai.**
again said. Going Lion's doorway sat in.
Sanga[4] **ahungin** "**Koi nahim ka-kotna kithung?**
Wild cat coming Who you? my doorway sit
nengkhate" **atiin, aman** "**Ei-nethang! Ka-pulading**
will eat said He Eat me Will come to
fetch me

chunga āshijad noia telnajad ka-chimthatna
above stars how many below leaves how my dao sharpener
many
Aichi-shoung[5] **ka-thal shuina vŏ-buh**[6] **tei**"
Aichi stone my arrow shavings boar's lair so many
atile, sangain akichan ajamthai. Humpi ahungkithai.
saying wild cat afraid ran. Tiger came along
"**Koi nahim ka-kotna kithung? nengkhate**" **atiin,**
who you my doorway sit will eat having
said

aman "**Ei-nethang! Ka-pulading chunga**
he Eat me Will come to fetch me above
ashi-jad noia telna-jad, ka-chimthatna
stars how many below leaves how many my dao sharpener
Aichi-shoung, ka-thal shuina vo-buh tei"
Aichi-stone my arrow shavings boar's lair so many
atile, humpin akichan ajamthai. Chujovin hlo
saying tiger afraid ran. After that lion
ahungin, "**Koi na-him ka-kotna kithung?**
having come who you my doorway sit
nengkhate" **atiin, aman** "**Ei-nethang! Ka-pulading**
will eat having said he eat me. Will come to
fetch me

chunga ashi-jad noia telna-jad, ka
above stars how many below leaves how many my

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chim thatna Aichi-shoung, ka-thal shuina vo-buh
dao sharpener aichi-stone my arrow shavings boar's lair

tei" atile, hlo ahungin anethai. Chujovin
so many, said lion having come ate. After that

achathe pasal sagi apula achele, lampa
children male seven to fetch going path

ani-koma ageipan, anin bu
father's sister with spent the night father's sister rice

le sa ju ashimpein akipuin achele,
and flesh liquor having prepared having taken going

ahlo in alhunlin janin hlopan
lion house having arrived in the night lion

naichim-hinga "Pachin, phel[7] gil" atiin,
to mouse Mr. mouse bow cut saying

naichim achein guphel agilin, ayingin pasal sagi
mouse going bow cutting in morning male seven

păl-lēa apangin hlopa-koma "Kă-pa na-ne
wall-on waiting lion-to My father you eaten

hungthohteimin" atile, hlopa ahung-dohle
shew how saying lion coming out

aguphel-a akāple, aguphel abonggămthai
with their bow shot (at) their bow broke utterly.

Chujovin hlopan athatgamthai. Chujovin anu
After that lion killed entirely. Then mother

alungdongmanin in-chunga[8]
having grieved at heart on the top of her the house

alumin akāle, Pathenpan guphel-a ape'le
lying down weeping God with bow shooting

agayin, chujovin ashophatnin acha pasal
impregnated then at the time of birth child male

ahin thi-kang[9] le thi-guphel-to asho'thai.
getting iron bean and iron bow-with was born.

Ahunglenphatnin agulhoñ-to kang-a
At time of becoming big with companions with bean

akikaple agulhon kang akapkein
making reciprocal shots companions' bean having struck

agulhon "Hiti hatnan na-pa le na-ute
companions thus strong if your father and your elder brethren

phu-latang!" Amayong anu-koma achein "Henu,
retaliate-bring So he to his mother going Mother,

Ka-pa le ka-ute ipin athatham?"
my father and my elder brothers what killed?

asheiyin Anun "Gaplēng- chan na-phatnin
having said his mother paddy drying platform like when you are

sheinange" atiin, achapa akite' loiloiloile
will say said her child quickly-measuring

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gapleng-chan aphatthai. "Henu, tūn
rice drying platform like attained. Mother to-day
sheithang, gapleng-chan kaphatthai atile,
say rice-drying platform like I have attained saying
anun "Na-gullhanting sheinange." Chujovin
mother When you are adult will say. Then
agullhanphatnin anun "Na-pa le
at the time of becoming adult mother Your father and
na-ute thatna hlo ahi" atile,
your elder brothers killer lion is saying
"Aphulanching" atiin, athi-guphel akipu'in
Will revenge him saying iron-bow having taken
achele, lampa-a ani-koma ageipan
going path-on with father's sister having spent night
anin "Ka-nao, hoiya na-chedeham?" atile,
father's sister My child whither are you going saying
aman "Ka-pa le ka-ute phulading kahi,"
he My father and my brothers to revenge I am
anin "Ka-nao, Che-hih-in! Na-ute hijad-bon
aunt My child, do not go Your brothers as many as all
thigamthai. Na-changin thatjoupōnăthe" atiin,
are dead entirely. You alone will not be able to kill having said
aman "Ahivangin, chetheiyinge." Chuin anin
he nevertheless shall be able to go. Then aunt
"Na-ute le na-pa phu na-lajoudingle
your elder brothers and your father revenge if you will take in
shoung thātle-inlang ahunghla-ka-in
full stone throwing up before it has fallen back
ju-leng[10] khat chiep lhanlang chule ka-vocha thu
liquor mark one suck completing then my pig fist
shom[11] maninlang in-dung in-vai
ten seizing house length house breadth
ship-khup-minlang hiching chu na-boljoule,
pitching over this indeed if you do completely
na-ute le na-pa phu-lānăté." Aman ani
your brother and your father revenge shall bring. He aunt
shei-shei aboljouvin, chuin anin a-vocha
say-say having done completely then aunt her pig
athatpiin aposhain, ju alhohpiin satao
having killed made to carry liquor having siphoned animal's fat
um khat ashiempi "Hlopa in na-lhunteingle
gourd one prepared lion's house when you reach
ju pēnătin lhoung ong-ka-a[12] bulhanlung; nang
liquor will give machan hole-between pour completely your
ju doninlang. Sa penatin lhoung ong-ka-a
liquor drink. Flesh will give platform hole between
paimanginlang, nang sa nen Ju na-pe
having thrown away your flesh eat liquor you given

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na-ute thi ahín, sa na-pe na-ute sa ahi."
your brothers' blood is flesh you given your flesh is
Chuin ama achele hlopa in alhunphatnin hlopan ju
then he going lion's house when reaching lion liquor
apein, aju abulhan ama ju
giving his liquor having poured away his liquor
adonin; sa ape'le, apaimangin ama
having drunken flesh when gave having thrown away his own
sa ane. Jahnin hlopan "Pachin, phel gil" atile,
flesh ate. At night lion Mr. mouse bow notch saying
pachinin "Hepu, ha bei-in." Janin hlopa acha
Mr. mouse Grand father tooth are not. At night lion fowl
ahungkhunle "Ki-ki-i-i, Chongpu ti-ni, jinpa
crowed out Cock-a-doodle-do Chongpu death-day stranger
hāt-ni" atile, hlopan aacha lol ame-e. Chuin
strength-day saying lion his fowl gullet squeezed. Then
acha akhunkitle "Ki-ki-i-i, Chongpu hat-ni,
fowl crowing again Cock-a-doodle-do Chongpu strength-day
jinpa ti-ni," atile, hlopan a-acha bu ape-e.
stranger death-day saying lion his fowl cooked rice gave
Ayingin amipan thing khat ahoh akho-in
Next morning the man tree a bark having stripped
akathouma satao-um athătke-in, ama apangin,
fork animal's fat gourd having broken [13] he waiting
ahlopa-koma "Ka-pa le ka-ute na-bol
to the lion My father and my elder brothers what you did
hungthohteimin!" Chuin ahlopa ahungdoh-in
come show how. Then the lion having come out
"Thohtaleng." Amei apongsāngin achople amipa
Will show. His tail having lifted jumping man
aman-diichet. Chun amipan aguphelin akam-hom
just failed to seize. Then man with bow maw-aperture
akaple alumthan, amipa akumding
shooting having lain (as though asleep) man to come down
akichan khuiva ahunlengin amipan "Pa-khui khuiva,
afraid bee coming flying man Mr. Honey Bee
kă-sā-kāp gavetteimin! Athiha ahingham
the animal I have killed please examine. Dead or alive
gavetteimin" Khuiva achein atoh vuvuatin, alu vuvuatin,
please see Bee going anus buzzing head buzzing
ashunga aluin athin hal-khat apon achethai. Chuin
inside entering liver a piece carrying went. Then
khuingal ahungkitnin amipan "Pa-khui Khuingal,
hornet coming along man Mr. Hornet Bee
ka-sa-kap gavetteimin! Athiha ahingham?"
the animal I have killed please look at Dead or alive
Khuingal achein atoh vuvu alu vuvu atiin ashunga
Hornet going anus buzz head buzz saying inside

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aluin athin halkhat apon achethai. Chuin amipa
entering liver a piece carry went. Then man
ahungkumin ahlopa lu-to a-ute lu le
getting down lion head elder brothers' head head and
apa lu-to ahinpun ahungle ama khulche-ke-in
father's head bringing coming he during his peregrinations
anu min anagemjiin anun kot anakānin
mother man visiting-by-night mother door having fastened
a-in ahunglhunphatnin "Henu, kot nei-honin!"
the house when arriving at Mother, door open me
Anun, "Kacha na-hipui. Honpunge." "Henu, na-cha
mother my son you are not will not open Mother your son
ka-hinai. Nei-ta'sănlole tăpkung-a pătjăng janinlang
I am me if not believe at hearth thread having stretch-
ka-kāp-thănle na-cha hiingting, ka-kap-thanlole
ed I shoot dividing your son shall be if I do not shoot and
na-cha hipunge." Anun ajanin akaple
divide your child will not be Mother stretching shooting
akapthanin, ahivangin anu atha sang-hih-in,
shoot-dividing nevertheless mother true not believing
ahonpui. Amanjong anu-koma "Henu, yingkating
did not open. He to his mother Mother in the morning
shum-shung[14] **venlang, āgil**[15] **venlang chule**
on the paddy mortar look hen-roost look then
kolmung vetthan!" Yingka anu athouvin shum-shung
horizon look at Morning mother rising on the paddy-
avetle hlopa lu a-umin, agil avetle
mortar looking lion head being chicken-roost looking
achate le aji lu a-umin, kolmung avetle
sons and husband head being horizon looking at
achapa chimpongle aval amun, alungdonmanin, hlopa
son dao-shake flesh saw having grieved lion
muñmul ajoutnin akāle, akhutchal āttănin, athithai.[16]
whiskers stroking wept fore-finger having cut off died.

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1 **lengpe** a variety of wild grape.

2 **hlo** certainly means a lion, and it is a curious thing that several Assam hill-tribes whose habitat is far removed from that of lions should have such clear traditions of the animal. It has been suggested that the lion's range was very much further east than it now is before the intrusion of the tiger from the east, and the Indian lion, now limited to Kathiawar in the extreme west, seems to have been well known in the Central Provinces a hundred years ago. The Kuki however may have picked up his knowledge of it from the Mon or Burmese, who must have known of it through the intrusive Indian culture of the Talaings, and the Abor may have got his *via* Tibet. It is to be noted that Nagas have no word for lion and no tradition of it.

3 **akalelangin**, 'on the wrong side,' i.e., not on the back of the dao, but on the wrong side of the edge. The old type of Thado dao **(chimkol)** and the modern type of pseudo-kukri

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pattern both have a plano-convex edge which must be sharpened on the convex side. Sharpening on the other side will merely blunt it. It can be used only with a downward stroke from the right or an upward one from the left unless specially made in the reverse form for a left-handed man. The long narrow curved Kuki blade derived from the Shan type (**chim-jam**) has however, a normal cutting edge which is sharpened on both sides.

4 **sanga**—the leopard cat, *felis bengalensis*.

5 **Aichi-shoung**. The significance of this appears not to be known; **shoung** is a stone, but I could not get any explanation of **aichi**, except that **chi**=hard. **Ai**=a ceremony, but there seems to be no connection.

6 **vobuh**. The wild pig collect great piles of sticks and grass in the jungle, apparently as a protection against their natural enemies. Solitary boars sometimes sleep in them, and the sows farrow there.

7 **phel**—not the bow-string, as one might perhaps have expected, but the bow itself. The incident recalls Herodotus' account of the defeat of Senacherib King of Assyria. The old Testament merely says that the Assyrians were smitten by the Angel of the Lord (II Kings, xix, 35; II Chron, xxxii, 21; Isaiah, xxxvii, 36) so that "When they arose early in the morning behold they were all dead men," but Herodotus (II, 141) says that a number of field-mice poured in upon them and devoured their quivers and bows, and the handles of their shields, so that on the next day, when they fled bereft of arms, many were slaughtered.

8 **in-chunga**—'on the house top'—A Thado house has a slanting roof, ill fitted for reclining, nor is it usual for persons to climb them for that purpose, though not of course, impossible. The visualization like some others in this story, e.g., that of the seven sons sitting on the wall, rather suggests a more solid material culture, the flat roofs of a brick-built city, perhaps, such as the walled city of their fore-fathers of which the Chins sang to Major Fryer (*Khyeng People of the Sandoway District, Arakan*, J.A.S. 1 of 1875).

9 **kang**. This bean is a seed like a very large flat horse-chestnut, and comes from the gigantic pod of the sword-bean creeper *Entada scandens*. It is used throughout the Assam hills, at any rate south of the Brahmaputra, for games in which a competitor has to strike the beans set up by others. In Manipur an ivory disc is used. The Karens of Burma know the game with the seeds, and Cole (*The Tinguian*, p. 277) describes from the Philippine Islands a form of the same game identical with one form popular among the Angami. It extends to Oceania. In Fiji the bean is called *walai* and the game *lávo* (Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 16), *cf.* the Sema name *alas*. In Samoa it is played with cocoanut discs (Brown, *Melanesian and Polynesians*, p. 341). Among the Thado, as among most Assam hill tribes, the game is seasonal, and is only played between the harvest and the sowing, though McCulloch notes that in Manipur, where it is played with an ivory disc and beans and called **Kang-sānaba**, "it is played only in the spring" *Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, p. 26).

10 **ju-leng**, "peg," *v. supra*, p. 93 n. 4.

11 **thu shom**, lit.=10 fists. A pig is measured by taping its girth behind the shoulders with a sliver of bamboo, straightening out the resulting circumference and halving it by doubling the tape and measuring that half against the height of the

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closed fist across the fingers. A ten fist pig therefore, is one that has a girth of twenty fists round the upper ribs.

12 **ongka**,—the cracks between the planking, or the bamboos, of the raised floor of the house.

13 **athatke**—he broke the gourd that the fat might run down the tree trunk and make it slippery so that the lion should be unable to climb.

14 **shum-shung**—paddy mortar—usually a vertical section of a tree-trunk hollowed in the middle.

15 **agil**—hen-roost—a platform usually above the door and under the eaves of the front gable of the house communicating by a small door with a loft in the roof of the house cut off from the living room by a mat partition. Almost all Thado houses have this accommodation for their fowls.

16 And on this account, it is said, a Thado killing a tiger always singes the whiskers, and makes quite sure that they shall cut off no fingers.

There was a man who had seven sons. One day when clearing a field they beheld a great vine in the midst of it. Said the father "My sons, let us make a contest of cutting this, and the one that fails to cut clean through, let him go and sit in the gateway of the lion." [1] So on a day his wife, having set herself to whet, whetted her children's daos exceeding sharp, but their father's she whetted on the wrong side.. [2] So they went to their cutting contest and the sons cut through the vine, but the father cut not through it. Said the sons, "Father, do not go," but their father said "Why belie the word I gave?" So he went to the lion's gateway and sat there. A wild cat [3] came by. "Who are you that sit in my gateway? I will eat you" it said, and the man answered "Eat me! as the stars in the heavens, as the leaves upon the earth, so is the number of those that will come to find me; my sword has been whetted on the Aichi-stone, [4] and the whittlings from my arrows equalled the lairs of wild swine [5] in volume." The wild cat was afraid and fled. A tiger came. "Who are you that sit in my gateway? I will eat you" said he. The man repeated his former saying, and the tiger was afraid and fled. Then the lion came. "Who are you that sit in my gateway? I will eat you" he said. The man said "Eat me! As the stars in the heavens, as the leaves upon earth, so is the number of those that will come to find me; my sword has been whetted on the Aichi-stone, and the whittlings from my arrows equalled the lairs of wild swine in volume." The lion came and ate him.

Thereafter the seven sons went in search of him. They slept on the way at the house of their father's sister, and she got ready rice and meat and drink, and they took it and came to the house of the lion. In the night the lion said to the mouse

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NOTES [1] to [5]—*v. supra.*

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"Mr. Mouse, gnaw bows."[9] So the mouse went and gnawed their bows. In the morning the seven young men waited on the wall, and called to the lion "Show us how you ate our father," and the lion came out and they drew their bows but the bows brake in twain. Then the lion made an end of them. Then their mother grieving in her heart lay on her house-top[10] and wept, and God loosed His bow at her, and caused her to conceive. And when her child was born he was a man-child and he had with him at birth an iron bean[11] and iron bow withal. And when he was grown and played with his fellows, he used always in his turn to strike his play-fellows' beans with his bean, till they said "If you are so strong, go and take revenge for your father and your brethren." So he went to his mother and said "Mother, what killed my father and my brothers?" "When you are as high as the platform for drying the paddy, I will tell you" said she. The boy grew up quickly to the height of the platform, "Mother" he said "tell me to-day. I have reached the platform," but she said "When you are a man I will tell you." Then when he became a man, his mother said to him "The slayer of your father and your brethren is the lion." "I will take revenge" said he, so he took his iron bow and set forth and by the way he spent the night at the house of his father's sister. "My child," she said "Whither goest thou?" He said "I go to avenge my father and my brothers." Said his aunt "My child, do not go. Your brothers, every one of them, are utterly cut off. You are alone, and alone you cannot kill him." But he answered "Nevertheless I can undertake it." Then his aunt said "If you would avenge in full your father and your brothers let you throw up a stone, and before it has fallen back to earth, drink this jar empty down to the peg,[12] then catch that pig of mine, twenty palms in girth,[13] and pitch it over the length of the house and over the breadth of the house. If you can accomplish this, then indeed shall you take revenge for your brothers and your father." And all that his aunt had said he did. So she killed her pig and gave it him to take with him, and she drew off wine * for him and made him ready a gourd full of fat (saying) "When you reach the house of the lion he will give you wine; pour it all down a gap in the platform[12]; drink your own wine. He will give you meat; cast it away through a gap in the platform[12]; eat your own meat. The wine he gives you is your brethren's blood, and the flesh the flesh of your brothers." Then he went to the house of the lion, and when he came there the lion gave him wine, and he poured it away and drank his own wine; he gave him meat, and he cast it away and ate his own meat. At night the lion said "Mr. Mouse, notch bow,"

NOTES 9 to 14—*v. supra.*

* *i. e.*, rice wine, of course; commonly translated as "rice-beer," but it is much more wine than beer.

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and master mouse came back and said "My Lord, I have no teeth left." In the night the lion's cock crew with a "Cock-a-doodle-do, Chongpu's death day, stranger's strength day," and the lion squeezed his gullet. Then the cock crew again "Cock-a-doodle-do, Chongpu's strength day, stranger's death day," and the lion fed him. On the morrow the man stripped the bark off a tree and broke the gourd of fat at the fork [13] (in which he sat) and waited. He called out to the lion "Show that which you did to my father and my brothers." Then the lion came forth with "I will show." And he lashed his tail and leaped at the man and well nigh seized him. Then the man shot with his bow into the open maw, and the lion lay still. But the man was afraid to come down, and as there came by a bee flying he called to him "Pray, Mr. Honey Bee, look at that animal I have shot, whether it be dead or alive." The bee went and buzzed at its vent, buzzed at its head, and went inside and flew off with a scrap of the liver. Then there came by a hornet; said the man, "Pray Mr. Hornet Bee, look at that animal I have shot, is it dead or alive?" The hornet went and made a buzzing at the vent and a buzzing at the head and went inside and carried off a scrap of the liver. Then the man came down and took the lion's head and took the heads of his brothers and his father and brought them home. Now while he was away a man had been visiting his mother by night and she had fastened the door and when her son arrived the house was shut and he cried "Mother, open me the door." "You are not my son," she answered, "I will not open." "Mother" said he, "I am indeed your son. If you believe me not stretch a thread across the hearth and if I shoot at * and cut the thread you will know that I am your son, and if I fail to sever it, I shall be no child of yours. She stretched the thread, he shot it in two, but nevertheless she did not believe him and opened not. So he said to his mother "Mother, when dawn comes look on the paddy mortar, [14] look on the hen-roost [15] and then look towards the horizon." Early his mother rose and looked on the paddy mortar, and the lion's head was there, and she looked on the hen-roost, and her sons' and husband's heads were there, and she looked at the horizon, and her youngest son was flashing his dao to her and she saw the gleam of it, and her heart was troubled and she wept. And as she wept she was stroking the lion's whiskers, and she cut off her fore-finger thereby and died.[16]

Notes [13] to [16]—*v. supra.*

* The arrow would be aimed through the interstices of the bamboo matting of the wall.

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vii. The Magic Fiddle.[1]

There was once a king[2] who had seven wives and seven mares. The seven wives were pregnant for seven years and the seven mares were for seven years in foal. On this account he was troubled at heart and went to ask the advice of a priest[3] in the plains. The priest told him to keep his seven wives and seven mares at a place seven days' journey distant from him, on which they would all give birth within seven days, "And when you look on your son," said he, "you will go blind."

After all that he was washing his face one day, when his son came by on horseback. On looking up to see who it was, he went blind. Then he called his son and told him to bring to him his mother and the other wives.[4] He brought them. After that the son of a widow in the village had a dream. He dreamed that God[5] appeared to him and told him to go and cure the King's eyes. He said "I am a poor man, how can I go and cure them?" God said "Go to that range of hills. There there is a tree on which sits a roc[6] and a tree whereon perches a great horned owl. Cut down these two trees and make of one a fiddle and of the other a boat and a paddle."[7] Next morning he went to the king and said "Give me serving men and I will perform a ceremony that will cure you of your blindness." The king gave him serving men and he took them to the range of hills. There he felled the two trees and made the implements as God had instructed him. When they were finished there was nothing more to be done. He was warned in a dream to kill a pair of goats and a pair of pigeons

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1 The Magic Fiddle—in Thado **Shilangda adoi**. For **Shilangda** v. Appendix vi. There seems to be a definite purpose in the selection of this instrument to carry the hero in flight, as it seems to be always represented with a bird carved at the end of the key-board, while the shape of the body of the instrument appears to imitate the wings and tail of a bird.

2 **Lengpa** is the genuine Thado word for a king or a ruling prince. Like many expressions in this tale, however, its use envisages a condition of society which is not Thado as we know the Thado to-day.

3 Priest—one version has **thempu**, the correct Thado word, another has **bamon**, *i.e.* 'Brahman,' clearly indicating foreign influence.

4 The Thado has simply **na-nute gakouvin**, 'call your mothers,' but the effect is bizarre in English.

5 God—in Thado **Pathen**, the Creator.

6 The Thado word is **mulaopi**. This word designates a mythical bird large enough to carry off men, and may be correlated to the **rukh** of the *Arabian Nights*. Yule suggests that the legend of the **rukh** contains a tradition of the *Dinornis* or the *Aepyornis*, extinct birds of enormous size, *vide* his note in *The Travels of Marco Polo*, II, pp. 415 sqq.

7 The Thado words are **kung** and **kungkhen**, and the explanation

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and to anoint with their blood the things he had made, and that when he had done this the fiddle would fly with him and would alight outside the house of the King; then if he surmounted the range of hills before him he would see raindrops falling as great as a man's hand, and from there across the sea[1] he would see Doikumpu burning the corpse[2] of his sister's son, but before the rain should reach him Doikumpu would go leaving the corpse only partly burned. He should then go and burn his body with that fire and follow after Doikumpu and say to him "Uncle, feeling hurt that you did not burn me properly I have come to life again." On hearing that, he (Doikumpu) would perform ceremonies and cure the burns. So he sent to the King for a he-goat and a she-goat and a pair of doves, and killed them and mounted the fiddle and flew to the King's house. From there he flew again to the range in front of him and thence he saw the raindrops, and across the sea he saw smoke. Again he flew and tied up the fiddle on the far shore, and did as he had been instructed in the dream, and it befell that Doikumpu cured him accordingly.

Every day his aunt[3] tied up rice for him and he went out in search of game, but found none. One day she told him never to go in a certain direction, so he wondered why she so straitly forbade him, and took his food and went that way. He reached God's spring, and its water was glistening like molten silver.[4] By the side of it he undid and ate his food. Having eaten he was about to drink of the spring when he

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given is that they mean a boat and a paddle, though the Thado do not use boats. The words might equally well mean a dish and a spoon. No boat re-appears in the story as told now, but it may have originally been needed for the crossing of the sea, or the idea of the **Shilangda** from the later part of the story may have intruded into the earlier part and usurped the boat's functions.

1 The Thado word—**tuikhanglen** (=' water-confine-big') appears definitely to mean the sea, though few Thado have ever seen it. It is described as the place where all water is collected from the rivers, and is not applied to lakes and rivers themselves.

2 The Thado do not burn their dead, though the practice exists among some of the Assam Hill tribes, who may be connected with them. Thus the Maru Kachins, the Khasis, the Chakma all cremate. The "Kookies or Lunctas" of whom Macrae wrote in 1799 (*Asiatic Researches*, VII, 194) also cremated then, as some of the Old Kukis do still, and the story may point to an extinct practice of the Thado. Equally well the incident may relate to the Hindu practice.

3 Being the mother's brother's wife of the dead boy whom the hero is impersonating he addresses her throughout as **hepi**, and the story goes on as if the relationship actually existed.

4 The Thado has **hahtui**; **hah** is the white alloy (? of lead and tin) of which the women's armlets worn above the elbow are made, and **tui** is simply 'water'—here the molten liquid.

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noticed seven clothes rails,[1] and then seven of God's daughters came to wash at the spring. Each one hung her petticoat over her own rail and washed herself. When the boy saw them he fell very much in love, and he snatched the petticoat of the youngest and ran off. God's youngest daughter saw him as he ran and called out "Hi! Hi! Doikumpu's nephew! Last night I had a stomach-ache and my petticoat is soiled with my dung, are not you disgusted? Look at it!" As he stopped to examine it, he turned into an ant-hill.[2] As he did not come home, his aunt and uncle took a spud, a hoe and a fan and went to look for him. When they saw the ant-hill, they dug, and in the very midst they found the boy, tiny and tender like the hidden leaf-bud in the centre of the stem of a plantain tree. They fanned him with the fan till he came to himself; they took him home and cherished him till he recovered his former condition. Then his aunt said to him "Do not ever go there again, but if you do, and if they call to you again as before, on no account look behind you at them." Then one day he went again and as before the daughters of God[3] came back to wash again. Again he snatched the petticoat and fled homewards. God's daughter called out "my petticoat is soiled with my dung, look!" but he did not stop to look but ran back to the house.

Then the daughter of God came to ask for her petticoat. He said he would not give it back unless she agreed to marry him, and she answered "Why would not I marry you. You have touched me, laid hands on me, and my own people will not like me any more." Then the boy said "Well, take oath, then" and God's daughter said "If I do not marry you, let me become ashes," so arranging to come back in six days she went away. When she got back home she was afraid to tell her father and mother but her eldest sister said to her parents "My youngest sister has married a mortal,[4] are you pleased?" And her father answered "In a house where there are many girls, do not some get married to mortals and others to fairies like ourselves?" So his daughter went back to Manmashi six days later. Then when his wife had come to him Manmashi said to his aunt and uncle "I have delayed very long, my mother will be troubled," and they answered "If

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[1] **Talhang**—a bamboo laid horizontally on supports for hanging clothes on.

[2] **Hlemlhung** is a mound of earth thrown up by termites.

[3] God—in Thado **Pathen**, the Creator.

[4] The Thado word is **Manmashi** which means a human as distinct from a spirit and is generally used with reference to the legendary epoch when the distinction was less marked than it is now (*v. Supra*, pp. 28, 41). The word is really here used ambiguously as a proper name and continues to be so used for the rest of the story. In the next sentence I have translated

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your mother is alive, what are you doing here? go home." so he took his wife to go home, and he searched by the sea-shore for the fiddle but could not find it. Then his wife said "Kill me and cut me in two and one half will go back to my home and the other half will become a fiddle. Take the fiddle with you and when you are hungry play on the fiddle and I will always bring you rice and meat. And when Manmashi said "I will not kill you," his wife said "If you do not kill me, there are so many kings and chiefs by the way that men will take me from you and we shall be separated for good." So Manmashi cut her in two pieces and one became a fiddle and the other went back to heaven. Then Manmashi took with him the fiddle and went his way, and when he was hungry he played on the fiddle, and his wife came bringing two dishes of rice and two of meat and they two ate together. So he went on and came to the village of a king. The king said he was not to stop in any house there, so he went and stopped by the spring, and played on his fiddle and his wife brought two dishes of rice and two dishes of meat. Then the king's servants, coming to fetch water, saw his wife and went and told the king, saying, "O King, you were not willing to let the man stop in a house, but he has a fiddle and when he plays on it, a beautiful girl comes, bringing two dishes of rice and two dishes of meat, and she is more beautiful than any of your seven wives," said they. Then the king summoned him. Said the king "I will exchange my *lohaldang*[1] for your fiddle." Manmashi said "Of what use is your *lohaldang*?" The king replied "It beats of itself whatsoever it is told to beat" and he told it to beat a *schima*[2] tree that there was below his house, and the *lohaldang* went and starting at the very top beat it right away all down to the ground. Then they exchanged and Manmashi took the *lohaldang* and went, and by the way he fell hungry and found no means of eating. So he said to the *lahaldang* "Go, beat the king and bring me the fiddle and his daughter." So the *lohaldang* went and beat the king and brought his daughter and his fiddle. Then Manmashi played on the fiddle and his wife came bringing three plates of rice and three of meat and they ate, and having eaten their fill they went on and came to the village of a king. The king would

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as "fairies like ourselves" the words **ipathenchanpi**, literally meaning 'ones like us two God.' The conception of the people of the heaven is very much of that of the Good People of our own folk-lore.

1 I have been unable to get a definite meaning for **lohaldang**. The word does not appear to be Thado and **lohal** is probably the Hindustani **lohar**=iron, and one account described the implement as an iron staff. The apparatus is familiar enough and appears in our own folk-lore as a stick in a bag.

2 Thado **khengthing**, the tree known to science as *Schima Wallichii*.

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not let them stop in any man's house, but made them stay in a cow-shed. So Manmashi played on his fiddle and his wife came and brought three plates of rice and three of meat. When they had eaten their fill of rice they gave the plate to the cow-herd. The cow-herd went and told the king. "You were not willing that he should stay in any man's house," said he "but this dish and whatever he has is good and his wives are fairer than yours." The king sent to fetch him and they fetched him. When he was come before the king, the king said "Let your wife wrestle with my wife and the one that wins shall possess the loser, so they wrestled to-gether and Manmashi's wife was beaten. Then the king took Manmashi's wife. Then Manmashi went on, and when he had got well on his way he sent the *lohaldang*, saying, "Beat the king and bring back his daughter and my wife." The *lohaldang* went and beat the king and brought along his wives and his daughter and Manmashi's wife. Then they went on, and when they were about to reach his house, (Manmashi said to the women) "You stay here. I will go and buy and bring tobacco,[1] but his wives did not agree, so they all went on together and arrived at the house. And when they had entered the house (they found that) it was small and there were no plenishings[2] in it at all. On that God's daughter turned the house into a mansion[3] and made the old mother young again, and after that the daughter of God went off home.

One day Manmashi went to call in at the King's house. The King said "Sit down" and he sat down, and it became time for him to play on his fiddle. But when he said "King, I am going" the King said "Do not go." Next he said "King, my bladder is full,[4] I am going to empty it," but the King said "Do not go out. Do so where you sit.[5]" Then having sat a little longer "King, my bowels are full. I go to empty them." Said the King "Do it where you sit. My servants will remove it,"

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1 It is the almost invariable custom, when friends meet among the Thado, for one to hand the other a pinch of tobacco leaf to chew. Presumably Manmashi pretended to want it to offer to his relatives, in reality intending to try and prepare his house for the reception of his wives.

2 **Thilkeo**—the heterogeneous assertment of implements and possessions with which any Thado house is filled—baskets, dishes clothes, gourds, arms, gongs, stools, etc., etc.,

3 The Thado version told to me had **bangla** *i.e.* bungalow, obviously a modern touch, the house of an European Official being the most superior kind of house the narrator could think of.

4 The Thado even when addressing a king needs no euphemism: he says plainly **Kajun ashoe, kajun gathange**, lit. "my urine becomes, I will void my urine." The idiom of Manmashi's next sentence is exactly the same. The root **tha** appears to be used only in this connection.

5 The image in the narrator's mind is probably that of a Thado house built on a platform of bamboo with plenty of interstices.

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but Manmashi said "No, I have something, I must do in my house, O King." But the King said "What must you do, speak. I will send from my house to fetch it a woman who never goes out in the sun.[1]" Manmashi said "Then go, and on my bed behind the pillow there is that which is wrapped in a white cloth. Bring it, but do not cause it to give out any sound.[2]" So the girl went, but in bringing it she made it sound. As the sound came from it her face was slapped and the fiddle disappeared. And she came and told Manmashi, and Manmashi was grieved in his heart and wept.

Then Manmashi went to his house and taking the *lohaldang* went to look for her. He went and searched at God's spring, but found no one there. A chrysalis [3] was drawing water. Manmashi asked "Why are you drawing water?" It replied "It is for the daughter of God to wash with." Manmashi said "I will come too; take me with you." Said the chrysalis "You cannot come, but if you insist on coming catch hold of my hook [3] and come." So he caught hold of the hook and ascended to heaven. When he reached there another man had arranged to marry his wife, and that night there was drinking and dancing, and in the morning an elephant came to fetch her.[4] Manmashi said to his wife "Don't go," but she answered "I must go. As you did not love me and let a servant touch me, my heart is broken,[5]" and she started to mount the elephant, on that Manmashi fell angry [6] and said to the *lohaldang* "Go and knock to pieces the howdah on that elephant," and the *lohaldang* went and knocked it to pieces. Then God said "Why are you two, husband and wife, treating one another like this?" and his daughter replied "He let a servant touch the fiddle, and I was angry and ran away home," God said "Where is the fiddle?" Then his daughter brought the fiddle and shewed it to him. He broke it. "It is over this that you two are quarrelling" said he and threw it away.

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1 *I.e.* a dependant of such position in the household that she is never sent out to work in the fields as most women are, and is by implication a person entitled to respect and confidence.

2 Because the slightest sound produced even by giving the instrument a tap would call its familiar, who would be offended as she had specially enjoined her lover to carry the fiddle himself—**kichoivinlang.**

3 **Ol** is a chrysalis, particularly such as are found in the ground, and **olgennei**, (the chrysalis with a hook) the word used here, is a particular variety which is said to have its tail permanently curled up in the form of a hook.

4 Another exotic touch. Thado brides are not fetched on elephants, at any rate not now-a-days.

5 **Ka-lha ashie,** literally "My soul is spoilt," an expression used by persons in great grief,

6 **A-lung a-hangin,** literally "his heart was reckless," **Hang** is used of persons who display courage in the face of danger; **a-lung a-hang** is the ordinary expression for losing one's temper.

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Then to Manmashi, "Take your wife and go," said he. Manmashi took his wife with him and came back and arrived at Doikumpu's. He said to Doikumpu "Uncle, give me your hoe, your spud, your fan and your knife." He answered "Nephew, if you ask for things, why would we grudge them?" and gave them. Then Manmashi's wife said "It is through your aunt and your uncle that we two were united, why do you ask your uncle for all his things?" So Doikumpu gave him the knife. They accepted the knife and came along together till they reached the outskirts of the village. There the wife scraped the dirt from her breasts with the knife and rubbed it on to a piece of cotton wool and gave it to Manmashi. "Take this," she said, and put it into the King's eyes and instruct him to take it out when you will be reaching your own house." So Manmashi went and did just as his wife told him and came, and as he reached his home the King took out the cotton wool, and both his eyes were opened.

One day after that Manmashi's wife said to him "Go and call in at the King's house" and sent him off. When Manmashi went there the King was angry. He said to Manmashi "Sit down," and when he was seated "Your mithun bull shall fight with mine. Your dog shall fight with my dog, your cock shall fight with my cock, your boar[1] shall fight with my boar. Will you come to me or shall I come to you?" Manmashi was troubled at heart and went home sobbing.[2] His wife said "What has happened that you weep?" You go to a friend's house, take drink and meat and come back sobbing." So he answered "The King is going to make all our animals[3] fight" Said his wife "Very well, arrange for the fighting on the third day from to-day. Then his wife for their mithun provided a wild mithun,[4] for their dog she provided a tiger,[5] for their

---

[1] By most of the Thado all boars are castrated at two to three months old by which time they have generally reproduced themselves (*v.* note [1] on p. 86), but in the Hôlthang clan the chief usually keeps a real boar and takes a pig from every litter in the village as his fee, the boar being kept loose, of course, to roam as he will.

[2] The Thado word **kăp** is the same as that used above and below for 'weep;' it implies the shedding of tears, but is probably, like 'sob,' an onomatapoeic word.

[3] **Gancha**="domestic animals." This incident of fighting animals occurs more than once in Lepcha folklore; vide **Lepcha Folklore**, Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XXI, pp. 38, 415.

[4] **Jangshiel** the wild mithun or gaur (*bos gaurus*). Solitary bulls of this species frequently associate with **shiel**, the domestic mithun or **gayal** (*bos frontalls*), fighting with and often killing or seriously damaging the bulls and begetting hybrid offspring, which are disliked as they are apt to be troublesome when they come to maturity.

[5] **Humpi**—generic. It might be a tiger, a leopard or even one of the smaller felines such as a golden cat.

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cock she provided a hawk, for their boar she provided a wild boar. Then they summoned (the King, and the animals) fought in pairs. The mithun fought with the mithun and Manmashi's mithun killed (the other); the dog fought with the dog and Manmashi's dog killed (the other); the cock fought with the cock and Manmashi's cock killed (the other); the boar fought with the boar, and Manmashi's boar killed (the other).

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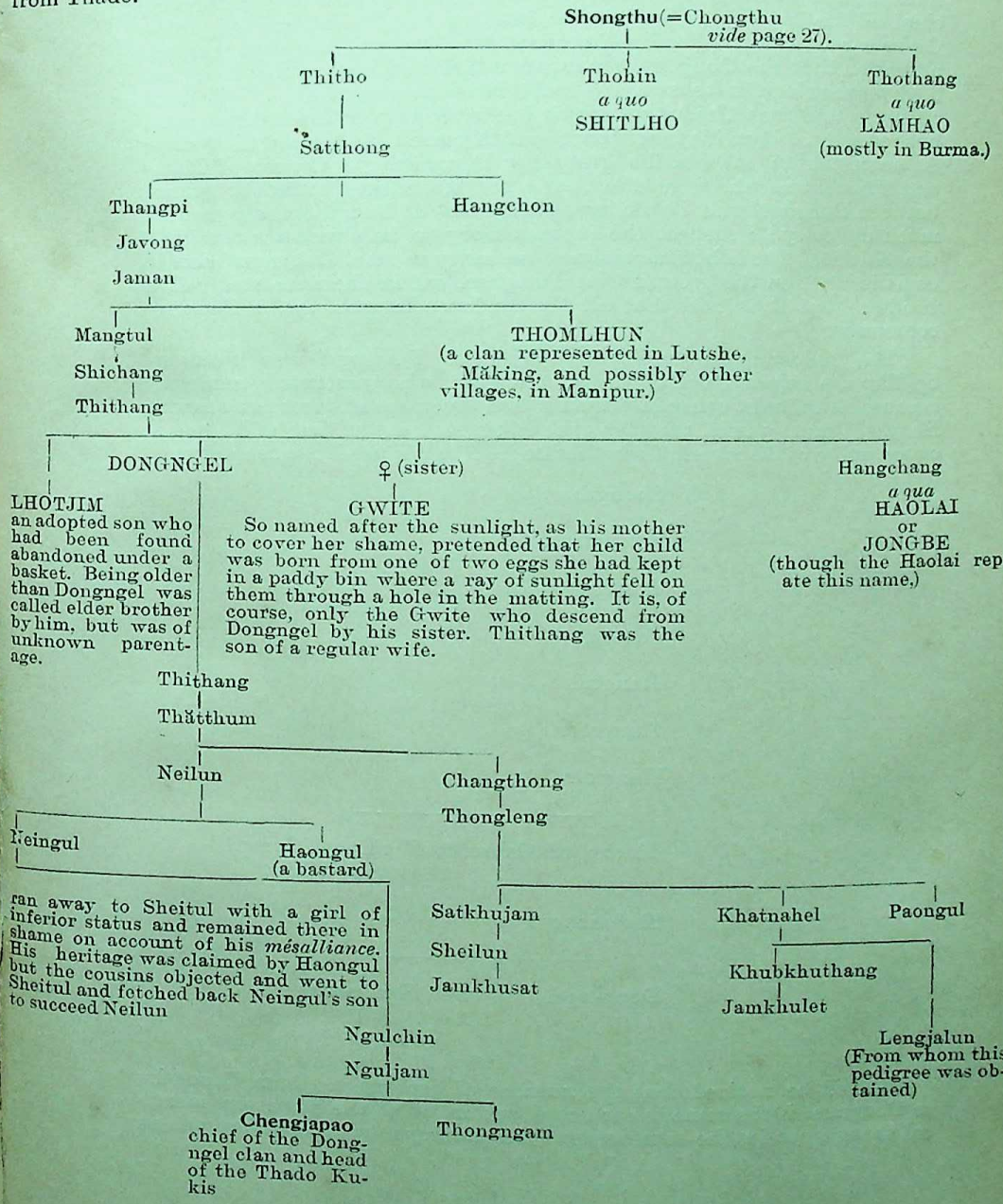
APPENDIX B.

The House of Dongngel.

I add this Dongngel pedigree as there has been so much pother about the illegitimacy of the line that now represents Dongngel. The theory appears to be based on the scandal caused by Neingul's marriage, and perhaps on doubts as to the real parentage of Ngulchin, but it seems really to arise from the arrogance of Khutinthang, who probably really claims precedence rather as the head of the lineal descendant of Thado, which he is, than in any *bona fide* belief that the elder line is extinct. They are far from that, and if the Lhotjim and Gwite are excluded, there are still members of the Thomlhun and Haolai clans with pedigrees every bit as genuine as Khutinthang's, if less distinguished. All these Dongngel clans, however, are smaller numerically and poorer in possessions than their collaterals descended from Thado.



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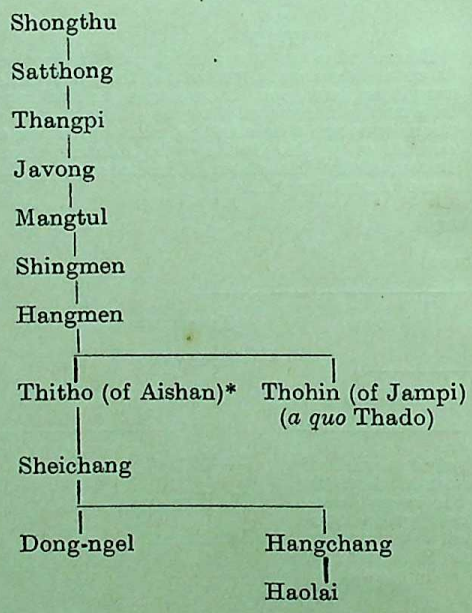
There is also a story that Dongngel had connection with a female serow which he had caught in a snare. He let her go and the boy child seen later with a serow in the jungle and ultimately recovered was beloved by his father and called Lushei (*a-lu, lun*=much cherished), and from him are descended the Lushei tribe.

It will be seen that the line of Dongngel is senior to that of Thado himself, although the latter has given his name to the tribe. Khilkhung (Khutinthang) the head of the Shitlho clan used to pay *satthing* to Chengjapao until the Kuki rebellion, and the ground on which he claims that the line is extinct is presumably that of Neingul's *mésalliance*. Even if this were a legitimate ground, however, Changthong's decendants would have a prior claim to seniority to Thado's, not to mention Chungngul, chief of the Haolai, as well as the head of the Thomlhun clan, if the Gwite can be ruled out. I gather from Mr. Duncan, however, that the allegation that the Dongngel are *ingam* is based on a story that Dongngel died without legitimate issue and had omitted to recognise his illegitimate offspring, and that Thado was entitled to inherit under the circumstances, but refused to claim his inheritance, which passed by default to a slave. As according to the Shitlho genealogy Dongngel was the son of Thitho and Thado was three generations later, the alleged personal quarrel between Dongngel and Thado over the *chontul* at Nanglengbung presents much difficulty; I suspect the *ingam* theory to be a recent invention of the Shitlho. The Lhotjim claimed seniority to the Dongngel clan in court in 1928, on the ground that Dongngel called their ancestor "elder brother," but it is said that all the evidence supported the Dongngel contention.

The following alternative pedigree of Dongngel was given me by Ehpu, a minor chief of the Haolai clan, who was much concerned because he thought other informants had given me an incorrect account. He was, I must admit, very far gone in his cups at the time and I had no opportunity of discovering whether he held to his version when sober.



It will be noticed that the number of generations from Chongthu to Dongngel is the same in each case, and many of the names are identical though not in the same order. The discrepancy is probably such as

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must inevitably arise between two versions of an account preserved only by oral tradition. Eh'pu's version agrees more closely with that of the Shitlho, who, however, make Hangmen the younger brother of Shingmen and the ancestor of the Kom and the Old Kukis.

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APPENDIX C.

Thado Terms of Relationship.

The terms of relationship that follow are given in the form used in address. Those which are the more honorific begin with **he**—which is replaced, when the relative is spoken of, instead of spoken to, by **ka**='my,' **na**='your,' **a**='his', etc. In the case of terms reference, therefore, I have indicated the use of the possessive pronoun by an apostrophe. In the case of the less honorific terms **ka**,—the possessive of the first personal pronoun, is used in address as well as in reference, and has accordingly been given here instead of the form in **he**—.

The Thado are patrilineal and exgamous and their terms of relationship are of course classificatory. The proper marriage for a man is with his mother's brother's daughter, while that preferred for a girl is with her father's sister's son. The latter however is much less important. But marriage of a girl to her mothers' brother's son is prohibited, and marriage into the mother's clan is eschewed for women for at least two generations as a rule. The important terms of relationship therefore indicate definite classification for purposes of marriage. Thus **hepu** is used primarily for any man of the speaker's mother's clan, and **hepi** for the wife of such, probably originally the mother's mother (? < **henupi** ='great-mother') and hence applied by courtesy to all women whose husbands are addressed as **hepu**, whence again no doubt **hepu** has been applied conversely to all grandfathers. **Henunga** is used for the women of the speaker's mother's clan, the potential wives of the speaker (if a man), and it may be observed that in the case of a father's brother's wife the implication is avoided by respectfully addressing her as **henu** though referring to her by the classificatorily correct term **'nunga.** Similarly an elder brother's wife is addressed as **he'u**, elder sister,' but likewise referred to as **kanunga.**

Etiquette is less strict with relatives who marry the daughters of the clan than with those whose daughters are married by it. **Hegang** is applied to the former, but only to the senior men of the clan, men of the standing of the speaker's father. For persons outside this marriage scheme personal names are used or honorifics such as **hepa** 'father,' **henu** 'mother,' or **he'u,** 'elder brother' or 'elder sister.' **Hepu** is also commonly used as an honorific form of address to anyone of unusually high social standing.

To elucidate the system a genealogical table is appended to the list of terms, giving the forms of address in lieu of names from the point of view of a man and his two sisters who marry into different clans.

A husband addresses his wife by her name or as **kajinu**='my wife' but she addresses him by the name of his first child, of whichever sex, to which '**pa**' is suffixed—i.e. 'Father of so and so.' Till he has a child she cannot address him by any name or title.

Hepu =
1. *Grand-Father.*
2. *Mother's Brother* (the personal name may *not* be added in address).
3. *Mother's Brother's Son.*
4. Wife's Father
5. Wife's Brother
6. Wife's Brother's Son

(when of the same clan as speaker's mother and followed by personal name if necessary.)

Hepi =
1. *Grand-Mother.*
2. *Mother's Brother's Wife.*

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3. Wife's Mother
4. Wife's Brother's Wife

(if the speaker's wife is of the same clan as his mother, otherwise **henu** or **he'u** according to age and circumstances.)

Hepa = 1. *Father.*
2. *Father's Brother* (in reference *'pa len, 'pa neo* according as older or younger).
3. Mother's Sister's Husband, etc. (by courtesy).

Henu = 1. *Mother.*
2. Father's Brother's wife (in address, but **nunga** in reference).
3. Mother's Brother's Wife
4. Wife's Mother

(unless of the speaker's mother's clan— cf. **hepi**)

5. Husband's Mother
6. Husband's Father's Mother

(unless of the speaker's own clan, when **heni** is used).

as courtesy titles

Hepanga[1] = *Father's Male Cousin on Father's Side* (or any other patrilinal collateral of that generation).

Henunga[1] = 1. *Mother's Sister.*
2. *Mother's Brother's Daughter.*
3. Wife's Sister
4. Wife's Brother's Daughter

(Followed by personal name if necessary but only used if of the same clan as the speaker's mother. Otherwise personal name alone is used).

Hegăng = 1. *Father's Sister's Husband.*
2. Husband's Father (when his mother is of the speaker's clan).

Heni = 1. *Father's Sister.*
2. Husband's Mother
3. Husband's Father's Mother

(if of the same clan as speaker, otherwise **henu**).

He'u[2] = 1. *Elder Brother.*
2. *Elder Sister.*
3. *Father's Brother's Child Older Than Speaker* (followed by personal name).
4. Father's Sister's Child
5. Mother's Sister's Child
6. Husband's Elder Brother
7. Husband's Elder Brother's Wife
8. Elder Sister's Husband
9. Elder Brother's Wife[3]
10. Wife's Sister's Husband

(Probably by courtesy merely *cf.* also *s.v.* **hepi**—3, and 4).

Kanao[2] = 1. *Younger Brother.*
2. *Younger Sister.*

Kacha[2] = 1. *Son.*
2. *Daughter.*

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[1] The root-*nga* in these two words is apparently the root meaning "watch over," 'tend,' as in *bongnga*="cow-herd." cf. the Sema term of relationship *angu* (*The Sema Nagas*, p. 141).

[2] In the case of these four terms *'nu* is suffixed in reference when it is desired to indicate the female gender.

[3] But **Kanunga** in reference, if of the speaker's mother's clan.

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Katu[1]= 1. *Sister's Child.*
2. *Father's Sister's Child.*
3. Grand-Child.

Kajinu= *Wife.*

In other cases, except as already noted in that of 'husband,' the personal name is used, though **hepa, henu, he'u, kanao, gulpa** (='friend,') and, for important persons **hepu**, are frequently used as merely honorific without any implication of kinship.

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[1] In the case of these four terms *'nu* is suffixed in reference when it is desired to indicate the female gender.

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I

HEPU=*HEPI*

HEPU

HEPA

HEPANGA=*HENUNGA*

HEPU=*HEPI*

HEPA=*HENU* (KAPALEN)

HE'U=*HE'U* (*KANUNGA*)

HEPA=*HENU* (*KANUNGA*)

(kachapa)=*HE'U* (NU)* He'u abc.

kacha katu

KANAO HE'U } *=*XYZ* *XYZ* or *KAJINU*

Hegang=HENI

a.b.c.

HEPA (KAPANEO)

p.q.r.=KANAO (nu)*

HE'U

KACHA=m.n o.

j.k.l.=KACHA (nu)

KATU (pa)

KATU (nu)

katu

IV

HEPU=Hepi

HEPU=Hepi

HEPU=*HEPI*

HEPU=Hepi

HEPU=Hepi

HEPA=*HENU*

HEPU=Hepi

HEPA=*HENUNGA*

HEPU=Hepi

HEPU

HENUNGA

SPEAKER♀A

SPEAKER♀B.

SPEAKER♂ ═══ *X.Y.Z.*

In these tables of Relationship,

I shows the persons speaking, a brother with his elder and younger sisters (marked with an asterisk) and their agnates. II and III show the relatives taking wives from I, the elder daughter marrying her Father's sister's son and the younger failing to do so. IV shows the Cognates.

Agnates are printed in block letters.

Cognates in block italics, others in ordinary print.

Terms of reference are given in brackets where they differ in more than the possessive from terms of address.

The elder woman speaker's husband is addressed differently of course by his wife and by her brother and sister, hence two terms for him, *kachapa* representing the teknonymic used by his wife.

Similarly the male speaker is differently addressed by his elder and younger sisters, while his wife is differently addressed by all three of them.

The younger sister having no child does not address her husband by any name or term and her elder brother and sister use his personal name.

II

Hepa=HENI

Hegang=HENI

a.b.c.=HE'U (nu) (SPEAKER♀A.)

III

Hepa=Henu

Hepa=Henu

p.q.r.=KANAO (SPEAKER♀B)

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APPENDIX D.

THADO WARFARE.

The Thado is an enemy by no means to be despised when the matter is one of jungle-fighting and guerrilla warfare.[1] Initiative is not his strong point in war, and he will readily admit that his best plans for taking the offensive are conceived in his cups and abandoned with the return of sobriety and consideration. Thus during the Thado rebellion of 1918-19 plans were repeatedly made, and as often abandoned in the morning, for sending parties through Naga country to cut the telegraph wires between Kohima and the plains as well as between Kohima and Manipur. His tactics are mainly defensive and the prevailing note is 'tip and run.' Ambushes are laid, posts or camps are worried by night attacks which there is never any intention of pushing home, and the enemy is generally harrassed, but never engaged in the open. Stockades are built across narrow paths where the turning of them is likely to prove tedious and prolonged, and are defended as long as the defenders can hold on with a reasonable chance of ultimate escape by flight. These stockades are sometimes of remarkable strength, some I have seen having been made of a palisade of upright trees 8 inches or more in diameter backed by a thickness of even larger tree trunks laid horizontally, and this again by another palisade of upright trunks similar to the first, the whole being well over three feet thick, the interstices packed with earth, and loopholed for musket fire. The approaches and sides were well defended by 'panjis' (bamboo spikes stuck into the ground, excessively noxious to a barefooted foe and by no means innocuous to the booted), while deep communication trenches were dug running back from the defenders' position, to enable them to bolt in safety when the flanks of the position were turned.

Ambushes in thick jungle are laid for an approaching enemy whence the Thado warrior will fire and disappear, to lie up again further on if a suitable opportunity is afforded. The same tactics are adopted at fords across rivers or any spot where natural obstacles hamper any rapid approach. Panjis, stone-shoots, and booby traps of all sorts are the defensive weapons used. The offensive weapons are practically confined to powder and shot, the powder home-made, reported slow in ignition but none the less powerful, the shot usually angular or rectangular pieces of metal—hammered lead or filed iron, fired from a flintlock or percussion-cap musket or from one of the hide cannon described below (Apx. E). On one occasion only during the Kuki rebellion did I meet with the use of the bow and arrow, and the dao was never, I think, actually used as a weapon of offence except when dealing with defenceless villagers. For "frightfulness" is a normal policy of Thado warfare. Laruri village was cut up by a party of Thado early in the present century, the somnolent inhabitants being attacked and mostly massacred at early dawn, others being carried off as slaves, and the village has never properly recovered from that decimation. During the Thado rebellion Kasom, to give one instance only, a small Tangkhul village in the north of the Manipur State, professed in 1918 its inablity to produce the

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[1] For the general fashion of Kuki warfare see Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, Ch. xxiv. The Kukis were reputed in Bengal, to drive off their captives strung together by cane thongs threaded through the lobe of the ear. The Arakan pirates used to put thongs of this sort through the palms of their prisoners' hands (Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 143.)—(Ed.)

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further supplies demanded by Chengjapao. The massacre which followed has been already described (*supra* page 23).

The Thado is not without a certain ready resourcefulness and a sense of humour. When the columns operating in Manipur in 1918-19 took a couple of antiquated 7-pounder guns known as "Bubble" and "Squeak" into the field, the Thado at once retorted with his hide cannon, which had not previously been heard of, and these did very little less damage than "Bubble" and "Squeak" and made very near as much noise. During the enquiry after the final surrender of the rebels I was questioning one of their captured leaders Enjakhup, an ex-sepoy of the Naga Hills Military Police and the only Thado from that district who took any prominent part in the rebellion. He had not, he said, taken any active part in the operations, but had merely been present with the rebels under compulsion. "Is it not true, then" I asked, "that you drilled the men of the rebellious chiefs and taught them how to shoot?" "I did," said he with his tongue in his cheek, "and why wouldn't I? It was the best I could do to help you all." "How so?" I asked him. "Why, the more powder and shot they would be wasting on their targets, the less they would have for shooting at your soldiers with." A stout fellow. He escaped the rope he doubtless deserved and was deported temporarily to Sadiya with the rebel chiefs. There he fell sick and died in Kohima on his way back to his home.

A number of Thados are now being enlisted in the Assam Rifles, and the Naga Hills Battalion has already one Thado Kuki platoon, and is recruiting a second.

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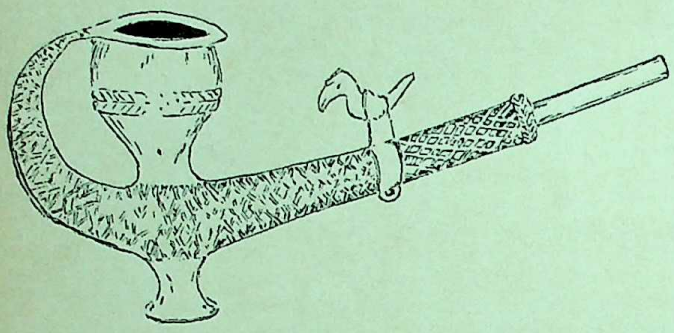

Fig. 1.—Thado pipe in brass.

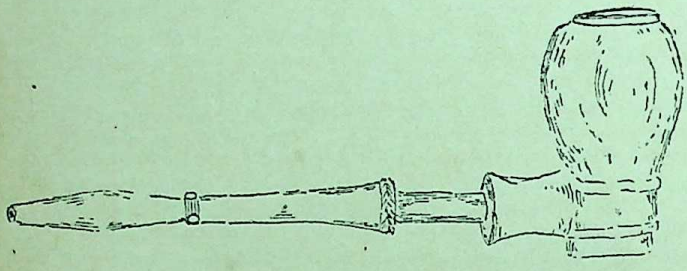

Fig. 2.—Thado pipe in wood with bronze mouth-piece cast by Bapu, Chief of Chongchin.

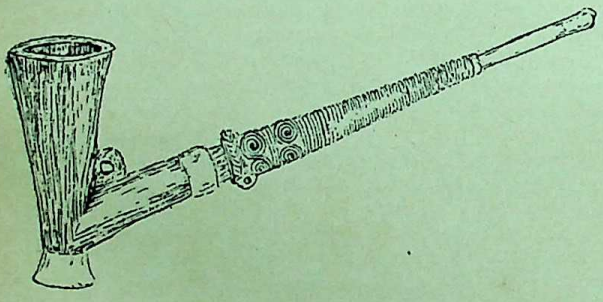

Fig. 3.—Thado pipe in pipe-stone with brass mouth-piece and mounts.

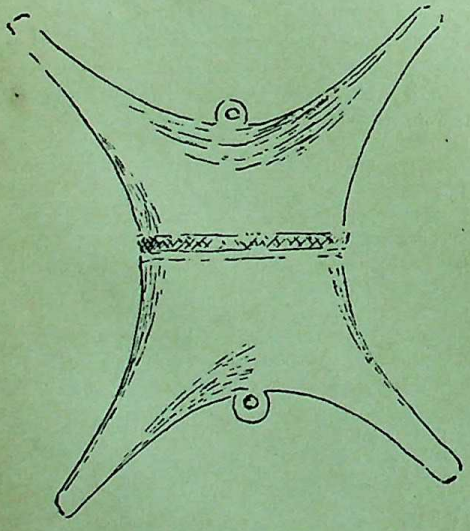

Fig. 4.—Brass box for flint and steel.

Articles cast in metal by *cire perdue* process.

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APPENDIX E.

Thado Manufactures and Weapons.

Mr. Shaw has mentioned several articles of metal formerly manufactured by the Thado. It is true that the art of making them is rarely practised now, but it is not dead. In 1918 during the Kuki rebellion an ingenious follower of Tingtong manufactured a brass muzzle-loading gun, and one or two Thados of Holkang village in the Naga Hills still makes brass tobacco pipes and liquor siphons, while the chief of Chongchin near Saipimol in the Manipur State gave me a bronze mouth-piece for a pipe, that he had made himself. The craft is usually hereditary and confined to certain clans. The method used is the *cire perdue* process, which I had demonstrated for me by Ngulshi' of Holkang in June 1928.

The crude bees-wax is broken up into a pan of water which is boiled so that the wax forms a thin sheet on the top, the impurities sinking to the bottom or adhering to the under side of the wax sheet. When cooled the water is poured off and the impurities scraped from the wax with a knife. The wax is then heated at the fire, kneaded reheated, kneaded and rolled like dough, a heated glass bottle being used as a roller in this case, until it is all completely soft and fine without a lump of any sort.

If a solid article is to be cast, a wax core is modelled of the shape required, but if hollow, like a pipe or a siphon tube, a solid removeable centre is required. This is made with wire in the case of a straight hole like that of a pipe-stem, or a pipe-bowl; if a curve is required, as in the siphon tube, a piece of pliable bamboo is used. In either case this wire or bamboo is wound closely with thread, as a spindle, the binding being thickened as necessary where a bulge is needed, as in the bowl of a pipe. As this core would be liable to burn when the wax is melted out and the molten metal poured in it is covered with a thin layer of fine blue clay. Strips of the prepared wax are then rolled out thin. and wrapped round the core, and shaved and smoothed with a heated knife-blade till a smooth and symmetrical surface is obtained. The ornamentation is then put on in wax appliqué, lines, coils and spirals being laid on with the fingers using very fine threads of wax, which are produced in various thicknesses by means of bamboo pistons, the wax being forced through a minute hole in the centre of the node at the bottom of the bamboo cylinder by means of a plunger of wood or bamboo; from this hole it comes out in the form of a fine cylindrical thread. The wax model is completed by the addition of a stalk, as it were, of cylindrical wax about 3/16 to ¼ inch in diameter which represents the hole through which the wax will be run out and the metal run in.

For forming the mould round this wax two sorts of clay are required; the very fine blue clay already mentioned is pounded thoroughly to get rid of anything in the nature of grit or lumps. A layer of this is applied well moistened, direct to the wax modelling and rubbed well into the interstices of the ornamentation with the fingers. On the top of this is laid a second layer of the same blue clay which has been thoroughly pounded up with the husks of paddy so as to bind and not crack in the firing. This is allowed to dry and is then covered with a third layer of a coarser red clay obtained from the mounds thrown up by termites and likewise pounded up with paddy husks, and very thoroughly kneaded. Through all these coats of clay the wax end of the "stalk" attached to the core is allowed to protrude, and the clay at the point of emergence is moulded round it into a funnel-shaped hollow. The clay moulds are dried slowly.

The same prepared red clay is used for the manufacture of a crucible into which the metal to be melted is put and which is then closed

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and covered with a turnip-shaped dome having a small aperture at the point. This crucible is heated to a white heat in a fire fanned by the usual upright piston bellows, a process which needs considerable physical exertion and takes at least a couple of hours. Meanwhile the dried moulds are heated, and the wax melted and run out, the emptied moulds being then baked to a red heat while the metal is being melted in the crucible. Both this latter and the moulds are handled with rough bamboo pincers made on the pattern of the bamboo clappers used for bird scaring in various parts of Further India (*vide The Sema Nagas*, p. 66, fig. 3). When the crucible is white-hot the metal is poured into the mould, and as the latter is also heated, to prevent the metal's cooling too rapidly, the metal fills up the hollow evacuated by the wax.

Beautiful work is produced by this process—brass dao-handles, brass gauntlets for women, tobacco-pipes, mouth-pieces, siphon tubes or curved joints for siphon tubes (used in drawing off the liquor from the fermented rice and husks), brass boxes for flint and steel of a curious design with corners prolonged into points, and beautiful metal vases ornamented with designs reproducing the basket work which is used to cover and strengthen the earthenware originals. The most characteristic perhaps are the tobacco pipes and siphon joints ornamented most frequently with hornbills, often with animals such as elephants or mithun, which are sometimes excellently modelled.

Other metal work includes swords, daos, knives, agricultural implements and women's iron walking sticks. Various other forms of manufacture are also practised. Blocked hide is used for making covers to bamboo tubes used for quivers, etc., for pouches carried at a belt like those of sepoys, for ammunition, and for similar articles. The usual method is to soak it in water, mould it and dry it in the form required, after which it is usually treated with *bombalnai* i.e. tree-oil or wood-oil obtained possibly from a *dipterocarpus* (*vide* J.A.S.B., No. 110 of 1841, *visit to Kyok Phyoo*, p. 142) giving the appearance of black lacquer. Coloured lacquer perhaps is also used for covering the stocks of guns, for ornamenting powder horns, some times beautifully inlaid with silver, for covering pocket tinder boxes made of basket work and for similar purposes. Elegant wooden dishes (one in the form of a quaich) are made, mainly with the dao and adze. As by the Konyak Naga, tie-dyeing is practised, the Thado producing spirally striped red and white porcupine quills for use as hairpins, by this process. The Konyaks use a similar process of tying a spiral strip round a javelin shaft and then smoking it so as to leave a spiral white band alternating with a dark one all down the shaft, and Lhota Nagas have a similar method of ornamenting bamboo mugs; the Kacharis use the method also.

Weapons include daos, muskets, bows and arrows and cannon of sorts. The spear is not popular, the non-use of the throwing spear, which is the principal Naga weapon of offence being one of the points that distinguishes Kukis from Nagas. The daos vary in type, the old Thado dao, now obsolete, being a single-handed short-handled weapon with a broad triangular blade well illustrated in Butler's *Travels and Adventures in Assam*. The commoner subsequent form has a narrow blade curved somewhat back towards the point and a single-handed pummel usually mounted in brass. The long bladed two-handed Shan sword is also in use, and now-a-days a short knife with a longish handle, the blade shaped on the lines of a *kukri* but straight, is popular. Its shape is certainly due to the influence of the Gurkha *kukri* used by the Assam Rifles. The old Thado dao used to have a curiously bent handle sometimes covered with blocked hide or with hair bound round and lacquered and mounted with a plume of red or white hair at the tip, rather suggestive of the handle of a *kris*. Soppitt (*op. cit.*, p. 6) mentions "a long sword-like weapon made of iron," which sounds rather like the Khasi or Mikir two handed sword.

Archers' bracers (*ja'shel*) are, or rather, used to be made of brass, ivory, bone or wood. The brass ones were cast and were rather like a

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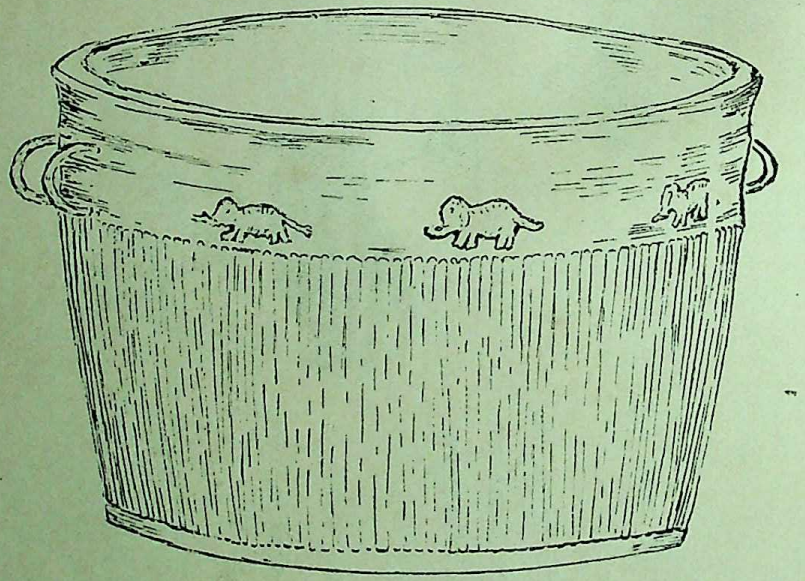


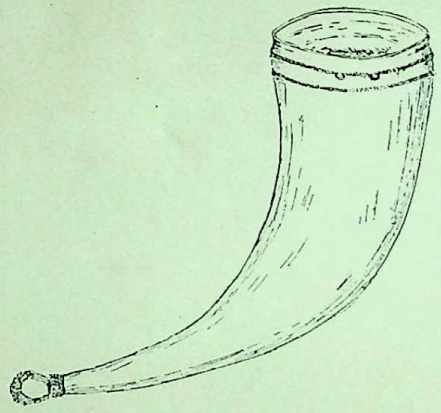
Fig. 1.—*Tuidol* belonging to Thangkhumang, Chief of Sangnao. Scale $-\frac{3}{14}$ act. size.

Fig. 2.—*Shumshelki*. Metal drinking horn, the property of Kimkhulum, Chief of Taitah.

Fig. 3.—Brass Siphon joint for drawing off *ju*. Scale *c.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 4.—*Shumhai* (="bronze jar.") Scale *c.* $\frac{3}{8}$.

(1 *and* 2 *are after drawings by Mr. S. J. Duncan.*
3 *and* 4 *from specimens in the Editor's possession.*)



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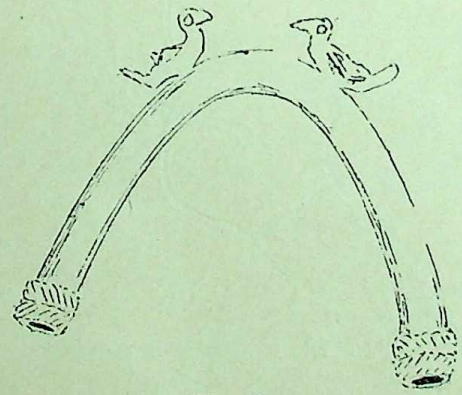

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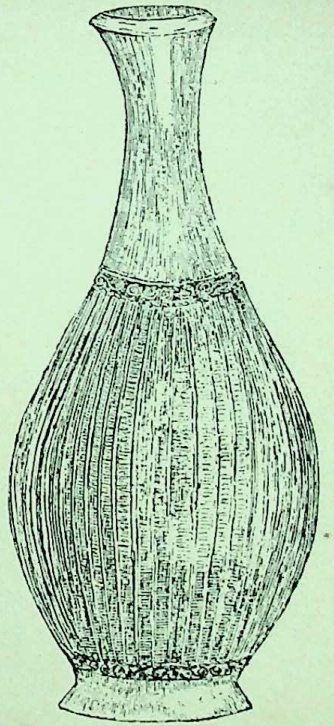

Fig. 4.

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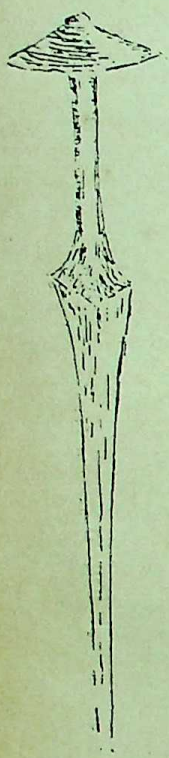

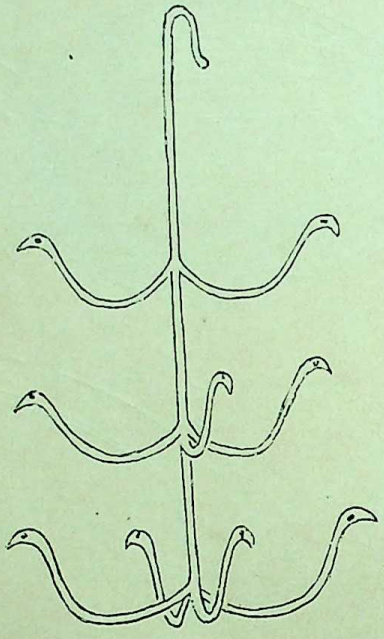

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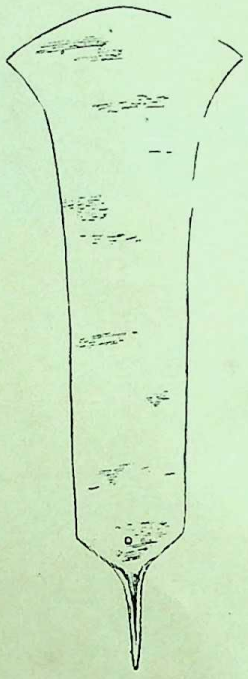

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 1.—Top of iron staff used by Thado women. Scale *c.* $\frac{1}{6}$.

Fig. 2.—Iron hooks (*chinking*), for hanging up utensils, etc., the property of Khilkung Chief of Jampi.

Fig. 3.—*Chaldep*. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 4.—Portion of *jouchal*. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 5.—Thado wearing *chaldep*, *jouchal*, *thu'pa* and *vakul-gé*.

(2 *and* 3 *after drawings by Mr. S. J. Duncan*).

Fig. 5.

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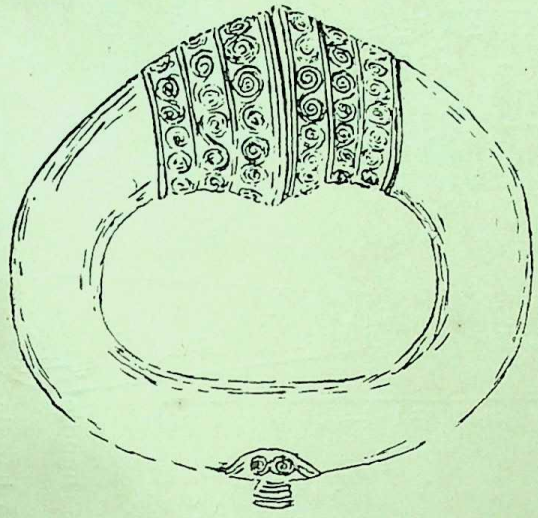

Fig. 2(B).
Archer's bracers (*jahshel*) in ivory (A) and metal (B).
Scale approx. $\frac{3}{4}$.

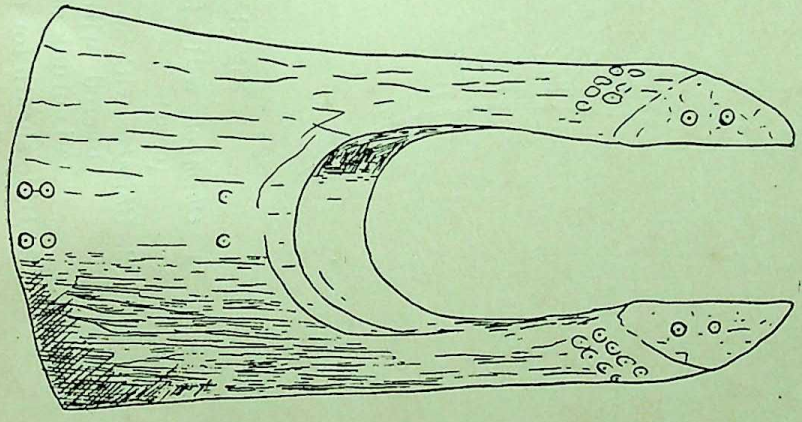

Fig. 2(A).

(*After drawings by Mr. S. J. Duncan.*)

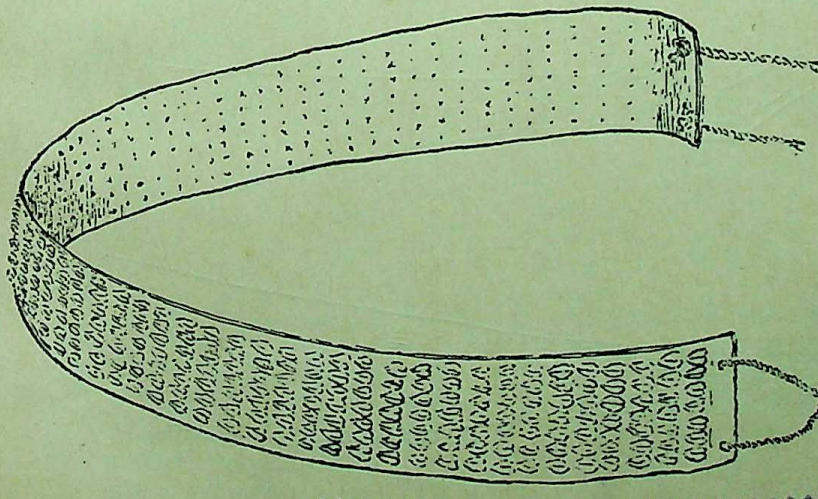

Fig. 1.—Baldrick (*paigen*) worn across one shoulder to support dao sheath (made of hide sewn with cowries).
Scale approx. $\frac{1}{12}$.

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Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

1. *Chimkol* with brass handle (cast).
2. *Chimkol* with wooden handle covered with a mithun tail shrunk on.
3. Hide sheath for *chimkol*.

Fig 4

Fig 5.

4. Modern *chim* probably influenced by *Kukri*.
5. Wooden sheath of fig. 4.

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greatly thickened bracelet, and were used also as "knuckle-dusters"; the others were generally something like an enormous clothes-pin with a truncated fork and greatly extended head. The fork was fitted on to the wrist while the head protected the thumb and hand. I am told by Mr. Duncan that the bracers of this type are said to have been used to protect the hand when in conflict with a tiger or leopard, as the ivory made a wedge which prevented the wrist being crushed in the animal's jaws.

Muskets are usually ancient flint-locks or Tower muskets the former of which originally belonged to the Honb'le East India Co. The stocks put on by Thado are thin in the grip and are cut away as fine as possible consistently with the requisite strength so as to throw the weight into the barrel. They are sometimes handsomely ornamented in black and red, with a very pronounced 'bend' to the butt.

Bows[1] now quite obsolete, are of the simple bamboo type about 5 ft. long with a fibre string, arrows are iron-headed with barbs. They used to be poisoned, probably with aconite, and I collected a number of such arrows during the Kuki rebellion, but they were all very old, and it is probably a long time since the Thado have obtained any fresh poison, and they do not apparently recognize the plant but seem generally to have obtained the poison from other tribes by trade. The butts are swelled behind the feathering, which consists of two pieces of feather stripped from the quill and bound to the shaft, which is notched at the end for the bow string; they are drawn and released by the forefinger and thumb, the so-called "primary" method. I have only come across three bows, all old, and only one of these was used. It was held in an oblique almost horizontal plane. A bracer of ivory, bone or brass was worn to protect the left wrist, and resembled a very massive stumpy clothes peg in shape. It is quite obsolete.

Cannons are made of wetted hide, rolled round in several thicknesses with or without a bamboo core and generally bound with coiled wire, cane, or hide strips; the butt is made by bending forward the wetted hide and tying down to the barrel and letting it dry in that position; a short iron tube serves as a nipple or touch-hole. This weapon is loaded with about a quarter of a pound of powder and a handful of slugs made of pieces of iron filed or hammered into a rectangle, fragments of telegraph wire, rough lead bullets, anything handy in fact, even pebbles. They frequently burst at the first discharge and but rarely survive two. The method of using them was sometimes to tie them to a tree and touch them off with a train of powder, sometimes to arrange a musket-lock so as to discharge them by a cap on the end of the touch-hole either by pulling a string, or arranging a trip in the path.

The Kuki method of manufacturing gunpowder has been fully described by Messrs. Carey and Tuck in Vol. I of *The Chin Hills* (page 225), and by Reid in *Chin-Lushai Land* (page 232).

The blow-gun *khuondo*' is used as a toy or as a weapon for killing birds and rats. It consists of a simple bamboo tube of as long a node as can be found locally but of only a single node of bamboo. The dart is of bamboo, of bamboo tipped with iron or of porcupine's quill and is provided with a windage plug by means of cotton thread wound tightly round the projectile or by giving it a conical butt of folded leaf hollowed at the base of the cone. I have described the apparatus in detail in *Man* (77, July, 1924), since when Mr. Mills has come across a harpoon form in the North Cachar

[1] Bullet-bows firing clay pellets and strung with cane are common. The bow is of the simple type the inside of the bamboo forming the convex side of the bow, though the Biete and Sakchip (Tippera) Kukis use a composite bow in which the inside of the bamboo becomes the concave surface of the bow. The Thado call the giant armadillo woodlouse, which curls up into a ball as big as a cherry *Pathen-pa Sailichang* i.e. "God's bow-bullet."

Fig. 4

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

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Hills in which the projectile is attached by a thread to the tube so that the rat-shooter can haul it in after a miss to save himself the trouble of getting up to fetch it or so that the rat may not run away with the missile sticking into him.

A hide cuirass is reported by Mr. Duncan from Teloulong village, where it belongs to one Mangjalhun of the Phoh-hil clan, formerly chief of a small and now non-existent village. Mangjalhun had it from his grand-father Chongjalhun in the marriage price of one of his sisters. Chongjalhun then lived at Lunglen or Lungthul in what is now the Lushai Hills, and was subsequently chief of Solo in Manipur.

This hide armour covers the back and shoulder blades and fastens down the chest being supported over the shoulders by straps. The Thado call it *Sapho* apparently after the pangolin (scaly ant-eater). This breast plate is similar to the type found in the last century by Peal in the Naga Hills (Konyak), where it has now apparently entirely disappeared, and reported from Formosa, from Borneo, from the hills of Indo-China and elsewhere in the Indonesian area. Mangjalhun's specimen is made of rhinoceros hide, but the Semas use a degenerate form of the same cuirass which consists of little more than a very broad hide belt protecting the abdomen, and made of cow or mithun hide. The Sema article is virtually identical with that of the Ashluslay warrior of S. America (Nordenskiöld, *Les Indiens du Chaco*, pl. xi).

The method of treating hide is to soak it for a long time in the lees of rice wine, and then pound it repeatedly with paddy pestles until quite soft.

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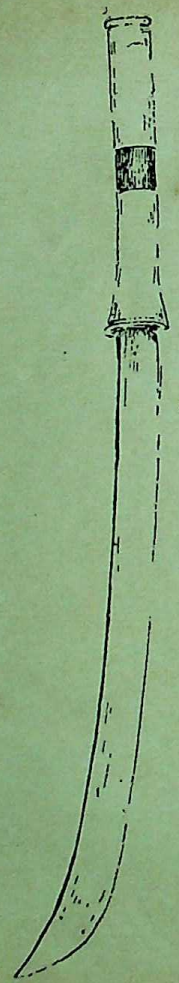

Fig. 1 *Chimjām.*
Scale *c* $\frac{1}{6}$.

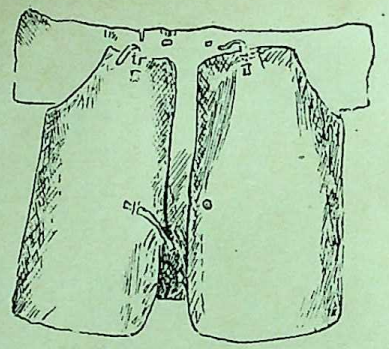

Fig. 2(A).

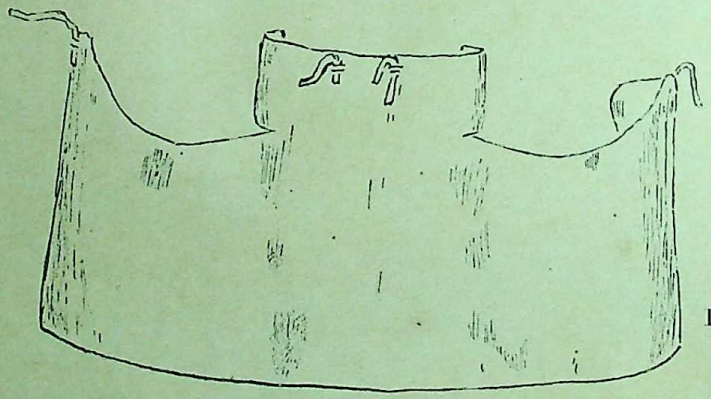

Fig. 2(B).

MANGJALHUN'S RHINOCEROS HIDE "SAPHO."

A. From the front.
B. Seen from behind, opened.

(*From a drawing by Mr. S. J. Duncan.*)

Scale *c.* $\frac{1}{9}$.

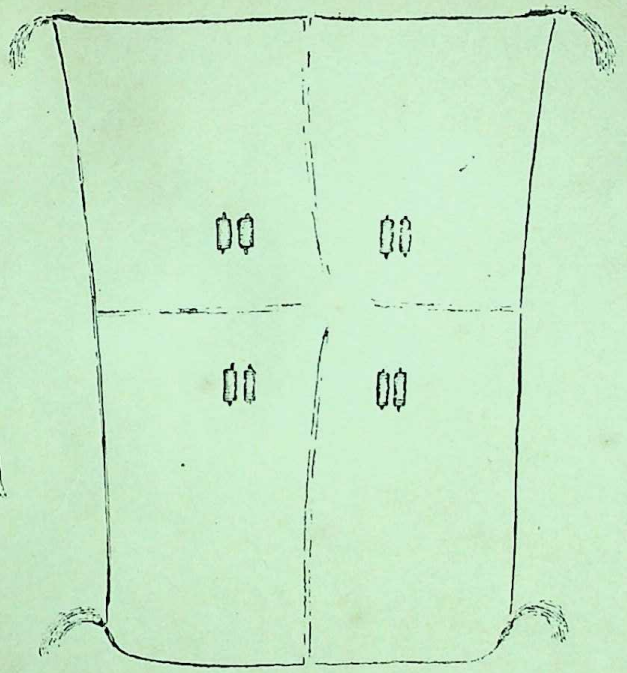

Fig. 3.—Thado shield, *lum*. Usually it is ornamented with a sort of cymbal of bell metal (*lumdal*) borne as a boss in the centre, or with lines of brass discs, either slightly domed or else conical, across the upper half of the shield. From the centres of the discs or of the cymbal is hung a plume of scarlet goat's hair. (*Vide* Tickell, *Notes on the Shendoos; J.A.S.B.*, No. vi of 1852, plate x.)

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APPENDIX F.

Thado Musical Instruments.

The Thado are more prolific than Nagas in musical instruments and though their singing is not to be compared with good Naga singing they produce far more in the way of instrumental music from a set of instruments mostly rather crude. The music is all in a minor key.

The following instruments are used :—

1. **Dapi**—a large Burmese gong, valued according to the clarity of the note, and its reverberations when the gong is struck on the boss.
2. **dabu**—small Burmese gongs in sets of three, the three gongs being theoretically in tune at equal intervals of about a half tone of western music.
3. **kingkidit**—a wooden gong used in the fields, partly to scare birds, partly also to produce pleasing sounds.
4. **diengdong**—a xylophone consisting of six solid wooden slats laid across two cords which are fastened at one end each to the big toe of the foot on the corresponding side and at the other together behind the player's back, resembling in effect the back-strap of the Indonesian tension loom, the slat with the lowest note being nearest the player's body and the others receding in ascending order. They are played with two miniature wooden clubs held and manipulated as drumsticks are by a kettle-drum player. This instrument is rarely met with. Hlunjangul of Saijang is the only man I could find to make and play one in the Naga Hills.
5. **khoung**—a drum, made from a hollowed section of tree trunk covered at both ends with a hide membrane for which the skin of the serow (*capricornis sumatrensis rubidus*) is preferred. The two membranes are laced together with a cane lashing which runs backwards and forwards across the barrel of the drum. A small round hole is often made in the centres of the membranes. Some of these drums are of large size, and I sent an outsize specimen to the Oxford University Museum.
6. **gu-shumkol**—a trumpet (**gu**='bamboo') made of successive sections of nodes of bamboo one fitting inside the next so as to produce a diameter gradually increasing from the mouthpiece onwards. To make the sections hold and fit, water is frequently poured over it before use so that the bamboo swells and each section fits tightly into the next. The mouthpiece is cut obliquely at the end and placed between the lips so that the edges of this oblique aperture are in the same plane as the lips and the mouth of the trumpet points sideways, for the trumpet is blown with a loose lip, the mouthpiece being kept in position against the lips by holding the right hand round it and as near to the end as possible, the thumb and fore-finger keeping contact with the performer's mouth.
7. **kuli**—flute—There are several types of **kuli**. One is the ordinary flute made from an internode of bamboo one node of which is retained. Just below this node is the hole into which the musician blows; above the open end are four holes, the upper two stopped by the first and second finger of the right hand,

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and the lower two by the same fingers of the left hand (thus differing from the Naga type which has two stops for the fingers, and sometimes one for the thumb of the right hand, and has the aperture at the end stopped by the palm of the left hand). The other types of flutes are devised to give extraneous assistance to the player by directing the air currrent for him. I have seen two patterns; in one two internodes are used both ends being open; the musician blows into one and the wind leaves it by a hole just above the dividing node and passes into a conduit made of a small bamboo, split and attached to the instrument by wax; this conduit conducts the wind past the node and redirects it through a second hole back into the lower internode, this artificial redirection performing the same service as that performed by the lips of the flautist when playing on the simple flute; for the rest the instruments are similar having the same four stops. In the other variety an identical effect is obtained by using a single internode, but retaining a narrow projectio n about an inch long above the node which forms the upper end; another piece of bamboo is tied to this leaving a narrow aperture between the two into which the musician blows, this projecting portion going bodily into his mouth; as before the wind is directed into a hole just below the node, and the usual four stops are found lower down.

8. **chapang-kuli**—small boys' flute—is a still more simplified form of **kuli** consisting of two separate sections of bamboo, one which fits inside the other and has a hole at the point of contact and has the node above this hole; by blowing into the upper tube the air is directed by its lower edge at the point of contact with the lower and inner tube into the hole in the latter; there are no stops, so that variation in note can only be obtained by modulation of the lung power, and the instrument is really no more than a whistle.

9. **theili**—a rudimentary flageolet, the flute reversed as it were, and played from the open end, the node of the bamboo being at the lower end with two holes just above it stopped by the first two fingers of the right hand; the mouthpiece is the nodeless end which is cut away so that the upper edge rests just under the edge of the musician's upper lip and the aperture is filled by the lower lip which is flexed to allow the passage of air into the tube; immediately below the upper edge and opposite therefore to the musician's lower lip is a square hole the edge of which divides the blast, part going down the tube and part outside.

10. **gu-chang-pol**—clarinet—is derived from a still more primitive "scrannel pipe" of paddy straw, for the meaning of the word is "bamboo paddy straw," the latter being the original material for the instrument, for which Hlunjangul who made it for me could, indeed, offer no name at all. It consists of a thin bamboo with a node as the mouthpiece, just below which a tongue-shaped cut is made, the cortex of the bamboo being scraped away till it is quite thin, so that the tongue within this cut vibrates as the wind passes through. Below this are four stops modulated by the first two fingers of each hand.

11. **gu-shem**—mouth organ—is a familiar instrument consisting of a gourd the stalk end of which is fitted with a mouthpiece made from a node of small bamboo inserted node downwards and having an aperture cut above the node so that the node itself forms a receptacle for any saliva that may escape from the mouth. The belly of the gourd is fitted with two rows of pipes one row above the other projecting more or less at right-angles from the shell, in which the bases are made fast with wax. In

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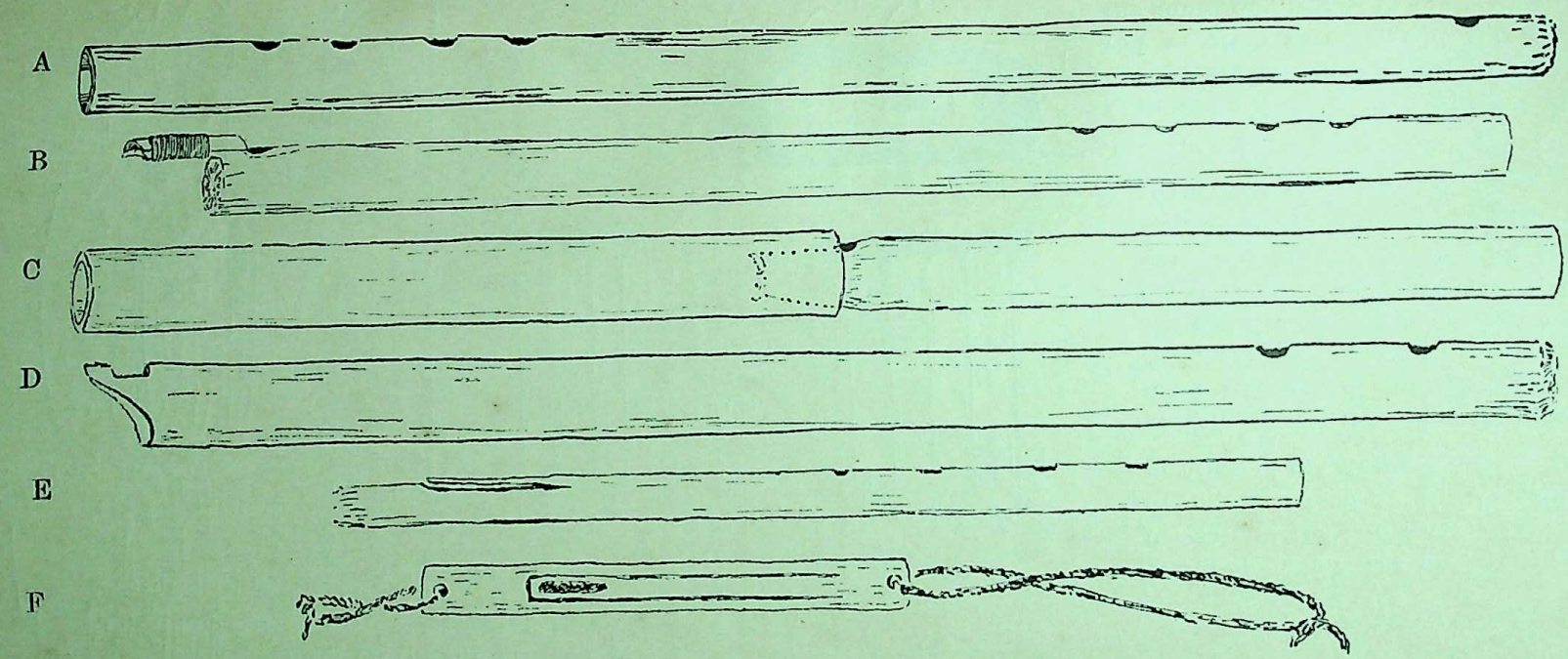

A & B—*Kuli*.
C—*chapang-kuli*.
D—*theili*.
E—*gu-chang-pol*.
F—*lhemlhai*

THADO MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS I.

Scale *c*. ½ (linear.)

N.B.—All are of bamboo; A & D are shewn with the node to the right, B & E with the node to the left, while C has the node in the middle.

J. H. H.

150(*a*).

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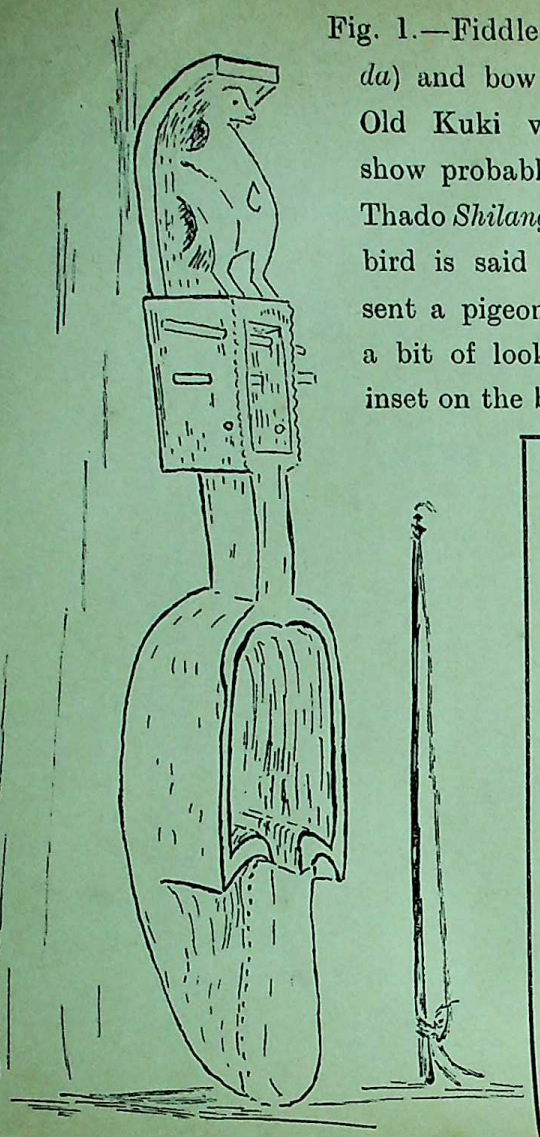


Fig. 1.—Fiddle (*Sarangda*) and bow from an Old Kuki village to show probable type of Thado *Shilangda*. The bird is said to represent a pigeon and has a bit of looking glass inset on the breast.

Fig. 2.—Gushem. The letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f* indicate in ascending order the different notes to which the pipes are tuned.

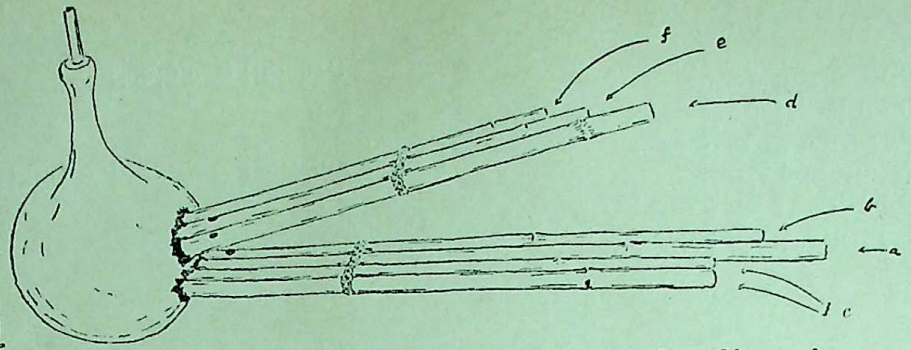
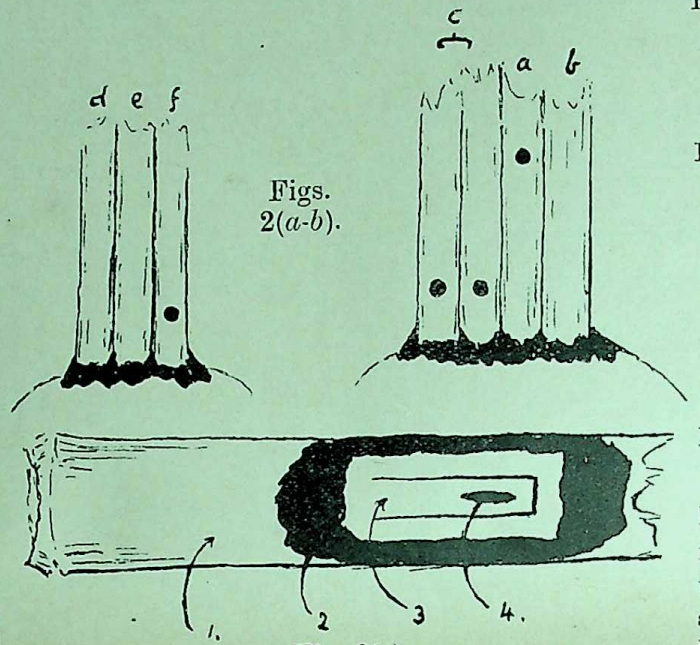


Fig. 2(*d*).



Figs. 2(*a-b*).

Fig. 2(*c*).

Fig. 2(*a-b*).—Show the under-side of the two rows of pipes indicating the position of the stops.

Fig, 2(*c*).—Shows the end of the pipes inside the gourd from the under-side; (1) bamboo, (2) wax, holding the metal reed to the opening cut above the node, (3) the metal reed with a vibrating tongue, (4) the wax weight fastened to the tongue to increase vibration.

Fig. 2(*d*) Shows the mouth-piece.

In large *Gushem* with heavy and long pipes, the base of one in each row is often carried right through the gourd and waxed in to the opposite side to keep the instrument from being too top-heavy.

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the Thado instrument there are seven of these bamboo organ-pipes; each ends in a node inside the gourd, and between this node and the shell of the gourd the bamboo is cut away on the under side and the wind allowed to enter the pipe through a metal plate the centre of which is cut into a vibrating tongue which is often weighted with wax to increase the vibration, the whole plate being fastened to the bamboo by a wax setting; the metal used is preferrably bell-metal and sometimes brass; there is a tradition that these reeds used formerly to be made of bamboo. Each pipe has a single stop; there are three pipes in the top row, of which the outside left (the pipes point away from the player's body) has the stop underneath and is controlled by the second finger of the right hand, while the other two have their stops on the upper side and are both controlled by the right thumb. The lower row has four pipes, of which the outside left has the stop on the upper side and controlled by the left thumb; the next pipe to it has the stop below and is controlled by the first finger of the left hand; the remaining two on the right also have the stop below, and are both controlled by the second or third finger of the left hand. These two pipes are tuned to the same note. The lowest pipe is the one next to them, above which comes the outside left hand pipe of that row and then the pair on the right; above this is the top row from right to left in ascending order.

Subdued but harmonious notes are produced, including a fair approximation to the human voice and an excellent imitation of the notes emitted by the wings of the great hornbill when flying overhead.

The legend of the origin of the **gushem** is that a chief had seven musicians who played in harmony on pipes of different pitch. Finding by some misfortune that his musicians were reduced to one he hit on the expedient of combining their instruments into one by means of a gourd. Though this instrument is widely known in south east Asia, being found in the mountains from Tonking to at least as far west as the Dafla country and as far south as Malay, and in the Philippines in the south east, it is, in Assam south of the Brahmaputra, essentially an instrument of the Kuki as distinct from the Naga tribes to whom generally speaking it is unknown.

12. **lhemlhai**—jew's harp—a simple form in which the tongue is made to vibrate by jerking the string tied at its root. The end of the tongue is weighted with wax as by the tribes north of the Brahmaputra, but otherwise it resembles the usual Naga form.
13. **gu-da** [1]—zither—made from an internode of bamboo both nodes of which are retained. Three or more strings are made by incising the outer bark of the bamboo and raising strips of it under which are inserted at each end moveable pegs or bridges of bamboo to make this self-string taut and tunable. The bamboo is cut away on the underside to make the interior act as a sounding board. This instrument, again is not Naga at all, but is common among the Kuki tribes and again extends to Malay and to the Philippines. The Malays call it **gendang batak** associating it with primitive tribes (Balfour, *Fascicul Malayenses*).
14. **Shilangda**—fiddle—Though well known to Thado folk-lore and

[1] **gu**—bamboo, so there is no derivation from "guitar"; the perplexing Khasi **duitara** for a species of guitar may therefore also be entirely fortuitous and **duitara** and "guitar" merely a case of "convergent evolution" from **gu-da** and *κίθαρα*.

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tradition this instrument seems to have disappeared among the Thado proper with whom I am in touch. I have, however, obtained an old specimen from a village of Chirus who call the instrument **sarangda**. It is, even in name apparently, identical with the Bengali **sarinda**, a three-stringed fiddle played with a bow strung with horsehair. The resonator has roughly the shape of a flying bird (whence, no doubt, its application in the story—Appendix A, vii) the "tail" only being covered with parchment while the wings make an uncovered hollow resonator. The end above the keys is carved into a sitting bird both in the Chiru specimens I have seen and in all the Bengali specimens in the Indian Museum, but the only other specimens of this type there come from the north-west frontier and have no carved bird above the keys, though otherwise resembling the Bengali instrument. The bird represented was said by the Chirus to be a dove or a pigeon, and it and the whole body of the instrument is carved from one block of wood.

An almost complete set of Thado musical instruments will be found in the Oxford University Museum. It should perhaps be added that to accompany dancing the long bamboo tubes used for water carrying are struck on the ground (node downwards, of course) to produce a musical note, but they are not made for that purpose in sets to produce a specific series of notes as are the "**ding tengkhing**" of the Malay Peninsular, similarly used. The Besisi, by the way, like the Thado, use the **guda** called "**banjeng**" by them, and probably borrowed from Malayan tribes, see Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsular*, II, 140 sqq. and 117.

A musical instrument called **pheiphit** is reported by Mr. Duncan, which consists of ten simple bamboo tubes of graduated lengths. He describes it as follows:—

"The notes are produced by blowing at the open end. Generally the notes are only four, viz., G (**Soh**), E (**Me**), D (**Ray**) and low C (**Doh**). Each man holds a tube and blows into it at regular intervals to harmonize with the sympathetic note played by another man. The order of the notes as they are played is more or less as follows :—

M : R I D_1 : S I M : R I D_1
. : S I M : R I D_1 : S I M } Harmonisation
S : M I R : D_1 I S : M I R)

This is the common harmonisation when a tiger or big game is killed. The Kotlhangs use this form of music in dancing too, and it serves as accompaniment to the song."

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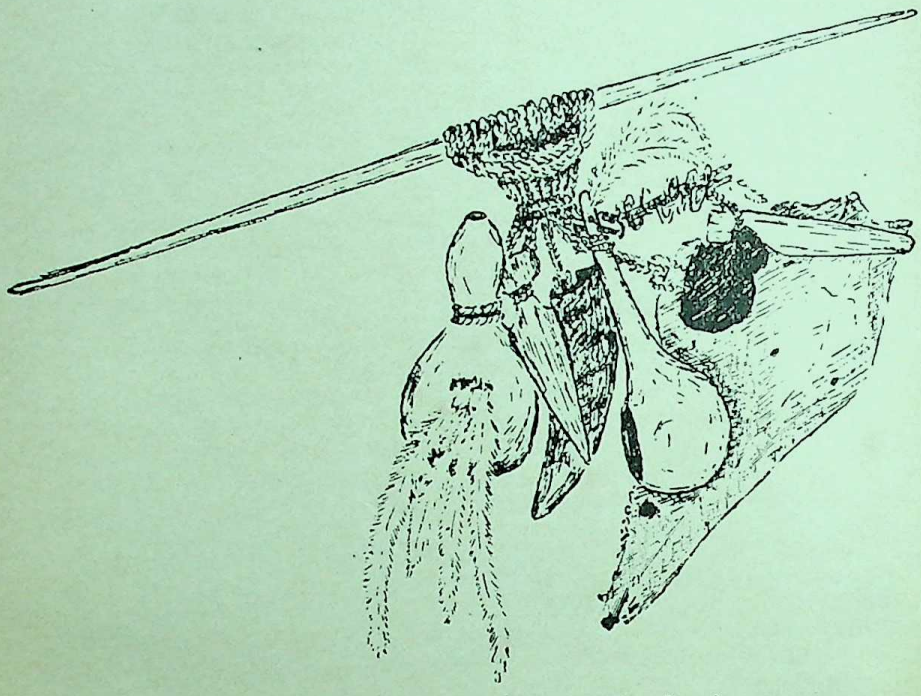

Fig. 1.—*Indoi* as made by most Thado clans.
Scale *c.* $\frac{3}{8}$.

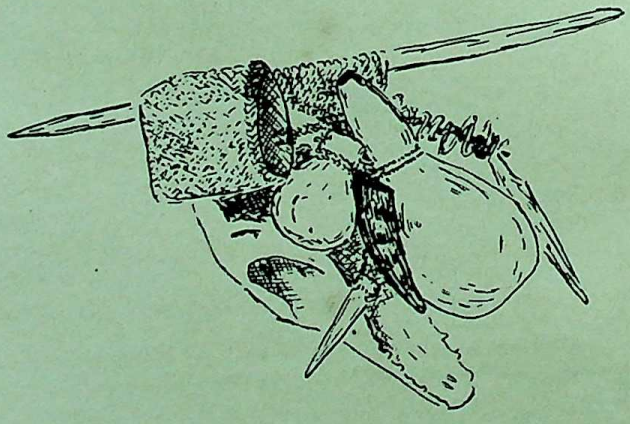

Fig. 2.—*Indoi* of the Shingshuan clan.
Scale *c.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

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APPENDIX G.

Miscellaneous Notes.

INDOI. The **Indoi** is the "house-magic," a bundle of charms, which is made either by the **thempu** or by any other person who has the requisite knowledge of what is required and of the signification of the objects used and of the formulae used in putting them together. It consists of seven objects bound with a single cord to a bamboo spike, some of the objects being ornamented with feathers from a white cock. The spike is thrust into the thatch in the porch of the house. The component parts and their significance are as follows:—

1. *A pig's skull*, to confer vigour and fertility like that of the fabled sow of Lheival (the place of origin of men), which had ten bonnives at a farrow, and which rooted up and rooted down, overthrowing great trees, even as disease shall be uprooted and cast forth from the bodies of the owner of the house and all that dwell therein.

2. *A goat's horn*, to confer beauty and vigour like that of the goat of Heilhongpi (the rock that 'eats all water' and stands in the sea where the rivers flow into it), with curling horns and long silky hair.

3. *A miniature gourd ladle* to confer plenty in all that can be lifted in a ladle—water, wine (i.e. rice-wine), grain, etc.

4. *A miniature gourd, complete, containing water and seeds*, to confer rapid increase, prosperity and perfection like that of the gourd, and wealth in cattle, crops, and all else, that shall never dry up.

5. *A belval* (that is a circular stand for a jar, but it is represented in a purely conventional manner by a fragment of split stick with a coiled sliver of bamboo peel) to ensure that all wealth acquired by the owner is encircled and bound in as with a **belval**, and cannot escape or be lost.

6. *A minute bamboo dao* **(chimpong)** of **Kol-thi** (i.e. iron of "Alva"—Burma) to ensure that even as such a dao will cut through everything there is high up or low down **(kol-sa kol-lhang)**, so all evil spirits that bring disease or misfortune shall be cleft and driven away from the body of the owner of the house and all that dwell therein.

7. *A minute bamboo spear-head* **(theingcha)** to ensure that even as from one horizon to the other **(Kolsa Kollhang)** the spear is used of all men for slaying and killing, and there is nothing that is not pierced by it, so all misfortune and disease and ghosts ("**pughao paghao**" i.e. ghosts of cognates and ghosts of agnates) shall be pierced and driven off.

The above seven are bound together on a single cord fibre made from the fibre of the plant **khaopi** and with the cord bound fast to a bamboo spike. The spear head is at one end of the cord, the 'dao' at the other. On the two gourd articles are feathers from a white cock fastened with wax.

8. *The bamboo spike* is cut from the cultivated bamboo only and confers vitality and straight strong growth like that of the cultivated bamboo and ensures prolific increase like the green shoots which the bamboo puts forth early.

9. *The cord* ensures that as the plant from which it came was produced from the earth and has ten layers of cortex, so shall the owner of the house and all that dwell therein be strong, and that even as it is bound about the bamboo spike, so is all disease, misfortune and evil bound fast and prevented from attacking the owner of the home and its inmates, and that even so also are cattle and crops and all forms of wealth bound so that they cannot escape him.

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10. *The white chicken feathers* ensure that as the white cock of Molkoi recalled the sun after the Thimzin and restored the light dispelling the darkness so shall all disease misfortune and evil be cleared away from the persons of the owner of the house and the dwellers therein.

The Shingshuan clan and their offshoots use a slightly different **indoi.** It has no cock's feathers and no gourd ladle, since the **thempu** of the ancestor of the clan had the ill-luck to be "chopped" by enemies during the performance of the ceremony and before its completion. As it could never be finished, the miniature gourd, which he was using, as in all Thado ceremonies, to pour libations to the spirits and which he had left unemptied was added to the **indoi.** Having been killed moreover he was unable to claim the basket of grain which is the recognized **thempu's** fee, and in consequence a miniature basket is attached to the **indoi** and whenever there is a feast day observed in the house this miniature basket is filled up with cooked millet as the **thempu's** share. It must be millet not rice, as the ancestors of the clan used millet, sorghum and coix only, rice being at that time unknown.

(From information supplied by a **thempu** of the Shitnhao clan, which observes the Shingshuan custom, who made me a Shingshuan **indoi.** J. H. H.)

OF SERPENTS. The Thado believe in a serpent with seven nostrils which lives under water and causes men to drown by catching them under water and making them into pillows This legendary serpent appears to be confused in general thought with the rock python, **gulpi,** which is regarded with great awe. Formerly it was the only poisonous snake, and it bit a man and he died. It asked a little snake whether the man had died or no. The little snake replied "No, Listen how they are beating drums and drinking modhu (referring to the funeral ceremonies); how should he have died?" The big one then said that his poison was of no use, and vomited it all over a plant. The other snakes divided up the poison and became poisonous from that time, and last of all the little red ant got what was left, and the plant had sharp edged leaves, so that they could not get the poison from the edges, and since then the tree-nettle (*Laportea crenulata*) has stung men and the big snake has used magic instead of poison.

The awe of the python is common, but not universal, among the Naga tribes. The Chakroma Angami eat it, but the Ao and the Chang hold it in very great awe, as do most tribes in a lesser degree.

Great fear is felt by the Thado of a black snake called **gulshie,** which I have not been able to identify. The male is said to keep watch in a tree above the female when the latter is guarding her eggs in a nest on the ground. This sounds like the hamadryad, but the snake is reported to be totally black without any transverse bars at all and not to have any hood, and they have another name for the hamadryad. However, so great is the fear of this snake, which is said to be very deadly, that a man who kills one may not enter the village that day. He throws down on the path, as he goes home, quantities of little leaves which the pursuing soul of the vengeful snake must count ere it can catch him. Similarly in the ceremony (**ai**) performed for killing a tiger a wooden post with many incisions is put up. Above it hangs a rattle made of a gourd and some slats of wood like bull-roarers (v. Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 207, illustration). The tiger's ghost cannot pass the post to come to the village where the slayer is till it has counted the cuts on the post, and it can never do this as the gourd swinging in the wind and rattling repeatedly distracts it, making it lose count. The killer of the **gulshie** on reaching the outskirts of his village must split a bamboo placed upright in the ground and scrape through between the split sides closing them quickly and tightly behind him and tying them together.

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The names of the following snakes may prove useful to someone :—

Gulpi, rock python.
Gulsho, hamadryad.
Thangchom, Russell's Viper.
Gulngongshan, Common Himalayan Viper.
Gullha, green pit viper.
Gulvankal, green tree-snake.

If a snake be found eating another animal it is wrong to let it go. The snake should be killed.

OF GHOSTS. The Thado believes in certain disembodied spirits or beings of a ghostly nature which are apparently akin to the astral bodies of humans, and are known as **kau**. Thus **in-kau** (='house ghost') is used of the familiar spirit or rather of the astral body of the **kaushi** or vampire (q.v.).

Kau-mei (='ghost-fire') is apparently the Will o' the wisp, as it consists in small pale moving fires and is regarded as harmless to human beings.

Găm-kau (='jungle-ghost') on the other hand is dangerous. It appears in the night in the form of a much more powerful light, single and concentrated, but with some movement, as it swells and subsides. It is often seen by parties fishing; my informant watched one in the jungle near Kohima; one was seen by a woman of Thenjol in 1916 or thereabouts, when she left her house at night. It was in the top of a tree and she ran back to her house in terror, fastened the door and fainted. She recovered enough to tell her husband what she had seen, but was smitten with violent diarrhœa and vomitting and was dead by morning.

In addition to ghosts there are the usual godlings of the jungle—Those that preside over trees **(thingbu nga)** and those that preside over stones **(shoungbu nga)**, etc. Such an one is the **Gămnupi** or 'jungle-wife' of female shape with red teeth and breasts that hang down to her hips.

VAMPIRES. The Thado live in great dread of vampires, **kaushi**, men who can so project their astral bodies as to enter into those they wish to and devour their internal organs, particularly the liver and heart. So great is their fear of persons reputed to have this power that they will not as a rule on any account mention the name of a person as being a **kaushi** for fear that if the vampire came to hear of it he would start to devour the person who had spoken ill of him. The Meithei of Manipur have a similar belief in vampires which they call **hingchabi**, and the Maori also believe in vampires who send their **atua** to enter a man's body and slowly eat away his vitals (*Old New Zealand*, ch. viii). This belief differs from the commoner belief in material vampires which attack persons bodily and suck their blood, much as the Sema Naga belief in wer-leopards who project their souls into the familiar beast differs from the commoner belief in a bodily transformation into a tiger or a wolf.

Some Thado say that if a man is suffering from the attacks of a vampire, and his hair be cut off, it will be found, when he is recovered of the disease, that his hair is intact and that of the vampire has been cut.

THE SOUL. The Thado shares with his Naga neighbours the conception of the soul as a minute replica of the individual, and like them (the Kachha Nagas) stretches a thread along side the plank across a ditch or a ladder up which he may have to climb in order that the soul may cross or climb beside him. This is done by a sick man who goes to the fields to recall the soul which has played truant there. The Khasis also use thread to make a bridge for the soul (Gurdon, *op. cit.*, 141). This use of thread as a path for the soul seems to have been incorporated into Buddhist ritual as a means of bringing the priest into contact with the worship-

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pers and so, no doubt, increasing the efficacy of their worship, *vide* Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, 105, 114, and *cf.* 173, 197, 209.

There appears to be some idea that the colour red has certain particular property with regard to the soul, as red cloth may not be buried with any person who leaves any surviving relatives. Perhaps the idea is that the souls of the survivors are attracted by the colour to follow the dead to the next world and so cause the death of the survivor also.

THADO MEDICINE. The Thado is more primitive than the Naga in general in the treatment of disease, in that he makes little use of simples, being more single-heartedly devoted to the use of ceremonial for the cure and preventive of illness. No sickness is in his opinion natural, but all is due to the malevolent attacks of evil spirits. These spirits, however, are little removed in conception from the notion of bacilli, and the Thado explains the effectiveness of European medicine, which he readily admits, as due to the fact that Europeans have discovered the particular odours which are noxious to particular spirits, and can thus drive them away by the application, internal or external as the case may be, of the appropriate compound in each case. Precisely the same theory is held by the Tinguian of the Philippines (Cole, *The Tinguian*, 409), and in Sierra Leone in W. Africa (Beatty, *Human Leopards*, 25). The view that illness is due to evil spirits probably still survives in Europe (*v. Folk-lore, XXXVII*, iv, p, 350 sqq.). At any rate it was strong in the XVIIth century. The life of Jon Olafsson affords a case in point, as he and nine other sailors got headaches on account of a "ghostly presence" on their ship (*Life of Jon Olafsson*, I, 54), and the same idea seems to have actuated the famous John Mytton two centuries later when he set fire to his night shirt (and he inside it) "to frighten away the hiccoughs."

Purely magical remedies are also resorted to by the Thado. Thus a remedy for heartburn is to tie round the neck a (?) clavicle bone from a pig's throat. The reasoning is obscure here, but it is clear enough in the practice of tying a bit of polished horn from the tip of the horn of a serow (Capricorn) round a wrist that has been broken in order to strengthen it, for the joints and muscles of this extraodinarily active cliff-dwelling beast are strong and massive out of proportion to its size and weight. The jaw of a monitor lizard (the **guisamp** of Bengal) is used as an antidote for the stings of the tree-nettle (*Laportea crenulata*), the stung spot being scraped with a piece of the jaw. The jaw-bone of a mud turtle is similarly used for stings caused by the hairs of hairy caterpillars, and Thados have asseverated to me that relief is almost immediate. Kachha Nagas (Lyengmai) use the lizard jaw for both purposes.

Simples are used occasionally. One is the yellow berry of the plant **āpilinga** or **lingkang** (*Solanum indicum*) dried and pounded and smoked in a pipe, as if tobacco, to alleviate toothache This berry is used for the same purpose by Khasis who put the seeds of it on a hot dao and inhale the smoke, while some of the Kachha Naga (Nruongmai) put it into hot water and inhale the steam, also to alleviate toothache, the belief being, as among the Thado, that the minute worm which is gnawing the tooth (?=the nerve) will be killed and drop out (*cf.* Cole, *The Tinguian, loc. cit.*, also Burton, *Arabian Nights, IV*, 298n).

FIRE.—New fire is made with flint and steel, and there appears to be no tradition even of the use of any other apparatus in the past. The fire-stick (split 'hearth' and flexible sawing-thong) is hardly ever used and then only by persons who have learnt its use from Nagas.

BULL-ROARER.—The Thado bull-roarer, rarely seen, is tied by a notch, not, apparently, like some Naga ones, by a hole. It is sometimes used to scare birds, but in the Shingshuan clan, at any rate, the old men object to its use on the ground that it calls up the spirits. The same idea is found in other tribes of Assam. Thus the Khasis say the same, and the Southern Sangtams that it attracts tigers. On the other

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hand the Semas would appear to credit it with the opposite property as imitation bull-roarers are hung up in the door ways of houses in Mishilimi and elsewhere to act as disinfectants in case of illness.

SALAAM.—Old and old-fashioned men among the Thado, when performing ceremonies to propitiate any spirit use an action to express their reverence which consists in placing the palms of the hands together and raising them infront of the face with the thumbs to the forehead.

This action distinctly suggests contact with some Indian culture and is perhaps to be compared with such uses as that of a word (*taima*) for the number 10,000—a lakh, with the practice of singeing a tiger's whiskers (*v.* Appendix A, Folk-tale, No. vi, note 16) and with the introduction of foreign apparatus such as kings and elephants into Thado folk-lore (*v*, Folk-tale, No. vii). Cf. also under Appendix F—*Shilangda.*

BUGS.—(**măt**) May be got rid of by tying one in a little parcel and putting it into the basket of a visitor at the house. *Cf.* the common Naga method of getting rid of a minor ailment, e.g. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 136; Marshall, *Karen People of Burma*, p. 241.

CELTS.—Stone adzes, although called ordinarily by another name (*ke'*), are none the less said to be spirit-hoes. A sky-spirit blacksmith, or, according to other accounts, Pathen himself makes them, but while doing so is sometimes infuriated by the persistent shrilling of the cicada, and throws the hoe he is making at the cicada to make him stop, hence they fall to earth and men find them. A variant version says that they are thrown down because the maker is prodded in his fundament. The belief that they are thunderbolts and that in this capacity they split trees is also held, and an intelligent and literate Thado friend of mine tells me he will believe that it is otherwise when I can show him what does split the tree, if the "thunder-bolt" does not.

NATURAL HISTORY.—The Thado, though an accurate and generally reliable observer of animals wherever such observation is of direct and appreciable benefit to him, as in the case of the habits of animals that he wants for food, is no less capable of naturalistic fantasies than Pliny the Elder in matters that concern him less nearly. Thus a large and fleshy caterpillar called **tangngol** is said to turn into a small field mouse instead of into a moth. The bone from a bear's penis, if dropped into the village well, will cause the damsels of the village to become pregnant by drinking the water. The slow loris (*Nycticebus coucang*) is the priest of the gibbon (*Hylobates hooluck*). It is a rare beast and a Thado will not willingly harm it, as a rule. *cf.* Lewin *Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein*, p. 95. His "sloth" must be the slow loris.

DREAMS.—To dream of a wedding, according to the Thado, portends a death; to dream of the death of a man foretells success in hunting; the familiar falling dream is significant of the growth of the body. The first and last of these interpretations are common in the British Isles, at any rate in Ireland, and the first of the three is shared also by the Sema Naga. Another dream, that of the loss of a tooth, is held to portend the death of a near relative particularly, say the Thado, on the mother's side. The Angami go further and say it is actually the mother's brother's death which is foretold. The Memi and the Lhota, however, seem to see in this dream merely a presage of a death in the family, and the death of a friend or of a relative is its significance in Europe as well.

ASINUS IN TEGULIS.—For a dog or a goat to climb on to the roof of a house is an omen of terrible misfortune to its inhabitants.

INCEST.—This crime, when it occurs, which is very rarely, is punished by expulsion from the village. The only case I ever heard of was that

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of a man of Thengbung by whom his own mother had a child. Both were turned out of Thengbung.

STONES.—Stones are used as substitutes when a man wishes to break a tabu on leaving home. A small oblong stone is taken and set upright in the ground. A little food and drink is supplied for it and it remains and observes the tabu while the man himself goes abroad. Stones are so often set up by Nagas as abodes for souls that one is tempted to suggest that the Thado leaves his, or one of his, at home in the stone when he goes out.

GAMES.—Games played by children include a game with peg-tops, and a game in which two boys amuse themselves by dressing up as a man and his wife and successfully taking in strangers. The Thado, however, and I have made many enquiries, seem to have no trace, unless this game is such, of the custom common to so many tribes of Malay affinities, including the Lushei, whereby some males dress as females and follow female occupations. Mr. Shaw, however, states that impotence is common among the Thado, and it may be that this is a symptom of the same physical tendency.

Cat's cradles are another Thado game, and one of the first I saw was called "duck's foot," and is made by the Kabui also. In Samoa likewise, this same figure is called "the three toed duck" (Hornell, "Cat's cradles" in *Discovery*, April 1928, p. 112).

A form of dance, somewhat on the lines of a sword dance, has been described to me by Mr. Duncan (I have not yet seen it myself), called *su'talăm*, in which the dancer dances between four men who face each other from opposite sides of a square, each pair holding two bamboos one end in each hand. As the one pair closes their bamboos together, the other pair parts theirs at right angles, and so alternately in varying time, while the dancer has to skip from the spaces formed by the closing bamboos into those formed by the parting bamboos in time to the singing and with enough agility to save his ankles from severe contusion.

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APPENDIX H.

ANTHROPOMETRY.

The measurements given below are those taken by me from sixty male and fifteen female Thado in 1927. The averages work out as follows :—

Height	♂	1608·7
	♀	1466·6
Length of head	♂	190·4
	♀	184·1
Breadth of head	♂	147·8
	♀	141
Nasal length	♂	47·7
	♀	44
Nasal breadth	♂	38·5
	♀	35·7
Cephalic index	♂	76·5
	♀	76·6
Nasal index	♂	80·7
	♀	81·1

These figures agree pretty closely with those given for Kukis by Waddell in *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley* (J. A. S. B., XIX, iii, 1900), except in the matter of nasal width for which Waddell's figure is distinctly higher on the whole. Waddell, however, took all his measurements but one from members of the Lakher tribe in the South Lushai Hills, and there were even fewer subjects measured by him than by me.

(Ed.)

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Name.	Sex.	Clan.	Height.	Cephalic length.	Cephalic breadth.	Cephalic index.	Nasal length.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.	Remarks.
Sheikhup ..	♂	Biete ..	1573	193	152	78·8	45	36	80·0	Straight nose; glabial depression slight or absent.
Nguljapao ..	♂	Changsen ..	1698	193	148	76·7	51	37	72·5	
Lalkhulet ..	♂	Chonglui ..	1662	185	140	75·7	43	37	86·0	
Pacheng ..	♂	Do. ..	1597	197	143	72·6	48	39	81·2	
Helbel ..	♂	Do. ..	1690	182	152	83·5	52	35	67·3	
Lamngul ..	♂	Do ..	1542	187	147	78·6	53	37	69·8	Straight nose; (i.e. glabial depression absent or only slight).
Khupcha ..	♂	Gamlhou ..	1594	195	148	75·9	52	39	75	
Sehlam ..	♂	Hangshing	1607	193	144	74·6	42	37	88·1	Slightly prognathous, thick lips, coarse nose, negroid appearance.
Seilam ..	♂	Do. ..	1601	187	147	78·6	48	43	89·6	
Seilun ..	♂	Do. ..	1565	191	146	76·4	44	42	95·5	Slightly prognathous, thick lips coarse nose. (head lopsided.)
Sonlam ..	♂	Do. ..	1620	198	147	74·2	48	39	81·2	
Thangjahao ..	♂	Do. ..	1541	175	138	78·9	44	36	81·8	
Lamkhotung ..	♂	Do. ..	1602	192	142	73·9	43	38	88·4	Slightly prognathous; negroid appearance.
Lalthing ..	♀	Do. ..	1427	182	140	76·9	38	34	89·5	
Lhaineng ..	♀	Do. ..	1552	176	138	78·4	44	35	79·5	
Hemkholet ..	♂	Haokip ..	1640	194	144	74·2	47	37	78·7	
Kimpao ..	♂	Hengna ..	1537	188	149	79·3	52	37	71·2	'The Jate' is an offshoot of the Gwite clan.
Paoshei ..	♂	Jate' ..	1633	186	148	79·6	46	42	91·3	
Khubshe ..	♂	Jongbe' ..	1643	189	141	74·6	44	37	84·0	
Pasem ..	♂	Khulhou ..	1670	197	154	78·2	49	39	79·6	

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Name.	Sex.	Clan.	Height.	Cephalic length.	Cephalic breadth.	Cephalic index.	Nasal length.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.	Remarks.
Lengjang*	♂	Khulhou ..	1602	189	149	79·3	51	41	80·4	
Helkhushei	♂	Kipgen ..	1673	188	147	78·2	52	39	75	
Hoikhunem	♀	Do. ..	1593	181	137	75·7	45	37	82·2	
Lhaijakim	♀	Do. ..	1456	191	144	75·4	48	38	79·2	
Thangkhonem ..	♀	Do. ..	1432	184	143	77·7	45	37	82·2	
Ngullhun	♂	Kolhang ..	1732	191	142	74·3	49	39	79·6	
Hilshe	♂	Do. ..	1609	193	154	79·8	51	39	76·4	
Sheithang	♂	Do. ..	1586	192	143	74·5	45	40	88·8	
Khuplal	♂	Do. ..	1560	187	144	77·0	48	37	72·9	
Selkhup	♂	Do. ..	1574	187	135	72·2	43	36	83·7	
Arui	♂	Do. ..	1482	192	145	75·5	48	35	72·9	Very like a Kachari in appearance.
Kimhat	♀	Do. ..	1553	185	140	75·7	44	38	86·3	Slightly prognathous and negroid in appearance.
Nguljalam	♂	Lenthang ..	1540	189	143	75·7	50	37	74	Overhanging brows.
Lunglen	♂	Do. ..	1623	185	151	81·6	50	38	76	
Khaine'	♂	Leite ..	1603	189	141	74·6	42	40	95·2	
Thanglet	♂	Do. ..	1594	191	142	74·3	44	37	84·0	
Nguljapao	♂	Lhangal ..	1595	202	147	72·8	42	38	90·5	
Hatdem	♀	Lhoutong ..	1436	183	135	73·8	43	35	81·4	
Lhingkho	♀	Do. ..	1412	171	134	78·3	45	35	77·7	
Lunkhujang	♂	Lhouvum ..	1559	185	137	74·0	46	34	73·9	
Lamkhutong	♂	Mangjel ..	1565	194	137	70·6	50	37	74	
Khotinpao	♂	Do. ..	1497	182	139	76·4	50	37	74	Chief of Shongsang. Nose straight (no glabial depression).
Ngulshei	♂	[Milong] ..	1690	192	145	75·5	52	41	78·8	Mixed origin, Father Nzemi (Naga), mother Hôlthang (Thado).
Khupjahel	♂	Misao ..	1721	197	152	77·2	52	35	67·3	

* See plate 5

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Name.	Sex.	Clan.	Height.	Cephalic length.	Cephalic breadth.	Cephalic index.	Nasal length.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.	Remarks.
Khupni	♂	Sanchoung ..	1527	185	150	81·1	42	41	97·6	
Kheipao	♂	Sa'um ..	1634	200	140	70·0	46	38	82·7	
Paokhutong	♂	Do. ..	1661	194	144	74·3	45	38	84·4	
Jamlet	♂	Shingshuan ..	1581	188	150	79·8	47	40	85·1	
Thangkhupao ..	♂	Do. ..	1672	194	143	73·7	47	41	87·2	Markedly Prognathous.
Lhunjahel	♂	Do. ..	1520	187	151	80·7	48	40	83·3	
Nguljalen	♂	Do. ..	1644	188	153	81·4	51	42	82·3	Chief of Kanjang.
Shongkhulal	♂	Do. ..	1592	190	146	76·8	56	42	75	} his brothers.
Sutmang (" Pasut ")* ..	♂	Do. ..	1602	197	151	76·6	57	39	68·4	}
Thanglet	♂	Do. ..	1620	193	144	74·6	44	41	93·2	
Nemlhing	♀	Do. ..	1488	186	150	80·6	45	38	84·4	
Chongthem	♀	Do. ..	1479	186	140	75·3	49	39	79·6	
Nengnu	♀	Do. ..	1420	186	144	77·4	44	35	79·5	
Nengjanem	♀	Do. ..	1454	188	143	76·1	42	34	81	
Valhai	♀	Do. ..	1532	195	146	75	45	36	80	
Panei	♀	Do. ..	1468	186	141	75·8	41	32	78·0	
Jahao	♂	Shingvung ..	1567	190	144	75·8	50	40	80	
Paothang	♂	Shitlho ..	1676	187	147	78·6	49	40	81·6	
Lunkhulet	♂	Do. ..	1622	192	147	76·6	50	42	84	
Kaikhu	♂	Do. ..	1611	193	145	75·1	50	43	86	
Sheivom	♂	Do. ..	1557	184	143	77·7	47	42	89·4	
Mangkhukai ..	♂	Do. ..	1591	183	147	80·3	43	37	86·0	Brother of Khutintong, Chief of Jampi. Somewhat overhanging brow.
Lashu	♂	Telshing ..	1502	193	142	73·6	49	34	69·4	
Haokhokhai	♂	Do. ..	1674	202	143	70·8	50	39	78	
Thoukholet	♂	Do. ..	1636	187	155	82·9	53	37	69·8	
Nguljathong	♂	Do. ..	1524	194	145	74·7	46	36	78·3	
Hoikhunem†	♀	Do. ..	1298	182	140	77	42	33	78·6	Exceptionally small, but fully adult.
Khaikhup	♂	Thanggen ..	1620	196	149	76·0	46	34	73·9	
Lamjakhup	♂	Thomsong ..	1566	189	141	74·6	45	38	84·4	Prognathous; negroid appearance.
Thangkhup	♂	Do. ..	1592	188	154	81·9	44	42	95·5	
Haothang	♂	Vaiphe ..	1636	185	141	76·2	45	39	86.6	Markedly overhanging brows.

* See plate 3.

† See plate 7

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APPENDIX J.

Bibliography of the Thado.

In an Appendix to Mr. Mills' *The Ao Nagas*, I have given a bibliography of the Naga Hills down to 1925 which includes a number of books dealing with the Thado in particular and the Kuki race in general. T. C. Hodson has given a good bibliography in his *Thado Grammar*, and Colonel J. Shakespear has also given a Lushei-Thado bibliography in his *The Lushei Kuki Clans*. I give here, therefore, only such references as either bear on the Kukis as a whole, irrespective of individual tribes, or on the Thado in particular, and include nothing which relates exclusively to some other branch of Kukis. Works marked with an asterisk contain at least one illustration of a Thado.

1. 1840. Fisher, Capt., *Memoir of Sylhet Cachar and the Adjacent Districts*. *J.A.S.B.*, IX. pp. 836, 837.
2. 1854. Jenkins, Col., *An Account of the Assam Tribes* in Mills' *Report on the Province of Assam*.
3. 1855. Butler, Major J., *Travels and Adventures in Assam** (Smith Elder, London) pp. 80-101.
4. 1855. Stewart, Lt. R., *Notes on Northern Cachar*; *J.A.S.B.*, XXIV, pp. 617-649 ; 656-675 ; 685-691.
5. 1857. Stewart, Lt. R., *Slight notice of the Grammar of the Thadou or New Kookie Language*, *J.A.S.B.*, XXV, pp. 178 sqq.
6. 1859. McCulloch, Major W., *Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, (Calcutta) ; pp. 55-64, Appendix II, and Vocabulary pp. xi to xliii.
7. 1872. Dalton, E. T., *Ethnography of Bengal** (Calcutta) pp. 44-48 and 75.
8. 1873. Butler, Capt. J., *Vocabulary of some of the Dialects spoken in the Naga Hills*, *J.A.S.B.*, XLII, pt. I, Appendix.
9. 1874. Brown, R., *Account of Manipur and the Hill Territory*, *1873*, pp. 47-53.
10. 1874. Campbell, Sir G. *Specimens of Languages of India* (Calcutta), pp. 204-217.
11. 1875. Damant, G. H., *The North Cachar Hills and their Inhabitants*, in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. LXI, pp. 97-99.
12. 1876. Damant, G. H., *Report on a Tour in the North Cachar Hills*.
13. 1879. Hunter, W. W., *Statistical Account of Assam*, (London), II, 186 to 188, and 384 to 387, and elsewhere (v. index *s. v.* "Kuki").
14. 1880. Damant, G. H., *Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers*, *J.R.A.S.*, XII, 228-231, 237-239, 252-255.
15. 1884 Mackenzie, A., *History of the Relations of Government with the Hill Tribes of the N. E. Frontier of Bengal* (Calcutta), Ch. xv and parts of xvi and xxi and some passages in the "appendixes" (*sic*).
16. 1884. Soppitt, C. A., *Short Account of the Kuki and Lushai Tribes on the N. E. Frontier* (Shillong).

* See plate 3.

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17. 1886. Hunter, W. W., *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (London), vol. X, pp. 150-151.

18. 1886. Dun, E. W., *Gazetteer of Manipur* (Calcutta), pp. 32-36.

19. 1887. Watt, D. G., *The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur, J.R.A.I.*, XVI, pp. 349-350.

20. 1892. Gait, E. A., *Census of India, Assam*, vol. I, pp. 181, 182 and 251, 252.

21. 1893. Elles, Col. E. R., *Military Report on the Chin Lushei Country* (Simla), (Shillong), p. 16.

22. 1894. Davis, A. W., *Gazetteer of the North Lushai Hills* (Shillong), pp. 3 sq.

23. 1896. Johnstone, Genl. Sir J., *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, pp. 25-27 and elsewhere, *e.g.* in ch. xx (London).

24. 1896. Carey, B. S., and Tuck, H. N., *The Chin Hills*, vol. 1, ch. xii and pt. II passim.

25. 1900. Scott, J. and Hardiman, J. P., *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon), vol. 1, part i, page 437.

26. 1901. Waddell, L. A., *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley, J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, 50-52.

27. 1902. Allen B. C., Assam Census Report, pt. i, page 90.

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29. 1903-'27. Grierson, Sir G., *Linguistic Survey of India*, (Calcutta), III, iii, 1-19, 59-71 and 88-105, I, i, 40-49 and 71 to 77 and maps.

30. 1906. Shakespear, Major L. W., *Military Report on the Naga Hills* (Simla), page 19.

31. 1906. Hodson, T. C., *Thado Grammar* (Shillong).

32. 1912. Shakespear, Lt.-Col. J., *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (London), pt. II, ch. iv and vi.

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34. 1924. Hutton, J. H., *Occurrence of the Blow-gun in Assam*,* Man, XXIV, viii, 77.

35. 1927. Vickers, Col. A., *Among the Kukis*, Blackwood's Magazine.

36. 1927. Crawford, C. G., *Handbook of Kuki Custom* (Manipur).

37. 1928. Mills, J. P., *The Hill Tribes of Assam, IV, The Kuki Clans*,* Assam Review I, iv, (June 1928), pp. 9-11.

Of the above references Nos. 27 and 29, Hodson and Grierson, are important for the language, and No. 15 is important for the early history of the relations of the Thado with Government. For Ethnology the following are important :—

No. 4—Stewart (*Notes on North Cachar*), now unobtainable, but largely reproduced in

No. 7—Dalton (*Ethnography of Bengal*), which, as reproducing Stewart in a concise form, is the most valuable early authority with the possible exception of

No. 6—McCulloch (*Valley of Munnipore*) and

No. 9—Brown (*Account of Manipur*) both of whom give short but as far as they go accurate accounts of the Thado of the Manipur State sixty to seventy years ago, and

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No. 16 Soppitt (*Account of the Kuki and Lushai Tribes*), which, like No. 4, is now unobtainable. There is a copy in the library of the Deputy Commissioner's Office at Kohima, and another is possessed by the Catholic Mission in Shillong. He gives some interesting and remarkable details, elsewhere unrecorded, but dealing with the Sakchip (*i.e.* 'Tippera') and Biete sub-tribes, as well as with the Thado, does not always clearly distinguish between the customs of the Thado and of these Old Kuki tribes, while the section on language is based on Hrangkol and Biete.

No. 24 Carey and Tuck (*The Chin Hills*) deals primarily with Chins, of whom it has excellent illustrations, but Part II relates generally to the Chin Kuki Tribes as a whole.

No. 30 Shakespear (*Lushei Kuki Clans*) though primarily concerned with the Lushei deals (in part II) with the non-Lushei Clans including the Thado, on whom it is the best recent authority.

No. 34 Crawford (*Kuki Custom*) deals with Thado custom, not Kuki custom in general, and is valuable, but contains little, if anything, that is not included in this volume.

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APPENDIX K.

TYPES.

Plates 1–7.

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GROUP OF THADO MEN.

LHUNVOM of Chongjang (Dongngel clan.)

THONGNGAM of Aishan (Dongngel clan.)

LENGJANG of Taning (Khulhou clan.)

PA-SUT of Kanjang (Shingshuan clan.)

SHEIKENG (Chonglui clan.)

PAOMINTHANG of Aishan (Gangte clan.)

DOUKHULET of Thenjol (Lenthang clan.)

THOSHEI of Paona (Hangshing clan.)

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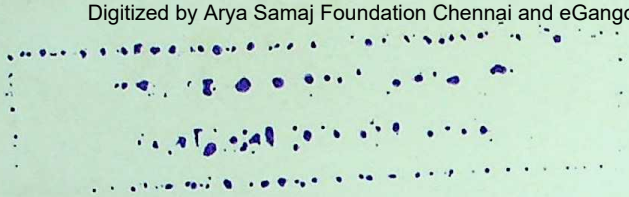

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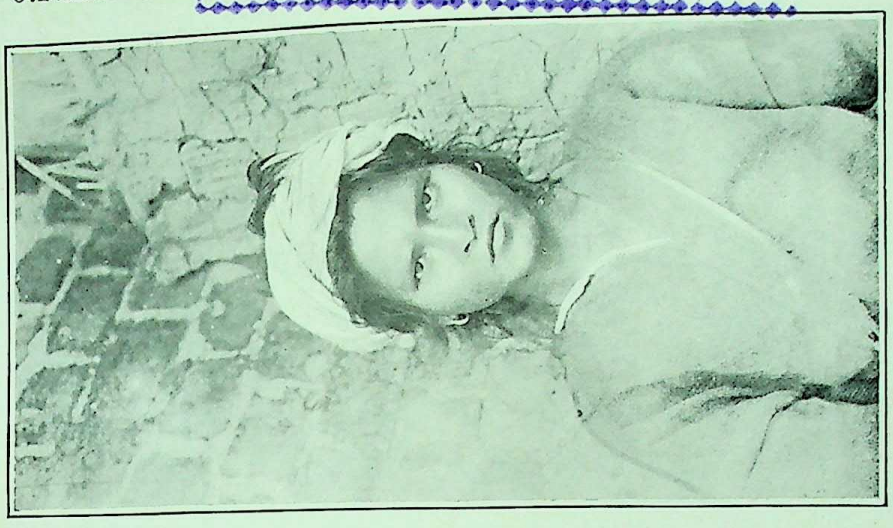

Fig. 3.—Khutinthang (or Khilkung), Chief of Jāmpi, and Head of the Shitlho clan.

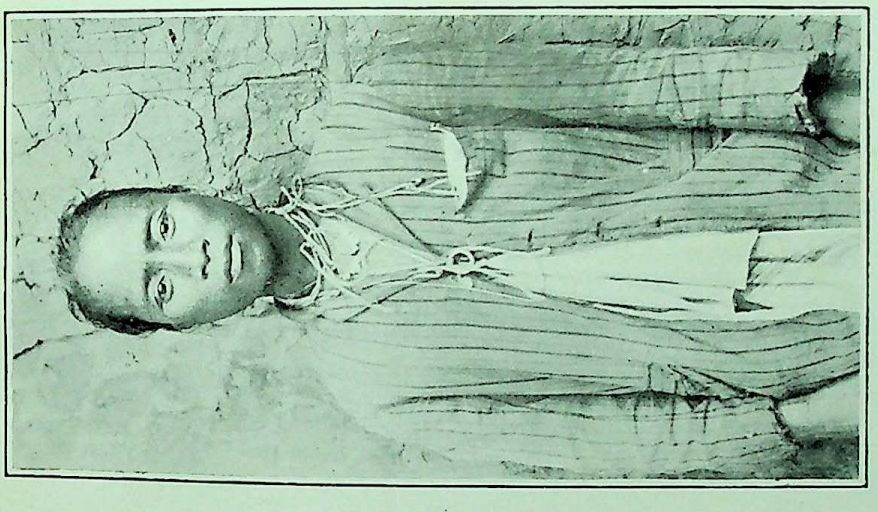

Fig. 2.—Lhokhumang commonly known by his nickname Pachei, Chief of Chahsat, Head of the Haokip clan.

Fig. 1.—Chengjapo, Chief of Aishān, Head of the Dongngel clan.

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Fig 3.—Sutmang (commonly known as Pa-sūt) brother of the Chief of Kanjang; Shingshuan clan; wearing *vakul* and *thu'pa*.

Fig. 2.—Tintong, Chief of Laijang.

Fig. 1.—Enjakhup of Thenjol (the rebel leader).

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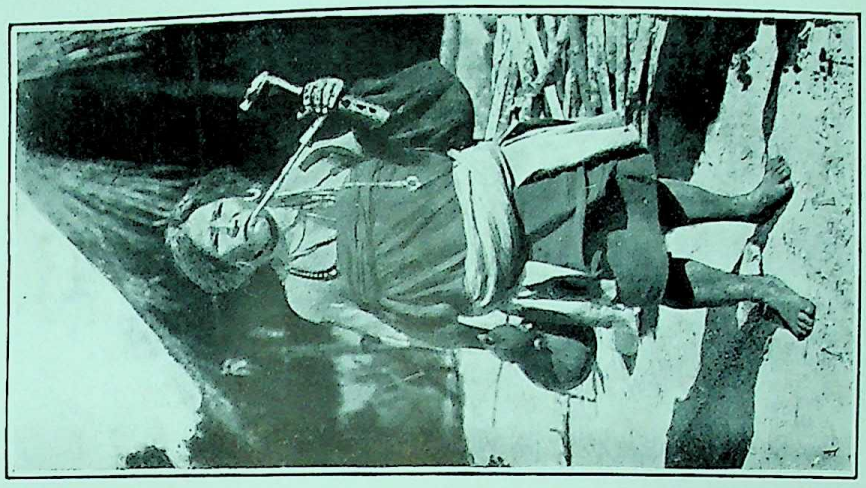

Fig. 3.—A matron of Dulen village, smoking a woman's pipe.

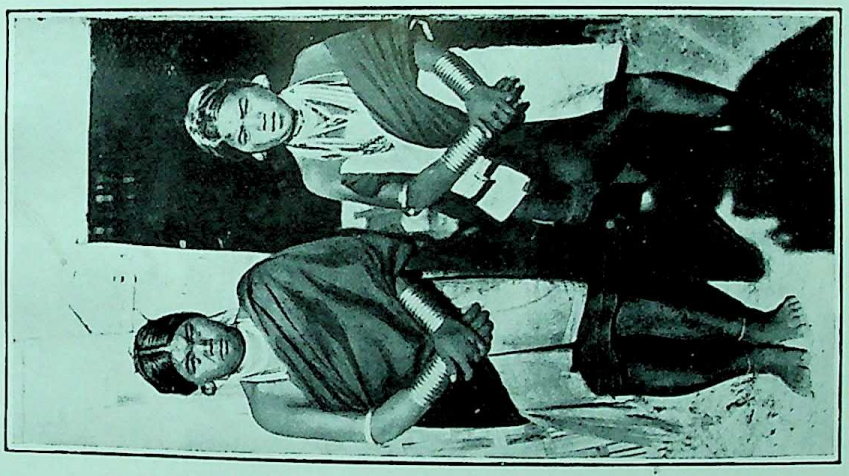

Fig. 2.—Two girls of Dulen village.

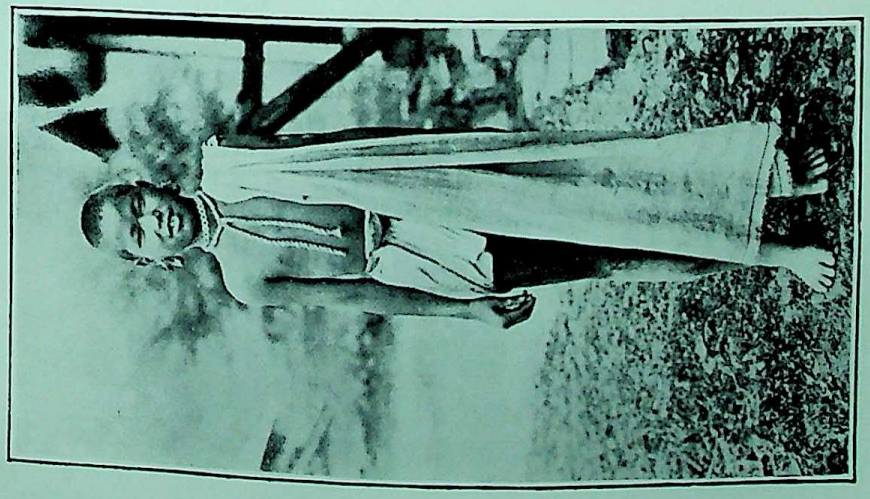

Fig. 1.—A boy (Lalkhulet) of Dulen village. He belongs to the Chonglui clan.

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Fig. 1(*a*).

Fig. 1(*b*).

Thado dressed for war or hunting (*a*) with flintlock gun, and (*b*) in ceremonial cloth (*thangnang*) and headgear (*jouchal*—hair and cowrie band: *vakul*—feather plume).
(Lengjang of Taning, Khulhou clan.)

Fig. 2.—Heads (crania) of Tangkhuls of Kasom impaled outside Chengjapao's village near Vahong, 1918-19.

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Vajanem of Kanjang village—(Haokip clan).

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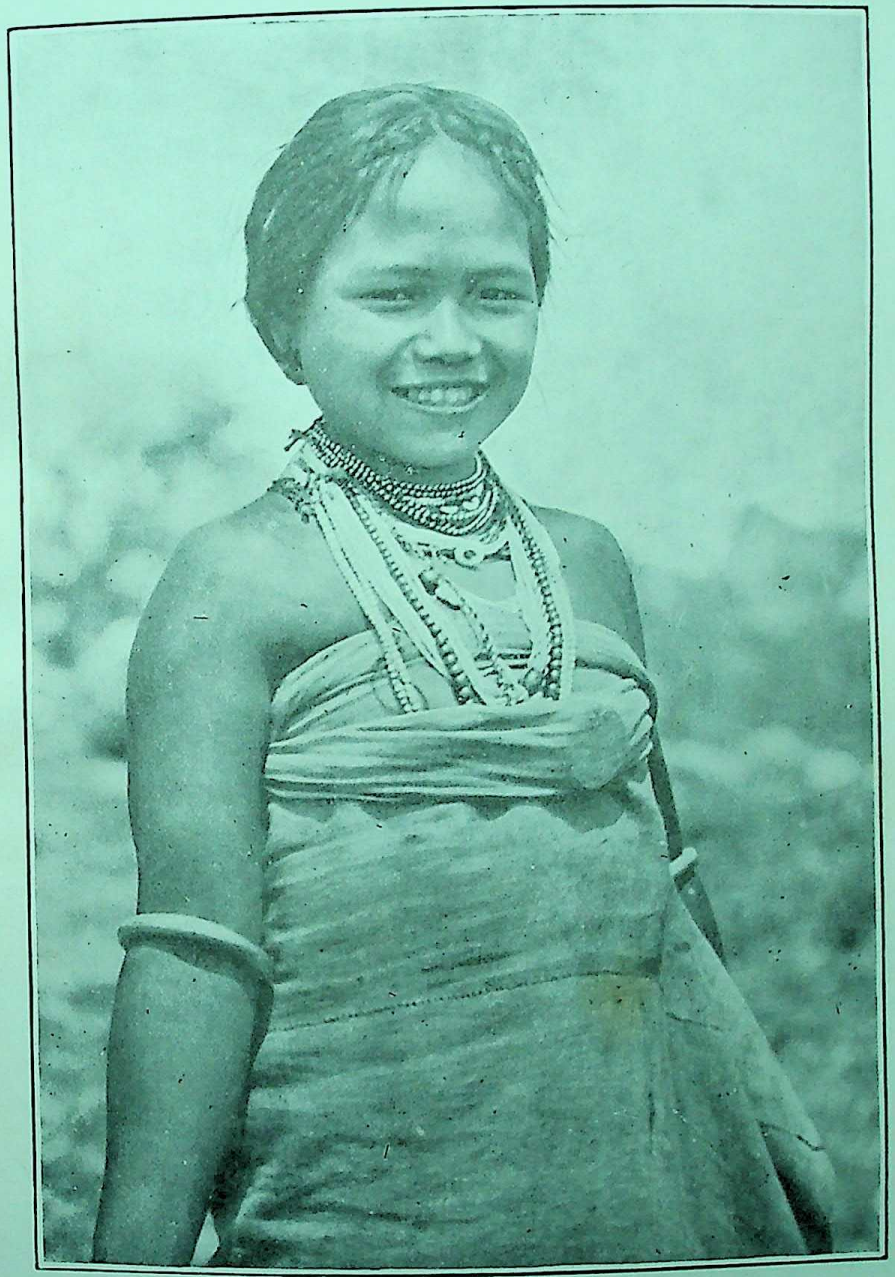

Hoikhunem of Kanjang village—(Telshing clan).

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APPENDIX L.

INDEX.

In the following index Thado words other than the names of persons or places are shown in italics.

The Index serves also as a bibliography of books, other than those given in Appendix J., to which reference is made in the course of the preceding pages, names of authors being given as they occur alphabetically, and against each work separately the pages of the passages in which the reference occurs.

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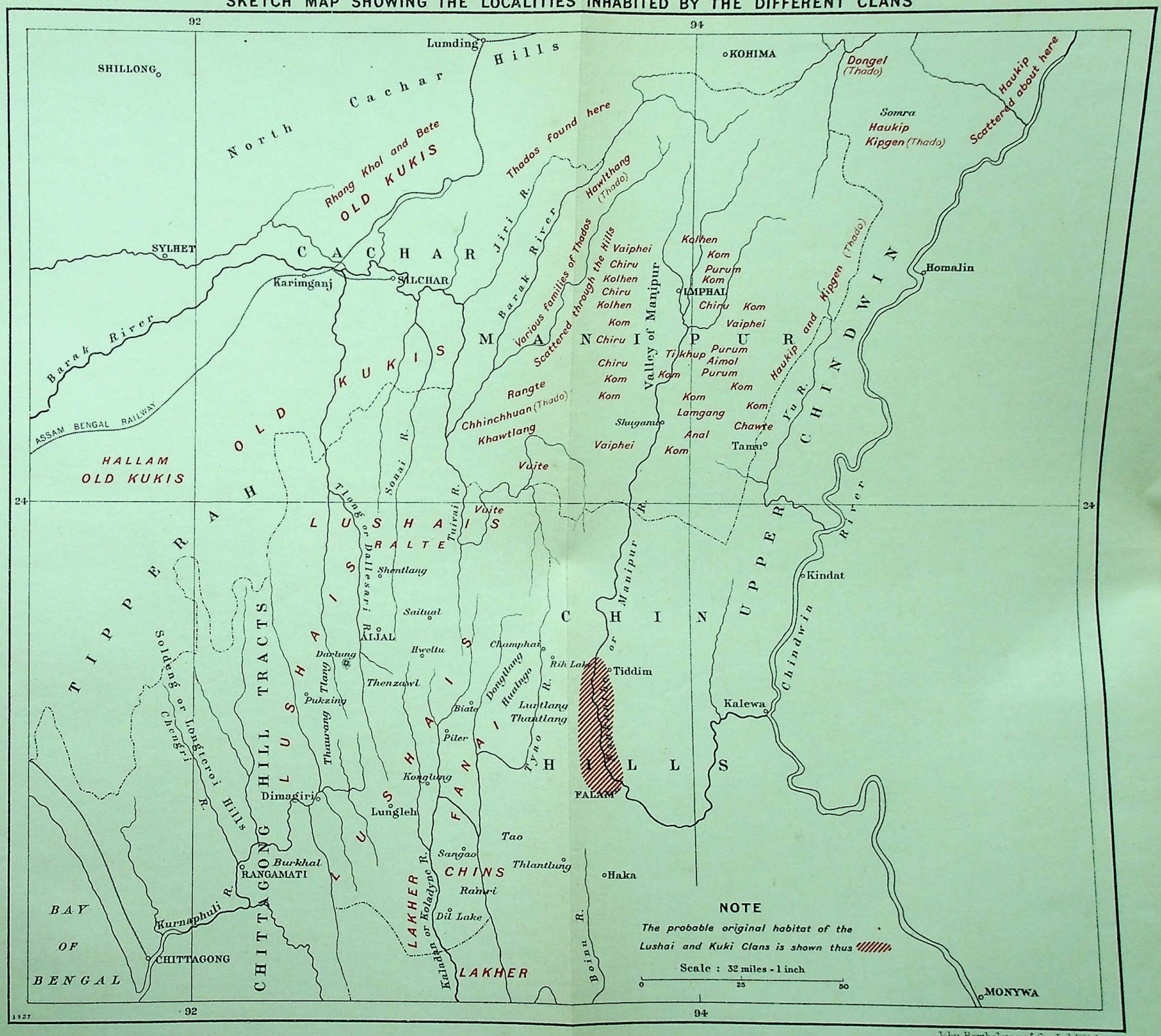

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1928.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 6th February, 1928, at 5-30 P.M.

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Modi, Mr. J. R. K.
Mukherjee, Mr. S. C.
Mukherjee, Dr. G. N.
Mukherjee, Mr. D.
Mukherjee, Dr. S. K.
Narayanaswami, Mr. V.
Nashipur, Raja Bahadur of
Pascoe, Sir Edwin
Prashad, Dr. Baini
Raman, Dr. C. V.
Roy, Mr. G. N.
Sadeq, Hakim S. M.
Sewell, Lt.-Col, R. B. S.
Shanks, Major G.
Shastri, Mr. H. P.
Sircar, Mr. Ganapati
Sohoni, Mr. V. V.
Suhrawardy, Mr. Justice Z. R. Z.
Taraporevala, Mr. I. J. S.
Ukil, Dr. A. C.
Ward, Mrs. Dorothy

and many others.

Visitors :

Baber Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, General Sir, of Nepal.
Banerji, Mr. B.
Berg, Jhr. Mr. A. A. D.

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Bhattacharyya, Mr. B. M.
Bishnu Shumsher Jung Bahadur, General, of Nepal.
Biswas, Mr. C. C.
Biswas, Mr. J. N.
Biswas, Mr. R. N.
Bonnerjee, Mr. K. W.
Bonnerjee, Mr. M.
Bose, Mr. J. N.
Brahmachari, Mr. P.
Brahmachari, Mr. S.
Brinkman, Mr. F. L.
Chatterjee, Mr. H. N.
Chatterjee, Mr. M.
Das, Mr. M. S.
Eichstedt, Baron von
Evans, Mr. F. L.
Ezra, Lady Rachel
Figg, Mr. N. G.
Geint, Mr. Léon
Hamilton, Lt.-Col. W. G.
Hardy, Mr. G.
Hawes, Mrs. O.
Hudson, Mr. J. H.
Iovleff, Mrs.
Jones, Mrs. G. H.
Kaiser Shumsher Jung Bahadur, Lt.-Col., General, of Nepal.
Ker, Mr. A. E.
Knight, Mr. P.
Lüders, Dr. H.
Lüders, Mrs. E.
Mitchell, Mr. J. D.
Mitra, Mr. N.
Mohun Shumsher Ju[illegible] General, of Nepal.
Mukerjee, Mr. P. N.
Nabazi, Mr. A.
Paul, Mr. K. S.
Pearson, Rev. C. G.
Persia, Consul General for
Plessen, Baron, Leopold
Raman, Mrs. C .V.
Ray, Mr. N. C.
Roy, Mr. W. M.
Sachse, Mr. F. A.
Sachse, Mrs. F. A.
Sarkar, Mr. Jadu Nath
Sewell, Mr. Hugh.
Shanker Shumsher Jung Bahadur, General, of Nepal.
Sirkar, Mr. A. K.
Stauffer, Mr. S. E.
Stauffer, Mrs. S. E.
Stewart-Smith, Mr. D. C.
Stewart-Smith, Mrs. D. C.
Urquhart, Dr. W. S.
Watt, Rev. J.
West, Mr. J .J. van
West, Mr. W. D.
Wolfe, Mr. A.

and many others.

The President in declaring the meeting open, said:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was the intention of His Excellency the Governor, who is Patron of the Society, to preside at this meeting and deliver an address. Reasons of state have necessitated his somewhat unexpected departure for Delhi. He has expressed his keen regret that he is unable to be present; and I know I shall be voicing your feelings when I say we also keenly regret his absence."

After these opening words, the President ordered the distribution of the voting papers for the election of Officers and Members of Council for 1928, as well as the voting papers for the election of Ordinary Fellows proposed by Council, and appointed Mr. A. L. Coulson and Dr. B. N. Chopra to be scrutineers.

The President also ordered the distribution of copies of the Annual Report for 1927 and called on the General Secretary to make a few remarks upon it.

The Annual Report was then presented. (See page xxvi.)

The retiring President then addressed the meeting. (See page vi.)

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The retiring President called upon the scrutineers to report and announced the results of the Council election. (See p. xvi.)

PRO[illegible]iring President then gave place to the President for 192[illegible] thanked the Society briefly as follows :—

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank Dr. Christie for the very kind words he has just spoken about me.

It is a great privilege to be elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and I am very thankful to the Members of this Society for this honour conferred on me. That I have to take the Chair occupied by very illustrious predecessors makes me feel diffident as to my own capabilities.

I cannot aspire to the intellectual height of a Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, to the constructive genius of a Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherjee, or to the scientific acumen of a Dr. Annandale and a Dr. Christie, but I can humbly try to look after the Society with the healing art which is my profession and with the love for it which is my inspiration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Asiatic Society of Bengal is a great institution. It was through its activities, when Colebrooke was its President, that the seeds of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland were sown. It gave the impetus towards the founding of the meteorological department of the Government of India, when in 1857, Sir Richard Strachy, a Vice-President, moved the Society concerning the urgent need of a controlling authority capable of directing and utilising the works of observers in meteorology in India and concerning which Blandford, an Honorary Secretary of the Society, drew up in 1865 a final report to the Government. Out of it, as is well known, was evolved the great Indian Museum which stands next door in all its splendour. Out of it was evolved in more recent times the Indian Science Congress, of whose activities we have heard and seen so much during its recent sittings in Calcutta last month and which is fast growing in importance from year to year. All these daughter institutions, as well as the Asiatic Society of Bengal itself, are national assets to the whole of India. Calcutta is still the centre of scientific research in this country. I hope that the Society may continue to be a centre of unification and inspiration to all intellectual activities in the different parts of the land, and remain what it really is, the Asiatic Society of India, nay in the language of its founder, of Asia, for: 'The bounds of its investigations will be the geographical limits of Asia, and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man, or produced by Nature.'

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Asiatic Society of Bengal is not concerned with the strife of parties. It is a focus of unity of

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the highest order. It is perhaps not known to-day that one of its very early emblems was the bust of its Founder with the Vedas and a mandir on the one side and the Koran and a musjid on the other. It is a happy thing to find that scholars belonging to all great religions, races and cultures represented in India have been working for nearly a century and a half within this memorable hall in perfect amity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not customary for the newly elected President to make a long speech on the occasion of his election and I shall not further dilate on our Society. May its prosperity increase throughout the ages and may many a noble son and true friend of India continue to join its ranks and share its labours."

The President for 1928 then declared, on report of the scrutineers, the following candidates duly elected Ordinary Fellows of the Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

Mr. H. E. Stapleton.
Dr. Baini Prashad.
Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
Dr. C. A. Bentley.

After this declaration the President announced that papers fulfilling the conditions had been received from one candidate in competition for the Elliot Prize for Scientific Research for the year 1927, and that the Trustees had judged the papers deserving of the award.

The Elliott Prize for the year had accordingly been awarded to Mr. Kalipada Biswas, for meritorious publications on the subject of Biology and the President called upon Mr. Biswas to receive the medal, in the following words :—

"I have great pleasure in handing over this prize to you and I congratulate you most sincerely on your success in winning it."

The President for 1928 then announced that the Barclay Memorial medal for 1927 had been awarded to Dr. Stanley W. Kemp and called upon Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell to receive the medal, in the following words :—

"Mr. Director of the Zoological Survey of India, I have great pleasure in handing over to you on behalf of the Society the Barclay Memorial medal for the year 1927 and I hope you will very kindly transmit it to Dr. Stanley W. Kemp and convey to him our sincerest congratulations. I thank you very much for your kind courtesy in coming here to receive this medal on his behalf."

The President for 1928 then announced that the Annandale Memorial medal for 1927 had been awarded to Dr. Fritz Sarasin and addressed Mr. Max Staub, Consul for Switzerland, in the following words :—

"Mr. Consul for Switzerland, I have great pleasure in hand-

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ing over to you on behalf of the Society the Annandale Memorial medal for the year 1927 and I hope you will very kindly transmit it to your illustrious compatriot Dr. Fritz Sarasin and convey to him our sincerest congratulations. I thank you very much for your kind courtesy in coming here to receive this medal on his behalf."

The President for 1928 then announced that the Sir William Jones medal for 1927 had been awarded to Sir Malcolm Watson and addressed Major-General Godfry Tate, Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal, in the following words :—

"Mr. Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal, I have great pleasure in handing over to you on behalf of the Society the Sir William Jones medal for the year 1927 and I hope you will very kindly transmit it to Sir Malcolm Watson and convey to him our sincerest congratulations. I thank you very much for your kind courtesy in coming here to receive this medal on his behalf."

The President for 1928 then said : Before declaring the Annual Meeting closed, I have one pleasant but pressing duty to perform.

I call upon you to carry a hearty vote of thanks to our outgoing President, Dr. Christie. Dr. Christie has for more than twenty years been an active member of our Society, serving it on the Council in various capacities on many an occasion. He has crowned his work by guiding our destinies as President during the past year, efficiently and devotedly. His work was very difficult last year because he had to perform the dual function of President and General Secretary of our Society for many months. We owe him a deep debt of gratitude. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to show your hearty assent to my proposal by carrying it by acclamation.

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, the President for 1928, declared the Annual Meeting to be dissolved, but invited the guests present to examine a collection of exhibits, and the Members present to re-assemble round the table for the Ordinary Monthly Meeting for the election of Members and the transaction of business. (For descriptive list of exhibits, see page xvii.)

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ANNUAL ADDRESS, 1927-28.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I would first refer to the great loss we have suffered during the year by the death of Frederick Eden Pargiter, at one time General Secretary and from 1903–1905 President of the Society. His 31 years of service in India were spent at a time when civil servants still had the leisure and the inclination to make themselves masters in chosen branches of oriental learning, and Mr. Pargiter became a master in Puranic history. He translated for our *Bibliotheca Indica* series with scrupulous care the Markandeya-Purana. He continued his work on the Puranas after his retirement from a judgeship of the High Court of Calcutta, completing it in 1922 with his "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition." He still continued his interest in the Society and contributed to our *Memoirs* in 1923 an important "Vocabulary of peculiar vernacular Bengali Words." During the whole of his service he had noted down every Bengali word he did not know, with its exact, often local, significance, and he was eventually able to collate this material, which is not only a mine of information for the student of Bengali but a very useful compilation for, let us say, the District Officer.

I have had the opportunity during the year of my presidentship of seeing more of the details of the affairs of the Society than the average President, for, when the General Secretary had to leave us for six months for urgent medical reasons, I attempted to carry on his duties in addition to my own. I had been Honorary Secretary many times in the past in the days when we had a whole time Assistant Secretary. In the absence of an Assistant Secretary I found of course that the Secretary's work was more onerous than it used to be, and I was enabled to carry on only by the devotedness of a very willing staff. What struck me in connection with the work was the general growth of our various activities. Our publications, as far as *Journal and Proceedings* and *Memoirs* are concerned, are more or less of the same volume, but our *Bibliotheca Indica* publications have grown considerably, largely due to a changed policy of not, at the beginning of the year, restricting ourselves to the publication of a bare 96 pages of such and such an edition or translation, but getting through the press as much of an important work as an energetic editor can produce. I would instance Shams-ul-'Ulamā Dr. M. Hidāyat Hosain's Ma'athir-i-Rahimi of which we have published a handsome volume of 800 pages during the year. Our activity in the matter of catalogues too is ten times what it was. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shāstrī's great catalogue of the Sanskrit

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manuscripts we possess has advanced by no less than 1,400 pages, and a supplementary volume of our catalogue of the Persian manuscripts, published during the year and completing the work, testifies to the tireless energy of Mr. Ivanow. Our catalogue of books in European languages also proceeds apace, and this year should see the issue of an up-to-date author catalogue. The Indian Science Congress, too, grows in numbers and in the volume of its Proceedings year by year, and the work that the Society does in connection with it has grown correspondingly. Our activities as booksellers have expanded enormously and a large portion of our income is now derived from the sale of old publications, whose very existence was unknown outside the Society until a few years ago.

The credit for this and for much of the increase of our usefulness generally is due to our Secretary Mr. Van Manen, who gives all his energy and resourcefulness ungrudgingly to the Society. It is little wonder that his health broke down in the process. But we are glad that his sojourn in Holland, while reducing his waistline, has restored his health. Now that the back has been broken of the re-organisation schemes to which his energy has been devoted, I hope that he will rest a little on his laurels, so that his strength may not be overtaxed a second time.

An effort has been made during the year to bring more up-to-date the issue of our *Journal and Proceedings*. The experiment of issuing the *Journal* in parts devoted to separate branches of science or literature led to considerable delay, for one author could hold up the whole *Journal* by preventing the paging of subsequent issues. The Council somewhat reluctantly decided to revert to our previous practice of publishing matter for the *Journal* without regard to its arrangement in subjects. The resulting speeding up should enable us shortly to wipe out arrears. The only exception is in connection with our Numismatic Supplement of which we have been publishing one number every year. This again threatens to retard the completion of a volume and I would suggest to the new Council that they might issue numismatic supplements as they are ready—if necessary two a year, perhaps none at all in certain volumes, so that this stumbling block to punctuality may also be removed.

Our *Memoirs* have proceeded at somewhat more than normal pace, three important issues having appeared during the year. Pride of place may perhaps be given to Mr. Bodding's "Santal Medicine," a mine of information for the comparative anthropologist and not without importance for the student of pharmacology. We are fortunate in being able to anticipate a third interesting number from Mr. Bodding to complete the trilogy—a description of the weird things that Santals eat, especially in times of famine, and the ways they prepare

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them. Principal Stapleton's and Dr. Hidāyat Hosain's important contribution to the early history of chemistry, "Chemistry in Iraq and Persia in the 10th Century," has advanced our knowledge of early alchemy on really sound lines. Such studies have often suffered in the past by the collaboration of a scholar who knew all about chemistry with one who knew all about Arabic, the chemist being dependent on the linguist for his interpretation of how the alchemist worked,—his raw materials, his technique, his apparatus, and the products he obtained—and the Arabic scholar seldom had the requisite chemical knowledge to interpret correctly. In Principal Stapleton we have the rare combination of a trained chemist, an Arabic scholar and a historian, to translate these ancient manuscripts, and the results have an importance that it would be difficult to overrate. Our third Memoir continues the series that Colonel Sewell is contributing on "Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters." This one is perhaps less interesting than some of the others, consisting more of records than interpretations, but it gives a mass of careful observations over a series of years on the R.I.M. Survey Ship "Investigator," which adds greatly to our knowledge of meteorology in Indian seas.

Our financial position is very satisfactory, thanks largely to an increased membership. We have again a new record number of members on our rolls and I think most of those who have joined us this year are good members—members who will continue to take an interest in the work of the Society. The fund which my predecessor started to endow our magnificent library has reached Rs. 5,000. It is most important that we should be able to look after and preserve the priceless books that we possess. Our current needs are so great if we are to keep our library up-to-date, that there is apt to be nothing left over for the preservation of our older books, and I take the opportunity of commending this important subject to your notice. No subscription will be thought too small. We have thousands of books which ought to be rebound or repaired, and with books, as with most things, a stitch in time saves nine.

I propose now to address you for a few minutes about the origin of continents and oceans according to the theory of Wegener.

All of you have done jig-saw puzzles, in which variously shaped flat pieces of wood have to be fitted together to form a picture. If you imagine the jig-saw to be done on a globe and the continents to be the pieces, it is surprising how many of the land masses of the world have outlines which fit one another. The closest fit of all is Africa and South America,

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and if one examines a map one will be struck with the accuracy with which the bulge on the East of South America fits into the great dent on the Western coast of Africa. It was this remarkable fact that started Alfred Wegener on his theory of continental displacement a few years ago—a theory that has given rise to a great deal of controversy, in which astronomers and geologists, mathematicians and chemists, palæontologists and climatologists, biologists and geographers have all taken part. As usual the theory was not new; it had been already suggested by W. H. Pickering,[1] by F. B. Taylor,[2] and much earlier still by S. J. Johnson[3] in 1874. But Alfred Wegener[4] was the first to raise it to a comprehensive hypothesis.

Briefly the theory is that all the continents, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australia and Antarctica, at about the time when our Indian coal fields were being formed, were all one continuous land mass, and that portions subsequently drifted away America drifted Westward from Europe and Africa: S. E. Asia, India, Australia and Antarctica drifting off from Africa. But what did they drift on? Let us consider for a moment the composition of the earth's interior. It is of course mainly constituted of much denser material than the rocks at its surface with which alone we are familiar. These have an average density of about 2·7, whereas the mean density of the whole earth is about twice as great. The central core, with a radius nearly half that of the earth but with only about $\frac{1}{6}$th of the volume, is generally assumed to consist of nickel iron with a density of at least ten times that of water. This is deduced from a study of the composition of the meteorites that reach the earth. If you look at the wonderful collection of meteorites in the Indian Museum you will notice a great number of iron ones; many of the stony ones also contain a large percentage of metallic iron and the iron is always alloyed with nickel. Our knowledge of the outer layers of the earth is derived largely from the way in which earthquake waves are transmitted from one part of the earth's surface to another—the main difficulty of calculation being that the depth of the disturbance in the earth's interior that causes an earthquake is unknown. We know, however, from such catastrophes as the huge explosion at Oppau in Germany in 1921, the rate at which earthquake waves travel through the surface layers, and calculations from the times at which series of earthquake shocks have been recorded at different observation stations give a certain amount of information about the media through

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[1] *Journ. Geol.*, XV, 32, (1907).
[2] *Bull. Geol. Soc. Amer.*, XXI, 179, (1910).
[3] Cf. W. Wright, Nature, CXX, 84, (1927).
[4] The Origin of Continents and Oceans. Translated by J. G. A. Skerl. London, 1924.

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which the various types of earthquake waves travel. But we are also able to deduce information about the interior of the earth from the theory of isostasy, a matter on which a great deal of work has been done in India. This theory, due originally to J. H. Pratt, a distinguished member of this Society and Archdeacon of Calcutta 70 years ago, has been worked out in great detail from observations made in the United States. To account for differences in the force of gravity at different places and what is known as the deflection of the plumbline, it was suggested that the lighter, continental crust floats upon a heavier layer more or less as an iceberg on water. Although I am not so convinced of the correctness of the theory as I was before Dr. de Graaff Hunter's address to the Indian Science Congress last month, it certainly fits the observations in many parts of the world and we may perhaps take it as corroborative evidence that the continents dip deeply into, and are supported by, a denser layer below.

The continents (but not the ocean floor) are composed mainly of granite or similar rock, something like 20 miles in thickness and of a density of about 2·7. Beneath this there is a denser stratum composed of basaltic material, of something like the composition of those lava flows which cover such an enormous area of the other side of the Indian Peninsula and whose wonderful scenery we are all familiar with as we approach Bombay,—the Deccan Trap. The assumption of this layer of basalt is necessary on several grounds, one of which is to explain the outpouring of lava, not only from volcanoes now active, but from the great fissures from which it must have been extruded to form these colossal flows of basalt in Western India, which are paralleled in other parts of the world. This basaltic layer is assumed to exist also below the ocean floor with only a thin covering of superficial deposits. The theoretical constitution of the layers of the earth between this basaltic layer and the central core have been worked out in detail by H. S. Washington,[1] but this need not detain us. According to Wegener's theory the masses of the continents—parts of the granitic layer, or "sial" (being the first two letters of silicon and aluminium and referring to the preponderance of silicon and aluminium in the granite) have drifted like icebergs on the top of the basaltic layer, or "sima" (being the first two letters of silicon and magnesium and referring to the prevalance of silicon and magnesium in the basalt).

We may well ask ourselves why there were any continents at all to drift. If all the earth's surface were reduced to the same level, it would be entirely covered with water, covered indeed to a depth of a couple of miles. So before we start

[1] *Amer. Journ. Sci.*, Ser. 5, IX, 351, (1925).

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shifting the continents we might consider how dry land came into being at all. Whatever theory we assume for the origin of the earth, we are driven to admit that at one stage it must have been molten at the surface, and it is very difficult to see why such a rotating body should become unsymmetrical to such an extent that when the ocean condensed on the first crust that was formed, it did not completely cover it for all time. Several explanations have been attempted. It has been suggested that conditions got disturbed through the birth of the moon, and Osmond Fisher and many others have suggested that the moon came from the hole now filled by the Pacific Ocean. If, however, the moon was split off from the earth by the tidal action of the sun, as seems probable, this must have happened, according to H. Jeffreys,[1] when even the crust was almost liquid and the earth capable of enormous destortion, so that the huge hole left by the moon, which might have been the Pacific Ocean, would have given rise to a condition of instability and the hole must have been almost immediately filled up again. According to him it seems impossible that the moon should have been split off from the earth after it had solidified for, with its known density, the moon must have been broken up on its outward passage. A. S. Eddington,[2] on the other hand, an astronomical authority just as high, sees no objection to the hypothesis that the earth had a solid crust at the time. "The view that the Pacific Ocean is the hollow left at the place where the moon broke off seems tenable unless geologists find objection to it." Taylor[3] has suggested that the earth may have captured the moon and that its early tidal action may have brought about the unsymmetrical distribution of the crust and formed the first continent, but there seem to be insuperable difficulties in this theory. R. A. Daly[4] suggests that when the earth condensed the matter in the interior was not symmetrically distributed and this lack of symmetry found expression after the surface part solidified, the crust in one hemisphere sinking, and rising in the other.

When the primeval steam of the atmosphere, probably highly charged with hydrochloric acid gas, condensed to form the sea, it seems probable that, from whatever cause, there were depressions in which it could accumulate and a land mass whose shores it would wash. This land mass, according to Wegener, consisted more or less of the whole of the continents as we now know them, joined together.

It was not until hundreds of millions of years later that they drifted apart more or less to the positions they now

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[1] The earth. Cambridge, 1924, P. 150
[2] *Nature*, CXI, 20, (1923). [3] *Loc. Cit.*
[4] Our Mobile Earth, New York, 1926, P. 306.

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occupy. At that time the great continent, consisting mainly of granitic rock or sial was floating on the denser basalt or sima below, the sima forming also the whole of the ocean floor. But when Wegener says floating he does not mean that the basalt was a mobile liquid. The way in which earthquake waves travel through the interior of the earth indicates that the basaltic layer is definitely solid with the exception of patches of it here and there beneath volcanic regions, and movement of the granitic continents through this unyielding mass is difficult to visualise. Wegener, recognising the difficulty of the displacement of a solid mass through another, compares the sial moving in the sima to wax moving in sealing wax, but the comparison is unconvincing. Thanks to a beautiful conception of J. Joly,[1] however, the question is greatly simplified—the basaltic stratum is melted periodically by the radioactive materials it contains. Radium, as you know, when it disintegrates, gives out heat, and thorium does too. Potassium also, although only very feebly radioactive, must be taken into the reckoning, for the basaltic layer, as we may judge from the outpourings at the surface, contains a considerable percentage of potassium. The dissipation of most of this radioactive energy into heat goes on continuously at a rate calculated for plateau basalts such as our Deccan trap of 3·39 calories per gram in a million years and for the island basalts, presumably the topmost layer of the substratum (like St. Helena and Honolulu) 5·65 calories of heat per gram in a million years. This heat can't get away; it must accumulate; and eventually the accumulation is sufficient to melt the substratum. The melting process will go on until some egress is found for the excess heat. During this time the whole of the earth's surface will be afloat on the liquid substratum. When solid basalt is changed into liquid basalt in the laboratory, there is an expansion of about 12%, and although, under the great pressures prevailing in the substratum, this figure will be somewhat less, it will still be considerable. As a result of course, the earth as a whole must expand and either the continents or the ocean floor or both must give way under the tension and great rifts such as those of the Red Sea must follow. The ocean floor, composed mainly of basalt, will give more readily, great volumes of molten basalt will well forth into the ocean and the seas will overwhelm the lower parts of the continents. This submergence will be helped by the subsidence of the continents for they are now resting on a material less dense than they were before the fusion took place. Equilibrium will gradually be restored by the loss of heat to the ocean, the cooled and solidified lava will sink back into the substratum and the absorption of its latent heat on refusing will so reduce the

[1] The Surface History of the Earth. Oxford, 1925.

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temperature of the substratum as eventually to restore the *status quo* of solidity and greater density. Isostatic conditions will still have to be satisfied however. The continents now resting in denser material will be buoyed up to a greater extent than before and an era of uplift will begin. Not only so, but the reverse of the process that we saw a minute ago will take place. The earth's radius will be smaller on account of the reduction in volume of liquid basalt to solid basalt; the crust must contract and the reinforced ocean floor will bear against the margins of the continents. Those weak areas where sediments have been accumulating will be squeezed up to form mountain ranges. Professor Joly suggests about one hundred million years for the whole cycle of what he calls a major revolution. His ingenuity has solved many an enigma of submergence and uplift and the geologist now has a better idea of how the valleys have been exalted and the mountains have been laid low.

This digression was necessary to show how the requisite mobility for the drift of the continents might be derived, but the necessary force for their drifting apart is still somewhat of a problem. This also is simplified if we admit that periodically the continents are afloat on a sea of *liquid* basalt. The displacing forces, although small, might then be enough for the purpose if given sufficient time. The forces adduced are those due to the centrifugal force of the rotation of the earth—giving rise to a drift from the poles to the equator—and secondly a rotation in a westward direction of the whole crust over the substratum due to tidal friction. Professor Wegener has introduced an addition to his theory whereby the direction of the centrifugal force has been altered from time to time by a shifting of the poles of the earth and in this way he has given an explanation of some rather puzzling problems of the geographical variation of climates in past ages. This part of his theory has also been somewhat strenuously opposed

It is, of course, not sufficient that the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle should make a mechanical fit with one another; they must make a pictorial fit, too, and if the rocks on a promontory on one continent which is supposed to fit into a bay in another are not similar the theory would fail. H. S. Washington[1] has pointed out great discrepancies in chemical composition between the igneous rocks on the East and West coasts of the Atlantic where correspondence might have been expected. But Wegener[2] has met such objections with regard to the Atlantic by assuming that wide areas of sial have foundered on both sides, and that only the comparatively narrow ocean deep in the middle represents the top of the siama; the jig-saw

[1] *Journ. Wash. Acad. Sci.*, XIII, 339, (1923).
[2] *Beitr. Geophys.*, XVII, 320, (1927).

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fit of South America and Africa being presumably due to a foundering of equal areas of corresponding shape.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the theory for us in India is concerned with the break-up of Gondwanaland, whose representatives include our great coalfields such as Raniganj and Jharia as well as a remarkable bed of boulders, the Talchir Boulder Bed. This is undoubtedly glacial in origin and occurs at the base of the Gondwana system. In Australia, in South Africa, in South America there is definite evidence of glaciation at or about the same geological period. These areas are now so widely separated as to preclude the possibility of their having had a similarly arctic climate at about the same time and it is one of the strongest planks in the platform of Wegener's theory that it offers a reasonable explanation of this glaciation by assuming that all these areas were then grouped around South Africa in the neighbourhood of what was at that time the Antarctic Circle. The fossil evidence about the various scattered areas of Gondwanaland and of Australia and Antarctica is by no means complete. Most of it is derived from land plants and animals; marine organisms, which are safer witnesses with regard to identity of age, are not nearly so common. Besides, the fossils evidence from several areas, particularly the Antarctic and South America, have not been completely worked out. Professor B. Sahni[1] who has recently been engaged in trying to corelate these fossil floras has come to the conclusion that our knowledge of them is not yet sufficient. The general trend of the evidence, however, leaves little doubt that in Upper Carboniferous and Permian and Triassic times there were land connections between India, Australia, Antarctica, Madagascar, South Africa and South America and certainly Wegener's theory offers a much simpler explanation than the complicated system of submerged land bridges one must otherwise assume.

The truth of Wegener's theory is by no means definitely established; it has many doughty opponents. But it has already helped to clear up several unsolved problems and it has given a stimulus to work in many directions, particularly with regard to the earth's interior; even should it eventually be disproved it has served a very useful purpose.

Before I hand over my office to my successor, who, I hope, will be the nominee of the Council, Dr. Brahmachari, whose work in connection with Kala Azar has won him an international reputation, I should like again to thank the Society for the honour it did me in appointing me its President. I am extremely proud to have been the follower of so many dis-

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[1] *Proc. 13th Ind. Sci. Cong.* (*Asiat. Soc. Beng.*), 229, (1926).

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tinguished men in that coveted position. I am deeply conscious of my own shortcomings and I wish particularly to thank the Council for their forbearance, their kindness, their never-failing support.

W. A. K. CHRISTIE.

6th February, 1928.

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Elected and announced in the Annual Meeting, 6th February, 1928.

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EXHIBITION ANNUAL MEETING.

List of Exhibits shown after the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 6th February, 1928.

1. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

Miscellaneous Historical Documents.

(1) Narrative of Alexander's Expedition to India by H. T. Prinsep, 1842.

(2) Letter from Capt. W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro. (Public Cons., 22nd August, 1765, No. 1.)

(3) Abolition of the medical class of the Sanskrit College and Madrassa and the establishment of a new medical institution in Calcutta from the 1st February, 1835.

(4) Abolition of the College of Fort William and the constitution in its place of a Board of Examiners. (Public Cons., 24th May, 1854, Nos. 13-14)

(5) Letter from Mr. Edward Tiretta, enclosing a plan accompanying proposals for building two markets in Calcutta at a cost of about a lakh and a half. (Public Cons., 19th January, 1778, No. 12.)

(6) Proclamation issued by the Deputy Government of Bengal under the provisions of Act IX of 1850, declaring that the new Calcutta Court of Small Causes shall be established on the 1st of May, 1850. (H. D. Judl., 3rd May, 1850, No. 9.)

(7) Public Despatch from the Court of Directors No. 1 of 3rd January, 1855, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan by Mr. Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the Electric Telegraphs in India and those in Europe.

(8) From Bahu Begum, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh, complaining against the behaviour of his son and asking for the assistance of the Governor-General in sending the coffin of her late husband Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to Karbala. (Pers., 15th November, 1778, No. 117.)

(9) Translation of an agreement on the part of the Rohilla *Sardars* with the *Vazir*, the terms being that the *Vazir* is to free the Rohilla country of the Marathas either by peace or by war, and that the *Sardars* are to pay him 40 lakhs of Rupees for his assistance. (See 23rd July, 1772, No. 3.)

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(10) Translation of a treaty of alliance between the *Vazir* Shuja-ud-Daulah, and the Rohilla *Sardars*. Written II Rabi-ul-awwal, 1186 A.H. (See 23rd July, 1772, No. 3.)

(11) Translation of a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, written just before his death, requesting the English to support his son Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. (See 6th February, 1775, No. 5.)

(12) From Sultan Muhiuddin, son of Tipu Sultan. Thanks the Governor-General for the *Khilat* and Jewels received through Captain Marriot who is to stay with him at the fort of Vellore until the return of Col. Doveton from Chinapatan (Madras). Is much obliged to him, his Council and Col. Doveton for their uniform courtesy and attention. (Pers., 19th October, 1799, No. 329.)

(13) From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the seal of the Begam. (Pers., 5th November, 1795, No. 312.)

(14) Application of Samru Begam for a title to her heir Mr. Dyce Samru with a forwarding letter from the latter in his own handwriting. Bears the seal and initial of the Begam. (Pol., 24th February, 1835, Nos. 77–80.)

(15) Ramayana by Kirtibas in Bengalee printed at Serampore. Vols. I–V.

(16) The Holy Bible. The first Bengali Translation. Printed at Serampore in 1802 from wooden type. Vols. I and II.

(17) Totanama, or Tales of a Parrot. Translated by Chandicharan Munshi from the original Persian into Bengali. Printed at Serampore, from wooden type, 1805.

2. S. P. Agharkar.

(1) *Podostemaceae from the Khasi Hills.*

Podostemaceae are a peculiar family of flowering plants which grow in rapids and waterfalls in the tropics. Externally they resemble mosses and sea-weeds more than typical flowering plants. The flattened organs which bear the flowering shoots and also serve to anchor the plants to the rocks on which they grow are roots.

Two species are shown.

1. *Hydrobryum lichenoides.*
2. *Dicraea Wallichii.*

Both of these were collected from the bed of a stream near Cherrapunji.

(2) *Some Indian parasitic flowering plants.*

1. *Balanophora dioica.*
2. *Arceuthobium minutissimum* (considered to be one of the smallest flowering plants).

3. K. Biswas and N. Mitra.

A few living and herbarium specimens of insectivorous plants of India preserved and cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta.

Some plants require Nitrogen from outside for their food supply and have peculiar morphological adaptations for catching insects and absorbing Nitrogen.

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Pot containing the insectivorous plant *Nepenthes*, a jar containing another living insectivorous plant, and a few herbarium specimens and photographs of the insectivorous plants of the Indian Empire, *Nepenthes*, *Drosera*, *Utricularia* and *Aldrovanda*.

4. M. L. CLEGHORN.

Series of photographs and drawings illustrating some Indian varieties of mulberry of interest from a sericultural and botanical point of view.

5. O. CLEGHORN.

Photographs and exhibits illustrating the cultivation of the Assam Eri Silkworm as a profitable cottage industry in Bengal.

6. HEM CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA.

Palæoliths and Reptilian Remains from Jubbulpore.

(1) Two palæoliths obtained from the district of Jubbulpore.
(2) Tooth of a carnivorous Dinosaurian reptile obtained from the Lameta beds of Jubbulpore.

7. F. G. DIKKERS.

(1) *A Gandhara head.*

Head of a Buddha, Greco-Bactrian school (Gandhara), flourishing about the beginning of the Christian era. Said to have come from Takht-ī-Bahaī in the Yūsufzai country on the north-west frontier. Traces of gilding. Mounted in cemented frame.

(2) *Pancāgnitapasvi.*

Figure of uncertain determination. Probably representation of a yogi, ascetic, performing pancāgnitapas, the five-fire-penance. Presumably modern, but date uncertain.

(3) *Vighnāntaka.*

Presumably Vighnāntaka, the subduer of Ganesha, of Mahāyāṇa type. Probably from Nepal; approximately 15th Century.

8. K. N. DIKSHIT.

Archæological finds from Paharpur.

(1) *Copper Plate:*

The copper plate exhibited here was found in the verandah of the second terrace of the great temple at Paharpur, District Rajshahi, Bengal, which is being excavated by the Archæological Survey. It is dated in the year 159 G.E. equivalent to 478-9 A.D. and records the donation of land by a Brahmin named Natha and his wife Rami for the maintenance of worship of the Arhats (Jinas) at the Vihara presided over by the Nigrantha (Jaina) monk Guhanandi and his disciples and successors at the village of Vaṭa-gohālī, which is to be identified with the present Goalbhiṭa. The copper plate is of absorbing interest, as it furnishes some clue to the identification of the remarkable excavated temple.

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(2) *Three Copper coins :*

Three copper coins discovered at the excavations are also being exhibited. They show the fish and other devices on the obverse and reverse and are of a hitherto unknown type. They also may be roughly relegated to the Gupta period or may be even earlier.

9. The Geological Survey of India.

(1) *Four strings of beads from Mohenjo-Daro, Sind, believed to be 5,000 years old.*
(2) *Dabra meteorite from Lua, Udaipur State (lent by Mewar State).*
(3) *Gahnite from near Jogipalli Shrotriem, Nellore District, Madras Presidency.*
(4) *Crumpled mica, moulded round quartz crystals.*
(5) *The Euscope as an adjunct to the petrological microscope.*
(6) *Two skulls of bovoid ruminants from the Upper Siwaliks.*
(7) *A photograph of the staff of the Geological Survey of India in the "sixties."*

10. Sir Kaiser Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana.

A newly discovered inscription from Nepal.

Found in an outlying temple near Pashupatinath, valley of Nepal. Important for the dating. Date Saṁvat 483 (Gupta era=A.D. 699), Shuddha Āṣāḍa, shukla dvitīyā.

Initial lines:

"By order of Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Gaṇadeva, Svāmivārta, follower of Bhīmagupta, established the image of Shaṅkaranārāyaṇasvāmī in memory of his late parents and himself."

11. R. Knowles.

Public Health propaganda Posters.

Two propaganda posters, one dealing with amoebic dysentery and the other with malaria.

12. Stella Kramrisch.

A Tibetan tanka.

Showing a central Buddha surrounded by 80 smaller Buddhas. At the bottom the effigy of a lama of the Bkah-rgyud-pa sect named Lhun-grub dpal-ldan. To the right and left of him two of the four Mahārājas of the quarters, Viruḍaka and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. This tanka is called in Tibetan Sangs-rgyas brgyad-bcu ts'ogs-pahi sku, Image of the 80 assembled Buddhas.

13. P. O. Matthai.

"Minnu," marriage ornament of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

This is an ornament held very sacred by the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar. It is strung on a thread which is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom during the marriage service. The first string used for the purpose is made of three threads from the muslin (*kavani*) which the bridegroom has brought

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to the church to place on her head as a veil. The three threads are folded 24 times so that they consist of 72 strands which are then twisted so as to form a kind of rope. This rope has to be prepared in the church itself by a near relative of the bridegroom. When made, it is blessed by the priest. The tying of it round the neck of the bride concludes the marriage ceremony.

A married girl of the community will never remove the *minnu* from her neck, and at her death it is buried along with the body. The *minnu*, together with the thread, serves to distinguish the married from the unmarried. The distinguishing character of the ornament is the cross, which should be worn in front. The ornament has to be of gold and of diminutive size as shown by the specimen exhibited.

14. C. V. Raman.

Stereo photographs of the planet Jupiter in ultra-violet and in extreme red light.

The photographs were taken by Astronomer W. H. Wright at the Lick Observatory on Mt. Hamilton, California, U.S.A.

The purpose of the exhibit is to bring out differences in the appearance of Jupiter when it is viewed by light of different colors. These differences can with advantage be studied with the aid of stereoscopic projection. The conditions necessary for stereoscopic viewing were secured by allowing a short interval (sufficient for a sensible rotation of the planet) to elapse between the taking of the two pairs of photographs. The procedure was to take the planet by ultra-violet light, and immediately thereafter by light of the extreme red. The two pictures thus secured constitute the right hand pair. Eleven minutes later the left hand pair was obtained in precisely the same way. Very remarkable differences in structure are apparent on all parts of the planet's surface, especially in the northern (lower) equatorial belt.

15. V. V. Sohoni.

Meteorological Charts.

(1) Charts illustrating a storm from the Bay of Bengal which passed to the west of Calcutta, in June, 1927.

(2) Charts, diagram and photographs, illustrating the cyclone which visited Nellore in November, 1927, and its effects.

(3) Diagrams illustrating wind development and temperature changes in "Nor'westers."

16. The Zoological Survey of India.

Prehistoric Animal Remains from the ancient Indian City of Harappa, Punjab.

During recent excavations at Harappa in the Punjab the Archæological Survey came across a large deposit of bones. Harappa is the site of one of the earliest known Indian cities and appears to be contemporaneous with Mohenjo-daro in Sind, their age being estimated as extending from 3,300 to 2,700 B.C. The bones, probably owing to a difference in the soil, appear to be better preserved than those excavated at Mohenjo-daro, where the saltpetre in the soil causes such structures to decay with compara-

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tive rapidity. Among the animal remains are fragments of the skull, including the teeth, of an ox, probably *Bos indicus*, and with these are numerous limb bones probably of the same species. These are of some interest as they have undoubtedly been split lengthwise in order to obtain the marrow. Other remains include part of the lower jaw of a horse—*Equus caballus*—and the teeth of a second but smaller horse-like animal. Mixed with these remains is a portion of a skull that is undoubtedly human. The characters of the fragment, which comprises the forehead, the root of the nose and the upper margins of both orbits, indicate that it comes from a race different from either of the two types hitherto found either at Mohenjo-daro or the contemporary site at Nal in Baluchistan. Of these latter the majority of the skulls are long-headed and belong to the Mediterranean Race and a single skull from a true burial at Mohenjo-daro appears to be Mongoloid in type. The present fragment appears to correspond most closely to the *Predravidian* (Proto-Australoid, Proto-Negroid) race, and a skull of a modern Predravidian is exhibited for the purpose of comparison. The *Predravidians* are supposed to be some of, if not actually, the earliest inhabitants of India, and by later invaders have been forced to leave the more fertile areas and take refuge in remote and inaccessible regions, where to-day they are represented by the Bhils, Ghonds, Mundas, Santals, etc., etc.

17. Johan van Manen

(1) *A series of Tibetan charm-boxes or gahus.*

The *gahu* or Tibetan charm-box has not yet been systematically studied and described. A small series is exhibited.

1. "Fire-flame jewel" shape. East Tibet (Derge, Kham). Worn by men, slung on the back when travelling. Against evil, especially by weapons.

2. "Four corners joined" shape. East Tibet (Kham, Lithang). Worn by women, round the neck, permanently. Against evil, especially sickness.

3. "Plain square" shape. North East Tibet (Amdo). Worn by women, around the neck. Against harm in general, should contain written spells.

4. "Eight auspicious signs' altar" shape. Central Tibet (Lhasa, Shigatse). Worn by both men and women, on the back, when travelling. Should contain a carved image. Protects against evil, especially hurt by weapons.

5. No special name. East Tibet (Tehu, *i.e.*, Monkey-land). Worn by men whilst travelling. Should contain spells, or relics. Against evils, especially by weapons.

6. The same as No. 5, with mystic monogram.

7. Another variety as above, from Kham (Minyag, near Tachienlu). Name the "Landcha Aum" shape, on account of the monogram.

8. "Round lotus shape." From Kham (amongst the Hor-pas). Used by men and women, worn permanently.

9. No special name. Central Tibet. Only worn by men whilst travelling. Carried on the back. White metal filigree ornamentation.

10-11. "Eight auspicious signs' altar" shape. Worn in pairs on the back by men whilst travelling. Central Tibet (Lhasa, Shigatse). Chinese manufacture.

12-13. As 10 and 11 above. Made in Nepal, by Nepali artificers.

14. As above, made in Tibet.

15-16. As above, white metal. Tibetan make.

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For comparison two specimens of an allied object are added. They are simple wooded house-shrines, not properly charm-boxes, but in shape similar to some of them. They are not taken whilst travelling. Tibetan name shing-gi gzihu lha-khang, "wooden small-glory shrine."

(2) *Tibetan Divination Chart and illustrated handbook to the same.*

The Tibetans ascribe to their Wisdom-God, Hjam-pahi-dbyangs, Mañjughosha, the invention of this divination chart, called gab-rtse, and ascribe to him also the authorship of the manual teaching its use.

Tibetans attach the highest value to this kind of divination. It foretells misfortune and fortune; sickness and health, the length of human life, man's death-date, the kind of wife he will marry, how many children he will have, at what times in life he will be rich or poor. The calculations can be made at the birth of a child for the whole future life, and will indicate whether he should be a trader, artist, officer, etc. Further they can guide in marriage questions, foretelling whether the boy and girl are suited to each other, whether they will love each other, whether they will be healthy, and so on. Before undertaking a voyage the chart has to be consulted. Similarly, before starting to build a house. The time for the beginning and the eventual success of any action is made plain by it. At death the time for the burial and the choice of appropriate ceremonies are fixed by consultation of the chart. Agricultural operations are determined by it. Consultation of doctors and taking of medicine likewise are regulated by it, as briefly the dates for all undertakings. Lastly in affairs of state, military operations are dependent on its prognostics.

The chart was copied by the exhibitor's Tibeto-Chinese Munshi Drin-Chen from an original in the possession of a professional diviner.

The explanatory book was, by a singular coincidence, obtained at the same time. It is a good example of modern Tibetan coloured book illustration. In Tibet many illustrated block prints exist, but only with black-and-white woodcuts. Colour print does not exist in Tibet, and coloured books have to be produced in manuscript form.

18. The General Secretary.

(1) *A set of four twelfth century Bengali images, presented to the Society by Mr. Indu Bhusan Sen.*

1. Shiva and Durgā, inscribed.
   Inscription: "Dānapatī Nāïṇī Dhāñī."
   Translation: "(The) donor (is) Nāïṇī (of the) Dhāñī (caste)."
2. Small seated Vadarinārāyaṇa.
3. Larger standing Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.
4. Smaller standing Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.

(2) *Set of four autograph photographs, presented to the Society by Mr. Jogendra Nath Biswas.*

1. Marquis of Ripon, Viceroy of India.
2. Marquis of Lansdowne, Viceroy of India.
3. Earl of Minto, Viceroy of India.
4. Earl of Cromer, formerly Major Barring, Private Secretary to Lord Northbrook.

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(3) *Three small metal images from Eastern Bengal, Pāla School, 10th-11th century A.D.*

(1) Lakshmī, brass.
(2) Vishnu, copper with traces of gilding.
(3) Two Tutelary Divinities, copper.

(4) *Selection from the Arabic and Persian MSS. acquired during 1927.*

No. III 358. *Qiṣaṣu'l-anbiyā'* (legends about pre-islamic prophets) (with pictures).
No. III 359. *Ṭayfu'l-khayāl* (early Shi'ite anthology).
No. III 354. *Jauharu'ṣ-Ṣamṣām* (history of Nādir-Shāh's invasion).
No. III 378. *Muḥīṭu'l-ghizā'* (Shi'ite legends).
No. III 337. Collection of short works by Khayālī Rām (stylistics, grammar).
No. III 509. Collection of short works by Ḥazin (stylistics, grammar).
No. III 398. Collection of short works by M. Mahdī Astrābādī (Shi'ite theology).
Collection of rare controversial treatises (Shi'ite-Sunnite controversy).
No. III 291. *Risāla-i-Yuḥannā.*
No. III 292. *Ilzāmiyya.*
No. III 394. *Ṭa'nu'z-zumāḥ.*
No. III 407. *Al-Makātīb fī rūyati 'th-tha'ālib.*
No. III 411. *Kashfu'l-ghumām.*
No. III 492. *Rajmu'sh-Shayṭān.*
No. III 448. *Taqrīfu't-taḥrīr* (astronomy, system of Ptolemy).
No. III 440. *Majma'u'l-jawāmi'* (medicine).
No. III 321-322. *Kashfu'l-ḥujub* (bibliography, 2 copies).
No. III 362. *Fihristu'l-kutub* (Ṭūsī's list of Shi'ite books).
No. III 363. *Iḍāḥu'l-ishtibāh* (appendix to the preceding work).

(5) *Selection of books presented to the Library in* 1927.

(1) Library edition of Goethe and Schiller.
Presented by the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Baini Prashad.
(2) The Great Earthquake of 1923 in Japan.
Presented by the Japanese Government.
(3) The Life of Buddha on the Stupa of Barabuḍur, by N. J. Krom.
Presented by the Dutch Government.
(4) Inscriptions du Cambodge, three volumes.
Presented by the French Government.
(5) Linguistic Survey of India. By Sir George Grierson, an Honorary Fellow of the Society, first half of the final volume.
Presented by the Government of India.

(6) *Selection of books purchased for the Library in* 1927.

(1) *Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta. 1837–1840.*

Contains a large number of portraits of leading personalities in the Society's early history. (Serial numbers in lead-pencil at the right hand top of the pages.) Selection :

1. David Hare, Member.
3. M. M. Manuk, Member.
5. J. H. Stoqueler, Member.
6. John Pearson, Member.

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7. Frederick Corbyn, Member.
9. C. E. Trevelyan, Member.
12. Hon. Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, Member.
17. Sir J. P. Grant, Vice-President.
26. W H. Macnaghten, Vice-President.
28. Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, President.
34. H. T. Prinsep, Vice-President.
37. J. Prinsep, Secretary.
49. C. H. Cameron, Member.
56. H. Piddington, Associate Member.

(2) *Shrī Khṛṣṭsaṁgītā.*
"The sacred history of our Lord Jesus Christ in Sanscrit Verse." Book I, Infancy; Book II, The Earlier Ministry; Book III, The Later Ministry; Book IV, The Passion and Glorification.
Translated under the supervision and with the effective co-operation of W. H. Mill, a member of the Society, whose bust adorns the meeting hall.
Calcutta, 1838–1842.

(3) *Panorama of Dacca.*
Giving a remarkable panoramic view of the city, about A.D. 1840, seen from the river.

(4) *Indian Serpent-Lore, by J. Ph. Vogel.*
By a Fellow of the Society.

(5) *Rûpam*, vols. 1–7.
Sumptuous Indian Art Journal edited by O. C. Ganguly, a Member of the Society.

(6) *Masterpieces of Rajput Paintings.*
By the same.

(7) *Himalaya, by Nicholas Roerich.*
Striking impressionist illustrations of the Snowy Mountains.

(8) *Chinesische Architektur, by Ernst Boerschmann, two volumes.*

(7) *The Society's publications of* 1927.

(*a*) Bibliotheca Indica.
(*b*) Catalogues.
(*c*) Miscellaneous.
(*d*) Journal.
(*e*) Memoirs.
(*f*) Indian Science Congress.
(*g*) Price Lists.

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ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1927.

The Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has the honour to submit the following report on the state of the Society's affairs during the year ending the 31st December, 1927.

Ordinary Members.

The calculated total of Ordinary Members on the roll of the Society at the close of 1927 was 574 as against 552 at the close of 1926. This means a net increase of 22 during the year. Though the annual net increase was greatly below that of the three previous years it has, nevertheless, not often been exceeded in the half century before. With our increasing numbers a slower rate of growth has to be expected for the immediate future, though we have now to aspire towards passing the 600 mark for the first time in the Society's history.

Gains and losses during the year were as follows :—

Gains.		*Losses.*	
Old elections carried forward	18	Applications withdrawn ..	5
New elections	72	Elections lapsed ..	10
		Elections carried forward ..	8
		Deaths	4
		Resignations	34
		Rule 38	5
		Rule 40	2
Total ..	90	Total ..	68

Initial total 552; net gain 22; final total 574.

With the year's gain the Society has maintained itself for the fourth year in succession on the positive side of expansion and has established a new numerical record for a second time running. The number of elections lapsed on account of non-payment of the entrance fee was less than the year before, 10 as against 17, an improvement; but the resignations were higher, 34 as against 17, and consisted for the greater part of quite recent members.

The detailed cross-checks of our membership registers at the end of the year again gave results which tallied.

Actuaries estimate the normal annual loss in membership in a Society like ours at about 10%. Ours was just under 12%.

Amongst those lost by death during the year there were two old and especially respected Members whose memory will be cherished in the annals of the Society and for whose departure the Society is the poorer. They were :—

J. D. Nimmo (1889). Braja Lal Mukherjee (1909).

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Associate Members.

During 1927 the following was elected an Associate Member :—

Nagendra Nath Vasu.

Two Associate Members, due for re-election under Rules 2 and 13, were declared duly re-elected for another term of five years on 7th March, 1927.

During the year no Associate Members were lost.

The present number stands at 13 ; statutory maximum 15.

Special Honorary Centenary Members.

Our two Honorary Centenary Members have remained with us.

Ordinary Fellows.

At the Annual Meeting held on the 7th February, 1927, the following Members were elected Ordinary Fellows :—

R. Knowles. B. Sahni.
Johan van Manen. A. C. Woolner.

No Ordinary Fellows were lost by death or resignation.

At the end of 1927 the number of Ordinary Fellows was 38 ; statutory maximum 50.

Honorary Fellows.

The following scholars were newly elected Honorary Fellows during the year :—

The Rt. Hon. Robert Bulwer-Lytton, Earl of Lytton.
Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje.
Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig.

No Honorary Fellows were lost by death or resignation.

The number at the end of 1927 was 28; statutory maximum 30.

Obituary.

During the year the Society received, to its great regret, news of the death of its former President :—

Frederick Eden Pargiter.

Office Bearers.

There were very few changes in the composition of the Council during the year.

Dr. S. L. Hora was absent from Calcutta from April 24th, and resigned the Treasurership. Dr. Baini Prashad was nominated Treasurer in his place.

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Dr. Baini Prashad was absent from Calcutta from the 16th December; the General Secretary acted for him as Treasurer during his absence.

The General Secretary was absent from India from May 20th till November 20th, and the President, Dr. Christie, acted for him during his absence.

Major Sewell was absent from India from the 25th July to the 26th September and resigned from the former date. Dr. Hora was nominated Biological Secretary in his place.

Dr. Hora left India in September, and Major Sewell was nominated Biological Secretary in his place.

Col. Barwell was absent during part of August and September, and Dr. Baini Prashad acted for him during his absence.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji was absent from India from the 25th July for three months.

Mr. Percy Brown was absent from Calcutta from April for the remainder of the year.

Council.

The Council met 12 times during the year. The attendance averaged 10 of the 20 component Members.

The following resolutions of thanks were passed by the Council:—

To Dr. S. L. Hora, on his relinquishing the Treasurership, for his valuable services rendered to the Society.

To Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, for his generosity in meeting the costs of an "At Home" to meet H.E. Lord Lytton, Patron and Governor of Bengal.

To Dr. W. A. K. Christie, President, for his valuable work in the interests of the Society during the General Secretary's absence.

To Dr. S. L. Hora, for his services rendered in examining, re-arranging and supervising the re-binding of certain valuable volumes of zoological drawings in the Society's library.

Finance Committee.

The Finance Committee continued during the year to meet separately on dates different from those fixed for the Council Meetings in order to allow of fuller consideration of questions of finance. Among its major recommendations was one modifying the allotment of various funds as shown in the investment account in the financial statement for 1926.

Committees of Council.

The standing Committees of Council during the year were the Finance, Publication and Library Committees, which met monthly.

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Special Committees were appointed *ad hoc* during the year and met to consider and advise on various problems as follows:—

Memorial Medals Committee, to frame or revise regulations for the award of the various medals bestowed by the Society, and to arrange for medals to be struck. The result of its labours has been embodied in new regulations adopted by the Council, and practical effect has been given to the other recommendations.

Committee to report on the drawing up and publication of a new catalogue of printed works in European Languages in the Society's library. The final report was adopted and work on the new catalogue was begun.

Lecture Committee. The report was adopted and acted upon.

Insurance Committee. Its recommendations are now before the Finance Committee for an opinion to Council.

Committee to arrange for an entertainment to the members of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine. An entertainment was duly organised on the lines advised by the Committee.

Office.

The General Secretary was absent for half a year, having been ordered home for medical reasons. During his absence, from the 20th May till the 20th November, the President, Dr. W. A. K Christie, officiated for him, placing his ripe experience and unbounded energy unstintingly at the service of the Society's work.

The staff continued to have full scope for the exercise of its energies not only in coping with current work, but also with work aiming at the further building up of a fully satisfactory office routine, the improvement of the services and methods of administration, and the dealing with past commitments and legacies of records and problems, some of them of remote origin.

The President brought about considerable progress in the distribution of the publications on the exchange and presentation lists, which since the war had been interrupted and badly fallen into arrears. Of the 106 names on the various distribution lists 79 were dealt with and their arrears brought up-to-date. The President also greatly speeded up the publication of the Journal.

Changes in the staff took place as follows:—

S. G. Ghosal, File Clerk, left at the end of February and was not replaced. C. R. Haldar, an additional Assistant in the Library, left in April and N. K. Biswas was appointed from May in his stead. D. K. Das was appointed Press-Clerk in

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February in application of the remarks made in this connection under the heading 'Publications' in the previous year's report. K. Subrahmoney Aiyar, who in 1925 had worked for a time at the preparation of a new Library Catalogue, and had left in the same year, was re-appointed to continue the same work.

In the subordinate staff the usual minor changes took place, which do not call for comment.

Correspondence continues to be the same important and exacting branch of the administration as in previous years. There was again a falling off in the number of letters dealt with. The number of out-going letters was about 2,500 as against 2,900 in 1926; and that of in-coming letters about 2,700 as against 3,100. Both totals are immediately dependent on the time that can be given to correspondence by the office. With prompt attention and full replies the number of letters received rises at once. An exclusive, competent correspondence clerk remains still a desideratum for the office. The fact of the matter is that correspondence without any superfluity or waste is capable of almost any expansion if there be only time for the writing.

Work at the old files was continued and the correspondence from the beginning of the century to date is now fairly well, even though not yet perfectly, classified and consequently accessible. Masses of older material, however, still await treatment, though this is properly speaking work more for an archivist than for a file clerk. The undertaking is, nevertheless, indispensible, not only for a proper study and consequent knowledge of the Society's history, but even in many cases for the history of still current questions of remoter origin.

The President inaugurated a much improved system of classification of the current files, which proved a real boon for the handling of the correspondence, and constituted a service of great value.

Work in the stock room was continued and the sorting and bundling of the *Bibliotheca Indica* was at last completed, an operation which has demanded a year and a half of arduous labour to be accomplished. The 209 works of the *Bibliotheca Indica* which were sorted out during the year represent about 17,300 complete sets of a sale value of Rs. 85,000. Added to the 35 works previously sorted out, the total of complete sets in the stockroom comes to about 23,000, of an approximate sale value of Rs. 1,60,000. The next step to be taken is a re-arrangement of the works on the racks and the segregation of complete sets and volumes from odd parts. A proper stock book has been set up and is progressing well. The stock room is not yet in an ideal state but has improved beyond recognition from its condition a few years ago. It still holds, nevertheless, a few years of arduous work; and final statistics about the contents cannot yet be reliably given.

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For despatches to members and exchange relations, printed addresses were again used. The method has something for and against it. The use of an addressograph for the purpose might prove preferable in the long run.

The staff showed zeal and interest in their work during the year and the prevailing spirit was good. An office with work of so varied a nature as that of the Society, demands considerable experience from its employees and a great measure of adaptibility for the intelligent performance of its different tasks. On the whole the office staff is shaping well in the right direction and it is satisfactory to be able to note an increasing smoothness in the working of the office machinery.

Rules and Regulations.

The only changes in the Rules and Regulations of the Society made during the year related to the Regulation regarding the award of the various medals bestowed by the Society. The institution of a Sir William Jones Medal and an Annandale Memorial Medal necessitated the drawing up of new Regulations for their award, and advantage was taken of the circumstance to revise the Regulations for the award of the Barclay Memorial Medal so as to bring the Regulations in line for all three medals.

Under this heading the remarks made in the previous year's report should, furthermore, be carried over.

Indian Science Congress.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress was held at Lahore, from January 4th to January 8th, 1927, under the patronage of His Excellency Sir William Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the Punjab. Sir J. C. Bose was President. The Proceedings of the Congress were published late in December, a publication of 408 pages. During the latter months of the year, the usual administrative work for the Congress in connection with the next Session (Fifteenth Congress), to be held in Calcutta, was performed by the Society's office. The flourishing state of the Congress entailed considerable labour, and as usual the rush at the end of the year was exceedingly great.

As in the year before, the abstracts were sent as far as practicable by post to all members who had applied before the date of their publication. This year that date was as late as the 22nd December, leaving a barely sufficient margin of time to reach distant members before their departure for Calcutta.

The special clerk on the Society's staff in charge of the Congress work was discontinued and his work distributed over the other members of the staff.

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The Congress finances remain separated from those of the Society. The Society contributed a grant of Rs. 800 towards the Congress funds.

The General Secretaries to the Congress continued as the year before, Prof. S. P. Agharkar and Dr. R. V. Norris.

The general administration of the Congress when not in session, continued, as hitherto, to be attended to by the office of the Society.

The Council issued as invitation to the members of the Fifteenth Congress, in Calcutta, to visit and inspect the Society's rooms and Collections.

The Council also decided to reprint the Proceedings of the First Congress, which had been out of print for a long time, and to present them as a souvenir to the members of the Fifteenth Congress.

Indian Museum.

The Society's representative on the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum, under the Indian Museum Act, X, of 1910, remained the same, MM. Haraprasad Shastri.

Kamala Lectureship.

The Council's nominee to serve on the Election Committee of the Kamala Lectureship, administered by the Calcutta University, remained the same, MM. Haraprasad Shastri.

Deputations.

The Society received the following invitations to send representatives to various functions of public bodies:—

1. University of Toronto Centenary celebration. Toronto. October.
2. Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists. Oxford. August, 1928.
3. Marcelin Berthelot Centenary celebration. Paris. October.
4. Fifth All-India Oriental Conference. Lahore. November, 1928.

For the first meeting Mr. G. H. Tipper was invited to represent the Society.

For the second meeting arrangements were deferred till later, in the new year.

For the third meeting Dr. D. M. Bose was invited to represent the Society.

For the fourth meeting arrangements were deferred till later, in the new year.

Reports from delegates to any of the above meetings have not yet been received.

Congratulations.

The Society sent its congratulations to its veteran member and past President MM. Haraprasad Shastri, at the occasion of

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his receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature, the first one conferred by the University of Dacca.

The Society also sent its congratulations, together with its thanks, to two of its Council Members and Fellows at the occasion of the publication of their books as mentioned below, of both of which a copy was presented by the authors to the Society's Library :—

Lt.-Col. R. Knowles : A handbook of Medical Protozoology.
Rev. P. O. Bodding : Santal Folk Tales, Vol. II.

Visits.

A great number of distinguished visitors visited the Society during the year.

Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani of Sikkhim spent an hour in the Society's Rooms in November, examined the collections with care, and showed their practical interest in the work of the Society by both applying for membership and subsequently becoming life-members. This is the first instance of an Indian Maharani honouring the Society by joining as a member

The Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, Mr. R. Littlehailes, inspected the Society's work closely and with interest in November.

The Seventh Congress of Tropical Medicine held in Calcutta in the month of December brought a great number of distinguished visitors from Japan, Siam, the Dutch East Indies, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Formosa, Indo-China, French India, Portuguese India, Egypt and several European countries.

In addition a number of scholars of repute from Switzerland, Egypt, Russia and Germany recorded their names in our visitors book during the year.

H.E. the Governor of Bengal.

The incoming Governor of Bengal, the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C., G.C.I.E., graciously accepted the invitation extended to him to accept the Office of Patron of the Society, jointly with H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Social Functions.

On March the 4th, the Society gave an At Home to meet H. E. Lord Lytton, Patron of the Society and Governor of Bengal, on the eve of his relinquishing office and departure from India. A large and select gathering attended to bid farewell to H.E., and the meeting was a most successful function. The Council expressed its thanks to Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee who generously took upon himself financial responsibility for the entertainment.

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The Council offered an At Home to the Foreign Delegates to the Seventh Congress of Tropical Medicine held in Calcutta, on December 7th. Over a hundred distinguished medical men from a great number of Eastern countries were present and the function was a most pleasant one. The occasion was utilised to organise a small exhibition of medical Manuscripts in Persian and Arabic, and in Sanskrit, forming part of the Society's Collections, and illustrating the Islamic and Hindu medical systems. To these were added some other items of general importance. The exhibition evoked great interest from the visitors.

Elliott Prize for Scientific Research.

The subject for the Elliott Prize for Scientific Research for the year 1927 was Geology and Biology (including Pathology and Physiology). A notification regarding the prize appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*, under date of the 10th January, 1927. Papers fulfilling the conditions laid down for the prize were received from one competitor, and the Trustees decided that the essays submitted were of sufficient merit to deserve the prize. Consequently this prize was awarded to Kalipada Biswas, Curator of the Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpore, Calcutta. The prize for next year will be for research in Mathematics, and the official announcement regarding it will be published in the *Calcutta Gazette* during January, 1928.

Barclay Memorial Medal.

The (biennial) award for 1927 will be announced in 1928.

Sir William Jones Medal.

This medal was instituted in honour of the memory of the great Founder of the Society, Sir William Jones. A capital sum was gifted for the purpose by Dr. U. N. Brahmachari at the occasion of his officiating as President of the Society in 1926. Regulations for the award were drawn up and adopted by the Council in 1927. The medal is to be awarded, annually, alternately for most eminent work in advancing the objects of the Society in one of the two divisions of knowledge, namely (1) Science, including Medicine, and (2) Philosophy, Literature and History. The first award will be made in 1928.

Annandale Memorial Medal.

The Annandale Memorial, instituted in 1925, was slightly modified during the year, and regulations were framed by the Council regarding a gold Annandale Memorial Medal to be awarded triennially for anthropological work in Asia. The

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Annandale Memorial Fund, started in 1925, is to provide for this medal, and when after payment of its cost, the annual income of the fund reaches Rs. 250, it shall be utilised for a biennial "Annandale Anthropological Lectureship."

The first award is to be made in 1928 and to be announced in the Annual Meeting of that year.

Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Memorial.

The bronze bust of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, executed by Mr. Harold I. Youngman of London, was received in July and formally installed in October on a suitable marble pedestal in the vestibule on the first floor. The work is one of great artistic merit, and gives a striking likeness and characteristic impression of the great man it commemorates. With this installation the Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Memorial Committee and its Fund were dissolved.

Society's Premises and Property.

No remarks are called for under this heading with regard to 1927, except that no opportunity was found to undertake annual repairs under the heading upkeep, for which an amount of Rs. 2,000 had been made available in the year's budget. Measures have to be devised leading to the performance of the necessary work as part of the regular routine of the year's administration. The various desiderata and problems existing under the heading Premises and Property have been mentioned in the annual reports of the last few years and have to be kept in mind permanently until realisation.

Accommodation.

The old problems to be carried over as still needing attention remain: the provision of a set of small work-rooms for various uses, foremost of all for the archives and the editorial work of the Society, and better shelving in the stock-rooms.

Artistic and Historical Possessions.

A number of the Society's paintings have still to be cleaned and re-varnished to complete the work taken up in 1924. During the year no work of this kind was undertaken, and it has now to be resumed.

A valuable accession to the artistic possessions of the Society during the year was the powerful and life-like bronze bust by Harold I. Youngman of the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, presented to the Society by the Sir Asutosh Memorial Committee, on behalf of the subscribers to the Sir Asutosh Memorial Fund.

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Presentations, Donations, and Legacies.

During the year purchase was made of a mechanical manuscript copying machine, for a sum of Rs. 1,000, donated for the purpose in 1926 by Count Ohtani. The instrument, an Ica Famulus Camera, with accessories, was received and installed during the year.

Mr. Lal Chand presented the Society with a most useful and much needed steel card-filing cabinet.

A bronze bust of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee presented by the Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Memorial Committee and received during the year, is mentioned elsewhere in this report.

A further sum of Rs. 3,315 was received during the year from subscribers to the newly instituted Permanent Library Endowment Fund started in 1926.

Donations of books and MSS. are mentioned under the heading Library.

The Society's grateful thanks are due to all the generous donors.

Library.

The great event of the year in connection with the Library was the definite creation of a Permanent Library Endowment Fund. In addition to the Rs. 2,000 already donated to it in 1926, an additional amount of Rs. 3,000 was received during the year and the total thus collected was invested in Government 3½% Securities to a face value of Rs. 7,000. The problem now before the Society is how to increase the Endowment Fund and how at the same time to utilise its income most profitably. These are questions to be considered during the coming year. It goes without saying that the Fund to be really useful still needs very considerable additions and has to be kept growing. But a foundation has been laid in the right manner.

During the year great attention continued to be paid to the Library and its needs. The grants for binding and purchase remained as the year before, respectively Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 2,000. In addition a sum of Rs. 1,500 was budgeted for the purchase of special steel shelving for the MSS. in the Western section. It was decided to deflect this grant towards bookbuying, and during the year Rs. 4,122 were spent on purchases, whilst Rs. 2,028 were spent on binding. With the exclusion of periodicals subscribed to 198 volumes were purchased. The number of volumes bound was 1,744, making a total of about 6,500 volumes bound in the last four years. In 1923 it was estimated that previous neglect had caused about 10,000 volumes to be left unbound on the shelves. Counting in the subsequent unbound accessions, it seems that another 3,500 to 4,000 volumes have still to pass the binder's hands until the arrears have been made up; and within the next few years this

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result may be achieved whereby binding demands will be reduced to normal conditions.

Another important activity of the year was the resumption of the publication of quarterly accession lists. Of these four have been published during the year and distributed to all members.

During the year 198 volumes were purchased for the Library, making with the 219 volumes presented a total of 417 volumes added to the collections, exclusive of Journals obtained in exchange or subscribed for.

All folios in the Library were renumbered during the year.

The practice of treating the books with tobacco leaf and insecticide powder was kept up.

A regular routine was instituted of inspecting the books stored on the ground floor, at fixed intervals, to watch against damage by white ants.

The gradual shifting of books from the ground floor to the steel shelving on the first floor was continued and the works transferred were renumbered to suit their new places on the shelves.

Amongst the more notable accessions of the year the following may be mentioned :—

Presentations :—

(1) Foucher, A : The beginnings of Buddhist Art. Paris, 1917. (O. C. Gangoly.)
(2) Bodding, P. O : Santal Folk Tales, 2 Vols. Oslo. 1925-27. (The Author.)
(3) Blumhardt, J. F : Catalogue of the Hindustani Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Oxford, 1926. (Govt. of India.)
(4) Grierson, Sir G. A. : Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. I. Pt. I. Calcutta, 1927. (Govt. of India.)
(5) Tawney and Penzer : The Ocean of Story, 8 Vols. London, 1924-27. (Publishers.)
(6) Stein, Sir A. : Kharosthi Inscriptions. Pt. 2. Oxford, 1927. (Govt. of India.)
(7) Inscriptions du Cambodge, 3 Vols. Paris, 1926-27. (French Resident in Cambodia.)
(8) Yaqut : Dictionary of Learned Men, Vol. 4. London, 1927. (Gibb Memorial Trust.)
(9) The Great Earthquake of 1923 in Japan, 2 Vols. Tokyo, 1926. (Japanese Consulate General.)
(10) Krom, N. J. : The Life of Buddha. The Hague, 1926. (The Dutch Government.)
(11) Edgerton, F : The Panchatantra Reconstructed. 2 Vols. New Haven, 1924. (H. Hobbs.)

Purchases :—

(1) Roerich, N : Himalaya. New York, 1926.
(2) Vogel, J. Ph. : Indian Serpent Lore. London, 1926.
(3) Marshall, Sir John, and others : The Bagh Caves. London, 1927.
(4) Grant : Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta, 1837-40.
(5) Hurgronje, C. S. : Verspreide Geschriften, 5 Vols. Bonn and Leipzig, 1923-25.

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(6) Gangoly, O. C.: Masterpieces of Rajput Painting, Calcutta, 1926.
(7) Gangoly, O. C.: Rupam, 7 Vols. Calcutta, 1920-26.
(8) Christa Sangita. Calcutta, 1842.
(9) The Holy Bible, in Sanskrit, 5 Vols. Calcutta, 1848.
(10) Panorama of Dacca. (London, 1840 ?.)
(11) Boerschmann, E.: Chinesische Architektur, 2 Vols. Berlin, 1925.
(12) Purāṇas. 20 Vols. Bombay text edition.

Definite progress was made during the year with the preparation of the long overdue new author's catalogue of printed works in Western languages in the library. Press slips for all accessions to the library since 1908 to the end of June 1927 were prepared, and the copy of the new up-to-date catalogue for the letters A and B was sent to press for composition. At the same time a complete check was begun of the entries in the old printed catalogue as well as of the accession slips with the contents of the shelves. It is hoped that the printing of the new catalogue will progress rapidly during 1928.

Concerning the important collection of Sanskrit MSS. for sale about which information was received in 1926 no further proposals reached the Society.

The installation of special steel shelving for the MSS. in the Western Section, which was put off during the year, has still to be taken up, if possible in 1928.

Provision has also to be made for further steel shelving for the current accessions of periodical literature. A library is a growing organism.

Finance.

Appendix III contains the usual statements showing our accounts for 1927.

Chiefly owing to the thorough examination and improvement of our system of accountancy during the last few years, no new statements appear this year, and generally no change is introduced in the form of their presentation.

Statements still carried over without change from the previous year pending final ascertainment of commitments and status before possible liquidation are:—

Statement No. 9, Catalogue of Scientific Serial Publications, Calcutta.

Statement No. 10, International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.

The other statements are presented as in the previous year and do not call for special comment.

The fund accounts again show their invested assets at their market values at the end of the year, and the investment account, statement No. 19, shows the allocations of invested paper to each fund specifically, whilst again both market and face values of the investments are given in it.

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Statement No. 24 shows the Balance Sheet of the Society and of the different funds administered by and through it.

The funds belonging to or administered by the Society may be classified as follows:—

1. General Fund:
   - (*a*) Permanent Reserve.
   - (*b*) Working balance.
2. Specific funds belonging to the Society.
3. Funds administered by the Society.

At the end of the year the position of these funds as compared with their position at the end of 1926 was as follows:—

	Face value. 31st Dec., 1926.	Market value. 31st Dec., 1926.	Face value. 31st Dec., 1927.	Market value. 31st Dec., 1927.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. General Fund	2,34,284	1,92,745	2,33,794	1,84,112
(*a*) Permanent reserve	1,86,794	1,46,636	1,91,694	1,44,004
(*b*) Working balance ..	47,490	46,109	42,100	40,108
2. Specific funds belonging to the Society	62,762	54,387	67,237	58,188
3. Funds administered by the Society	38,860	38,751	36,134	34,484
TOTAL ..	3,35,906	2,85,883	3,37,165	2,76,784

During the year Rs. 2,208 were received through admission fees, and six members compounded their subscriptions to a total amount of Rs. 1,480. The grand total of Rs. 3,688 was, as usual, transferred to the Permanent Reserve. This was effected by a conversion at the market rates, according to a Council decision of 1925, of investments belonging to the temporary reserve of the working balance (Government Paper, 3½%, to a face value of Rs. 4,900).

The Society received the usual sanctioned grants from the Government of Bengal as follows:—

For	Rs.	Statement.
Journals	2,000	1.
O.P. Fund No 1	8,250	2.
O.P. Fund No. 2	3,000	3.
Sanskrit MSS. Fund	6,800	4.
TOTAL ..	20,050	

The Society also received during the year the Government of India annual grant of Rs 5,000 for the Arabic and Persian Manuscript and Cataloguing Fund. (Statement No. 5.)

The income derived from advertising during the year was Rs. 5,268.

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The temporary investments of funds in War Bonds, Fixed Deposits and Savings Bank are shown in statements Nos. 20, 21 and 22. An amount set aside for earmarked expenditure is shown in statement No. 11.

Statement No. 18 gives the account of the amounts due to and by the Society for members' subscriptions, sales of publications and contingent charges.

Statement No. 15 gives the account of the new Permanent Library Endowment Fund. During the year investments to the face value of Rs. 7,000 were bought for this fund and as their cost slightly exceeded the cash assets, the Society made an advance for the purpose of Rs. 94-13-6 which will be recovered from accruing interest on the investments during the ensuing year.

The Government securities shown in statement No. 19 are held in safe custody by the Imperial Bank, Park Street Branch. There was a depreciation at the end of the year of the Government securities held, amounting to a total of Rs. 11,115. The depreciation on the face value increased to Rs. 60,371 as against Rs. 49,256 at the end of 1926, affecting the balance sheet adversely to that extent.

The corrected budget estimates for 1927 and the actuals for the year were as follows:—

Estimates:	Receipts.	Expenditure
	Rs.	Rs.
Ordinary	48,400	53,560
Extraordinary	10,000	10,000
TOTAL ..	58,400	63,560
Actuals:		
Ordinary	48,901	49,511
Extraordinary	8,748	9,060
TOTAL ..	57,649	58,571

The estimated total expenditure for 1927 was erroneously given in the previous annual report as Rs. 57,560. It was overlooked that the insertion of an allocation of Rs. 10,000 for publications from the Publication Fund had not been balanced by the enhancing of the corresponding head under Journal and Memoirs on the expenditure side, from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 18,000. To avoid the easy occurrence of a similar oversight in the future it will be better to present the budget in a form showing separately the ordinary and the extraordinary income as well as expenditure.

Of the receipts a sum of Rs. 3,688, derived from entrance fees and compounding fees, is classed as extraordinary and is not available for expenditure, as it has to be transferred to the Permanent Reserve. Of the extra income to the amount of Rs. 10,000

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Budget Estimates for 1928.

Ordinary Receipts.

	1927. Estimate	1927. Actuals.	1928. Estimate.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Interest on Investments ..	10,000	10,457	9,800
Advertising	6,000	5,269	6,000
Annual Grant	2.000	2,000	2,000
Miscellaneous	900	1,210	800
Members' Subscriptions.. ..	14,000	13,869	14,000
Publications, Sales and Subscriptions	8,000	8,596	8,500
Proportionate Share from Funds ..	7,500	7,500	10,000
Total ..	48,400	48,901	51,100

Ordinary Expenditure.

Salaries and Allowances ..	25,000	24,212	25,000
Commission	500	481	500
Stationary	1,500	927	1,000
Fan and Light	..	384	..
Telephone	600	231	600
Taxes	1,760	1,753	1,760
Postage	1,500	1,510	1,750
Freight	50	189	100
Contingencies	1,000	1,353	1,000
Petty Repairs	250	248	250
Insurance	500	500	1,000
Menials Clothing	150	119	200
Office Furniture	1,000	50	500
Artistic Possessions	500	30	100
Building Repairs	2,000	109	2,000
Provident Fund Share	500	443	500
Steel Shelving	1,500	..	..
Audit Fee	250	250	250
Books, Library	3,000	4,123	2,000
Binding, Library	2,000	2,028	2,000
Journal and Proceedings and Memoirs	8,000	8,596	8,500
Printing, Circulars	1,000	1,175	1,200
Contribution to I.S.C.	1,000	800	800
Total ..	53,560	49,511	51,010

Extraordinary Receipts.

By Admission Fees		2,208	1,560
Compounding Fees		1,480	500
To Publications by unspent amount allocation Publication Fund ..	10,000	5,060	4,940
Total ..	10,000	8,748	7,000

Extraordinary Expenditure.

To Permanent Reserve by Admission Fees		2,208	1,560
by Compounding Fees		1,480	500
To Publications	10,000	5,060	4,940
To Allowances		4,000	..
Total ..	10,000	12,748	7,000

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made available for work in connection with arrears in the publication of the Society's Journal only Rs. 5,060 was spent during the year, leaving still Rs. 4,940 available from this source for extra expenditure in 1928.

The ordinary income was about Rs. 500 above the estimate.

The ordinary expenditure was Rs. 4,050 below the estimates, and showed this appreciable saving mainly through non-spending of Rs. 2000 on Repairs and Upkeep, and savings of Rs. 800 on salaries and allowances, of Rs. 580 on stationary, Rs. 950 on Office Furniture, Rs. 470 on Repair of Paintings and Rs. 200 on Contribution to the Indian Science Congress. Under some other heads small excesses of expenditure over budget amounts were incurred. Extraordinary expenditure was incurred under two heads. First, under Publications, met by a special allocation from the Publication Fund, to the amount of Rs. 5060. Second, to an honorarium to the General Secretary when ordered home under medical orders, met out of the savings on the year's working. Including this extraordinary expenditure the year's net deficit was Rs. 922 instead of Rs. 5,160 as estimated.

The unexpended balance of Rs. 4,940 of the special allocation from the Publication Fund for work in arrears of publication of the Society's publication will be made available in next year's budget as extraordinary income.

The Budget Estimates of probable expenditure have again been framed so as to meet demands under various heads based on vigorous activity in all departments of the Society's work. The receipts have been conservatively estimated.

No capital or extraordinary expenditure beyond the Rs. 4,940 for publications, already mentioned above, has been included in the budget estimates. If any need for it arises during the ensuing year, it will form a subject of scrutiny and deliberation by Finance Committee and Council, and will be introduced as a special supplementary grant.

Publications.

Of the *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. XXI (for 1925), three numbers were published, and of Vol. XXII (for 1926) four numbers. These aggregated 724 pages print and 29 plates. This large output was directly due to the personal attention given by the President to the Publications. The title pages and index for Vol. XXI were also published.

Of the *Memoirs* three numbers were published aggregating 476 pages and 2 plates.

A large number of matter is in type for both series, and an appreciable amount of further copy is in hand.

The *Proceedings* of the 14th Indian Science Congress were published late in December (408 pages).

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The Sanskrit MSS. Catalogue and the publications of the year in the *Bibliotheca Indica* are described elsewhere in the report.

The sales of the publications were satisfactory. An amount of Rs. 8,790 was realised under this head, an increase of roughly Rs. 625 over the amount received in the previous year. These amounts do not take into account unsold publications sent out on sale or return to the agents.

The amount spent on publications during the year, exclusive of the Sanskrit catalogue and *Bibliotheca Indica*, was over Rs. 13,650.

The Baptist Mission Press.

Under the capable superintendence of Mr. P. Knight the Baptist Mission Press continued to act as our chief printers and gave again invaluable assistance and the closest co-operation throughout the year.

Agencies.

Our European and Indian Agents remained the same throughout the year.

Exchange of Publications.

During the year, the following applications for an exchange with the Society's publications were considered by the Council, with the decisions as noted against them :—

Publications of :	To be exchange with :
1. Transvaal Museum, Pretoria ..	Journal and Memoirs.
2. F.M.S. Museum, Kuala Lumpur ..	Journal and Memoirs.
3. Andhra Historical Society, Rajamundry	Journal.
4. Deutscher Seefischerei-Verein, Berlin ..	Journal.
5. International Institute of Agriculture, Rome	Journal.
6. Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem	Journal.
7. "Literarisches Zentralblatt," Leipzig..	Journal.
8. Geological Survey of the Dutch East Indies, Bandoeng	Journal.

Requests from the following Institutions or Journals for an exchange with the Society's publications were declined by the Council :—

1. Bibliothèque de l'Université, Tashkent.
2. Sahityanushilan Samiti, Rangpur.
3. Theologische Literaturzeitung, Göttingen.
4. U.S.S.R. Society of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Moscow.
5. San Diego Society of Natural History, California.
6. East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, Nairobi.

As mentioned elsewhere in the report, thanks to the endeavours of the President the arrears in despatch of our exchanges, which had arisen since the great war, were made good to a very large extent.

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Meetings.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were held regularly every month, with the exception of the recess months of September and October.

The time of meeting remained fixed at 5-30 p.m.

The recorded attendance was about the same as compared with the previous year, averaging slightly under 20 members and over 2 visitors. The maximum attendances were in March and November with 29 and 28 members, and 3 and 2 visitors, respectively.

One single meeting of the Medical Section was held during the year, in March.

Exhibits.

In the Ordinary Monthly Meetings a number of exhibits were shown and commented upon by the exhibitors. The following may be mentioned:—

W. A. K. Christie: The Widmanstätten figures of the Samelia meteorite.

Hem Chandra Das-Gupta: A few rock-sections showing the true nature of a Rajmahal intertrappan band.

R. B. Seymour Sewell: Primitive forms of apparatus for obtaining fire, and various types of lamps used in India, past and present.

Baini Prashad: Specimens of early conchological literature, and a number of rare works on zoology.

Johan van Manen: An illuminated Nepalese Sanskrit manuscript illustrating the six chakras; three Nepali-Tibetan images, partly inscribed; a collection of Tibetan banners.

General Lectures.

Four General Lectures were held before fairly numerous audiences of members and invited guests during the year 1927. They were as follows:—

Franklin Edgerton: "Remarks on the History of Panchatantra." January 14th.

C. V. Raman: "Coronas, Glories and Haloes." September 28th.

A. C. Ridsdale: "Celestial Orbits as plane conic Curves." November 9th.

O. C. Gangoly: "Mughal Painting." November 22nd.

Some of the lectures were illustrated with the help of lantern slides.

Philology.

The philological activities of the year, in so far as not described under other headings, consisted of the reading of papers in the meetings and their publication in the *Journal*.

The number of new papers submitted was on a level with that of the previous year.

In the *Journal* nine papers were published, aggregating 162 pages and containing 2 plates. Part of the contents have been

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described in the previous report as having been read in the meetings but not yet published.

The following papers were both read and published during the year:—

C. W. Gurner: Some textual notes on Aṣvaghosha's "Buddha-carita."

Umesh Chandra Bhattacharjee. The Upaniṣad-texts and their position in Śruti-literature.

Papers read in the monthly meetings, but not yet published, were:—

J. P. Mills: Folk stories in Lhota-Naga.

Promotho Nath Misra: Lakshman Samvat.

A. A. Bake: Java and Bali, a branch of Hindu Culture.

D. C. Chatterjee: The Yogāvatāropadeśa.

Sir J. C. Coyajee: The supposed sculpture of Zoroaster on the Tak-i-Bostan.

Sir George A. Grierson: The Language of the Mahā-ñāyaprakāśa.

W. Ivanow: Notes on Khorasani Kurdish.

Sukumar Ranjan Das: Precession, Nutation and Libration of the Equinoxes in Hindu Artronomy.

R. D. Banerji: The Palæography of the Hāthi Gumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions.

The following communication, not intended for subsequent publication, was made in the meetings during the year.

H. Bruce Hannah: Indian Origins.

Natural History: Biology.

The year was again one of energetic biological activity. Three papers of especial interest to the Society were by Dr. Sunder Lal Hora, describing and analysing "The Manuscript Drawings of Fish in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." (Mackenzie Collection, Buchanan-Hamilton's Drawings, Collection of Sir Alexander Burnes with drawings by Dr. P. B. Lord.)

In all 13 biological papers (85 pages, 5 plates, 11 text figures) were published in the *Journal*.

In the *Memoirs*, Volume IX, set aside for Lt.-Col. Sewell's "Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters," one further number was published (80 pages). The next number is in the press with print order.

In addition to the papers read during the previous year and now published, the following papers were read and published during the year:—

Sunder Lal Hora: On the occurrence of the Polyzoon, *Plumatella fruticosa*, in running water in the Kangra Valley, Punjab.

Sunder Lal Hora: On the Manuscript Drawings of Fish in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

II. Fish Drawings in Buchanan-Hamilton's zoological Drawings.

III. Fish Drawings amongst the zoological Drawings in the Collection of Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes (1805–1841), by Dr. P. B. Lord.

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B. Chopra: A Note on Fish Mortality in the Indaw River, in Upper Burma.
Baini Prashad: On the dates of publication of P. M. Heude's Memoirs on the Molluscs of China.
Baini Prashad: On the dates of publication of Hanley and Theobald's "Conchologia Indica."
Sunder Lal Hora: An albino Magur, *Clarias batrachus* (Linn.).

The following papers were read but not yet published :—

J. Ribeiro: The caves of Sewri.
Satya Churn Law: Little noticed habits of some birds of the district of 24 Parganas.
C. J. George: South Indian Aphididae.

Natural History: Physical Science.

Except for one paper, by Sukumar Ranjan Das, on the history of Indian Astronomy, and which is more strictly philological, no new papers on Physical Science were published or read during the year.

Anthropology.

The outstanding anthropological event of the year was the publication of the second part of the Rev. P. O. Bodding's contribution to the Memoirs, "Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore," a stout issue of 296 quarto pages.

The anthropological activities were generally very great during the year. Seven anthropological papers, aggregating 205 pages text and 8 plates, were issued in the *Journal*. Of these Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks' paper on "Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikhim" formed a separate Anthropological number and was issued in May.

Besides the papers read during the previous year and subsequently published, the following new papers were both read and published in 1927 :—

J. H. Hutton: A Naga Hills celt.
Sunder Lal Hora: On a peculiar fishing implement from the Kangra Valley.
Hem Chandra Das-Gupta: A few types of Indian sedentary games.
Sunder Lal Hora: On a goat employed as "Scapegoat" in the Bilaspore District, Central Provinces.

The following papers were read but not yet published :—

J. H. Hutton: Some megalithic work in the Jaintia Hills.
Mohini Mohan Chatterji: A further study of Bengali customs: Initiation into wife-hood.
Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks: The Khyber Hazari.
R. D. Banerji: The Indian Affinities of Ainu potteries.
D. N. Majumdar: A few types of Ho Songs.

Medical Section.

Only one meeting of the Medical Section was held during the year, partly owing to the extreme pressure of other duties

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on the Medical Secretary's time, partly because the medical profession in Calcutta was largely pre-occupied with preparations for the Biennial Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, held in Calcutta from December 5th to 10th, 1927.

At the meeting held on March 14th, 1927, Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., read a paper on 'Difficulties in the early diagnosis of Typhoid Fever.'

An attempt was made to hold a meeting on May 9th, when Major Chopra had promised to read a paper on drug addication in India, but unfortunately a quorum could not be obtained.

The outstanding feature of the year in medical matters was the Biennial Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, which met in Calcutta from December 5th to 10th, 1927. This was attended by over 1,000 delegates, including about 100 official foreign delegates from almost every country in Asia. Australia, the British Ministry of Health, the British Medical Research Council, and the Rockefeller Foundation were also officially represented. The Council of the Asiatic Society were At Home to the foreign and official delegates of the Association on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 7th, and our guests showed much interest in the Society's treasures and archives.

A medical publication during the year by a Fellow of the Society is 'An Introduction to Medical Protozoology,' published by Lt.-Col. R. Knowles, I.M.S , in December, 1927.

Bibliotheca Indica.

The work for the year was again most satisfactory.

Actually published were six issues, Nos. 1487, 1491, 1493, 1495, 1498 and 1499, of an aggregate bulk of 18 fascicle-units of 96 pages. The detailed list is given in the Appendix to the Report.

In the Hinduistic Series work was continued on nine books as follows:—

1. Gṛhastharatnākara, Sanskrit.
2. Pariśiṣṭaparvan, Sanskrit.
3. Śrī Kṛiṣṇāvatāra-līlā, Kāshmīrī.
4. Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra, English translation.
5. Nityācārapradīpa, Sanskrit.
6. Vidhāna-pārijāta, Sanskrit.
7. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Sanskrit.
8. Ātmatattvaviveka, Sanskrit.
9. Kui Grammar, English.

In the Islamic Series work was continued on the following seven books:—

1. Akbarnāma, English translation, indexes and final residual matter.

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2. 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Persian.
3. Haft Iqlīm, Persian.
4. Ma'āṯhir-i-Raḥīmī, Persian.
5. Majma'-ul-Baḥrain, Persian and English translation.
6. Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Persian.
7. Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, English translation.

During the year publication of the following book was newly sanctioned, and work on it begun :—

1. Tārīḵh-i-Mubārak Shāhī.

Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

MM. Haraprasad Shastri's great undertaking again made appreciable progress.

The body of volume V, describing the Purāṇa MSS., had been already completely printed off in 1926 (896 pages, about 1080 items). The elaborate Preface is only half finished and work on it delayed the issue of the volume, which should now become ready for publication during 1928.

Volume VI, describing the Vyākaraṇa MSS., was meanwhile pushed on regularly and by the end of 1927 all 464 pages of the text were in type, 416 of which had been printed off. It describes 730 items. Indexes and a preface have to complete the volume which is also expected to become ready for issue during 1928.

The next volume to be taken up will deal with the Kāvya MSS., roughly numbering 1,000 items.

This will bring the total of MSS. catalogued in print to about 6,000 of an estimated total of 12,000 ; so that we are approaching the midway station on the road towards the end of the undertaking.

The staff of the department remained unchanged during the year.

Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, Search and Catalogue.

Important progress was made during the year in this department. The two great operations, the foliating and stamping of all MSS., were finished by the end of 1927 for the whole collection. Binding was continued, and 276 MS. volumes were bound, making a total of over 950 volumes bound since the end of 1924. Each of the volumes bound was at the same time thoroughly examined, and when necessary repaired and pasted with transparent paper in worm-eaten places. In addition 132 printed books, in type and lithographed, were bound. All printed works were segregated from the MSS., and placed together on separate shelves. The collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. newly acquired by Mr. Ivanow in November at Lucknow, numbering 160 volumes, at a cost of about

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Rs. 1,200, was incorporated in the library. In addition about 65 other MSS. were bought at an aggregate cost of slightly under Rs. 400 and one MS. was presented by Sir Jehangir Coyajee.

Mr. Ivanow completed the MS. of a second supplement to his Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the collections of the Society. It contains 180 notices and describes the Persian accessions during the year 1927.

The first supplement, describing residuals of the two larger volumes previously published and the accessions till the end of 1926, was published towards the end of 1927. It contains 152 notices.

Mr. Ivanow made in the meantime good progress with the preparation of the MS. for his Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Society's collections. By the end of the year he had compiled 725 notices for the sections Koran, Commentaries, Readings, Traditions and Fiqh. About 400 further notices will complete the theological portion.

The second Maulvi has at the same time begun with the compilation of a handlist of printed Mohamedan books in Oriental languages.

The staff of the department remained unchanged during the year.

Numismatics.

No official proposals have as yet reached the Society concerning the appointment of a successor to the late Mr. R. O. Douglas as Honorary Numismatist to the Society.

One Numismatic Supplement, No. 39 (for 1925) was published during the year, containing 48 pages print and 4 plates. The next Supplement is in preparation.

A small number of coins was presented during the year to the Society by H.H. the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, to whom the Society's cordial thanks are due.

Summary.

The year 1927 was one of prosperity and great activity. The Membership increased by 22 and the total of paying members at the end of the year was higher than ever before. The Council was active and its Committees performed valuable work. The office routine was improved in various ways and the efficiency of the office raised. The staff worked well. Great attention was paid to the many official and ceremonial obligations of the Society, and the friendly relations with learned institutions and men throughout the world were maintained and strengthened. The new Governor of Bengal perpetuated an old tradition in accepting the Patronship of the Society. The social element in the Society's work was duly attended to. The various scientific awards made by the Society were ad-

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ministered with care. A notable addition was made to the artistic properties of the Society by the presentation to it of a bronze bust of the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. Various donations in money and kind were received. The Library added over 400 volumes to its collections by purchase and donation, and actively continued its work of binding. It also began the preparation of a new author's catalogue of printed books. A Permanent Library Endowment Fund was definitely started with an initial total of Rs. 7,000 (face value) $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ Government Paper. The financial position was generally satisfactory. Though the year's operations produced a deficit, an equivalent amount was added to the Permanent Reserve Fund and the excess of expenditure over income was chiefly due to special activities strengthening the soundness of the Society's position. The Permanent Reserve Fund is nevertheless in need of substantial increase. The publication of *Journal* and *Memoirs* during the year constituted almost a record in bulk. Book sales were very satisfactory. The monthly meetings were well attended. Some interesting exhibits were shown during the year. Four general lectures were given to members and guests. A dozen papers on Philology and an equal number on Biology were submitted during the year, as well as nine anthropological papers. Six numbers of the *Bibliotheca Indica* appeared, aggregating more than 1,500 pages print, in Sanskrit, Persian, and English. One new work was begun in the series. Two further volumes of the Sanskrit MSS. Catalogue were almost finished. To the collection of Islamic MSS. about 225 volumes were added and over 250 MSS. were bound. A first supplement to the Persian MSS. Catalogues was issued and a second one prepared. The preparation of the MS. for the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. was begun and 725 notices were prepared for it.

Prosperity is only a result, vitality a cause. The Society can only perform its functions well if its Council be devoted and work harmoniously, if there be cordial and intimate relations between the Council and the general body of Members, and if the Members individually take a legitimate pride in their Society, having been made to feel that it really stands for efficient and selfless service to learning. That the year's activities were so successful was no doubt due to the fact that the above conditions more or less prevailed.

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[APPENDIX I.]

Membership Statistics.

(As calculated for December 31st, of each year.)

YEAR.	ORDINARY.								EXTRA-ORDINARY.				FELLOWS.	
	PAYING.				NON-PAYING.									
	Resident.	Non-Resident.	Foreign.	Total.	Absent.	Life.	Total.	Total Ordinary Members.	Centenary Honorary.	Associate.	Total.	Grand Total Membership.	Honorary.	Ordinary.
1901 ..	123	133	13	269	37	22	59	328	4	12	16	344	26	..
1902 ..	126	126	14	266	47	21	67	333	4	13	17	350	26	..
1903 ..	127	126	15	268	46	21	67	335	4	13	17	352	24	..
1904 ..	132	130	14	276	46	21	67	343	4	13	17	360	30	..
1905 ..	144	133	12	288	48	20	68	356	4	13	17	373	29	..
1906 ..	173	147	15	335	52	20	72	407	4	12	16	423	30	..
1907 ..	174	175	20	369	31	20	51	420	4	12	16	436	28	..
1908 ..	181	193	17	391	38	19	57	448	4	13	17	465	30	..
1909 ..	183	217	13	413	40	20	60	473	4	14	18	491	28	..
1910 ..	209	217	16	442	43	23	66	508	4	14	18	526	27	17
1911 ..	200	225	19	444	53	22	75	519	3	14	17	536	28	19
1912 ..	203	229	19	451	43	23	66	517	3	13	16	533	27	24
1913 ..	200	211	19	430	46	23	69	499	3	14	17	516	27	28
1914 ..	191	187	19	397	50	26	76	473	3	14	17	490	24	27
1915 ..	171	188	21	380	40	25	65	445	3	15	18	463	29	31
1916 ..	145	159	18	322	60	25	85	407	3	15	18	425	26	33
1917 ..	150	144	15	309	45	24	69	378	2	12	14	392	22	35
1918 ..	153	145	17	315	43	24	67	382	2	10	12	394	22	39
1919 ..	141	128	15	284	64	25	89	373	2	11	13	386	18	36
1920 ..	161	134	15	310	32	26	58	368	2	11	13	381	28	38
1921 ..	160	132	16	308	26	26	51	359	2	12	14	373	28	40
1922 ..	160	141	16	317	26	26	52	369	2	13	15	384	30	39
1923 ..	147	120	13	280	30	27	57	337	2	11	13	350	28	37
1924 ..	209	134	12	355	29	28	57	412	2	12	14	426	27	37
1925 ..	263	137	12	412	23	27	50	462	2	12	14	476	26	34
1926 ..	319	162	20	501	23	28	51	552	2	12	14	566	25	34
1927 ..	328	167	18	513	28	33	61	574	2	13	15	589	28	38

N.B.—Honorary Fellows were styled Honorary Members before 1911.

The closing total for 1923 has been adjusted to an initial total of 345 for 1924.

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[APPENDIX II.]

List of Publications issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1927.

(a) Bibliotheca Indica (New Series):

	Price. Rs. A. P.
No. 1487: Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram, Text (2 units)	1 8 0
No. 1491: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. 2, Fasc. 3 (2 units)	2 0 0
No. 1493: First Supplement to Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS., A.S.B. Collections, Pp. XX, 160	4 8 0
No. 1495: Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Text, Vol. I, Fasc. 2 (2 units)	2 0 0
No. 1498: Haft-Iqlim, Fasc. 2 (1 unit)	1 0 0
No. 1499: Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī, Vol. 3, Fasc. 1 (9 units)	9 0 0

(b) Memoirs:

Vol. VIII, No. 6: Chemistry in 'Iraq and Persia in the 10th century A.D. ..	5 1 0
Vol. IX, No. 3: Maritime Meteorology in Indian Seas	2 13 0
Vol. X. No. 2: Santal Medicine	10 11 0

(c) Journal and Proceedings (New Series):

Vol. XXI.	
No. 4	6 12 0
No. 5	2 4 0
No. 6	2 10 0
Vol. XXII.	
No. 1	3 6 0
No. 2	4 2 0
No. 3	4 8 0
No. 4	5 4 0

Title page and Index for Vol. XXI. (Free to Members and Subscribers.)

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[APPENDIX III.]

Abstract Statement

of

Receipts and Disbursements

of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal

for

the Year 1927

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STATEMENT No. 1.

1927. *Asiatic Society*

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Establishment.		
Salaries and Allowances	28,212 6 8	
Commission	481 11 0	
		28,694 1 8
To Contingencies.		
Stationery	926 9 6	
Fan and Light	383 9 0	
Telephone	230 10 4	
Taxes	1,753 4 0	
Postage	1,510 2 6	
Freight	188 15 6	
Contingencies	1,352 14 3	
Audit Fee	250 0 0	
Petty Repairs	248 6 0	
Insurance	500 0 0	
Menials' Clothing	119 0 0	
Furniture and Fittings	50 0 0	
Upkeep of Paintings	29 14 6	
Building Repairs	109 0 0	
		7,652 5 7
To Library and Collections.		
Books	4,122 11 9	
Binding	2,028 0 0	
		6,150 11 9
To Publications, etc.		
Journal and Proceedings and Memoirs ..	13,656 2 6	
Printing Circulars, etc.	1,175 1 0	
		14,831 3 6
To Contributions.		
Indian Science Congress for 1927		800 0 0
To Sundry Adjustments.		
Contribution to Provident Fund ..	443 3 9	
Refund of Postage to Pub. Fund ..	545 2 6	
Refund to Provident Fund A/c ..	21 3 0	
Bad Debts written-off	824 13 9	
Advance to Permanent Library Endowment Fund A/c	94 13 6	
		1,929 4 6
Depreciation on Investments revalued on 31-12-27		8,143 13 0
Balance as per Balance Sheet		1,84,498 12 7
Total ..		2,52,700 4 7

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STATEMENT No. 1.

of Bengal. *1927.*

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		1,92,745 14 9
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest on Investments	10,457 6 0	
Miscellaneous	1,210 1 9	
Government Allowance	2,000 0 0	
Advertising	5,268 13 9	
Profits on sale of War Bonds	322 4 11	
		19,258 10 5
By Personal Account.		
Members' Subscriptions	15,465 0 0	
Compounding Subscriptions	1,480 0 0	
Admission Fees	2,208 0 0	
		19,153 0 0
By Transfer from Funds.		
Proportionate Share in General Expenditure by various Funds	7,500 0 0	
Publication Fund for Publications ..	13,656 2 6	
Appreciation of War Bonds	386 8 11	
		21,542 11 5
		2,52,700 4 7

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STATEMENT No. 2.

1927. *Oriental Publication*

From a monthly grant made by the Government of Bengal for the publi-
(Rs. 500), and for the publication of Sanskrit

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Printing	5,892 0 5	
Editing	1,951 0 0	
Cataloguing	450 0 0	
		8293 0 5
To Proportionate Share in General Expenditure		3,000 0 0
Total ..		11,293 0 5

STATEMENT No. 3.

1927. *Oriental Publication*

From a monthly grant made by the Government of Bengal of
Historical Interest

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Printing		1,991 15 6
To Transfer to Arabic and Persian Fund Account		112 5 6
To Balance as per Balance Sheet		18,426 9 6
Total ..		20,530 14 6

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STATEMENT No. 2.

Fund, No. 1, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

cation of Oriental Works and Works of Instruction in Eastern Languages
Works hitherto unpublished (Rs. 250).

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		1,001 4 1
By Cash Receipts.		
Annual Grant		8,250 0 0
By Balance as per Balance Sheet		2,041 12 4
Total ..		11,293 0 5

STATEMENT No. 3.

Fund, No. 2, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

Rs. 250 for the publication of Arabic and Persian Works of
(without remuneration).

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		17,530 14 6
By Cash Receipts.		
Annual Grant, 1927-28		3,000 0 0
Total ..		20,530 14 6

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STATEMENT No. 4.

1927. *Sanskrit Manuscripts Fund*

From an annual grant of Rs. 3,200 made by the Government of Bengal by the Society; and Rs. 3,600 from the

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Pension	120 0 0	
Allowance	3,600 0 0	
		3,720 0 0
To Proportionate Share in General Expenditure	..	2,000 0 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet ..	..	15,914 10 3
Total ..		21,634 10 3

STATEMENT No. 5.

1927. *Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*

From an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 made by the Government of India for by the Society; for the purchase of further Manuscripts, Manuscripts found in

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	..	5,684 10 9
To Cash Expenditure.		
Manuscripts Purchase	505 1 6	
Binding	623 0 0	
Cataloguing	3,000 0 0	
Contingencies	40 0 0	
		4,168 1 6
To Proportionate Share in General Expenditure	..	2,500 0 0
Total		12,352 12 3

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STATEMENT No. 4.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

for the publication of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired same Government for research work.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		14,834 10 3
By Cash Receipts.		
Annual Grant for cataloguing, 1927-28 ..	3,600 0 0	
Annual Grant for research work, 1927-28 ..	3,200 0 0	
		6,800 0 0
Total ..		21,634 10 3

STATEMENT No. 5.

Fund Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

the cataloguing and binding of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, acquired and for the preparation of notices of Arabic and Persian various Libraries in India.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Cash Receipts.		
Annual Grant from the Government of India for 1927-28		5,000 0 0
By Transfer from O.P. Fund, No. 2		112 5 6
By Balance as per Balance Sheet		7,240 6 9
Total ..		12,352 12 3

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STATEMENT No. 6.

1927. *Barclay Memorial*

From a sum of Rs. 500 odd given in 1896 by the Surgeon encouragement of Medical

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	41 6 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 400 3½% G.P.N., 1854-55		
,, 100 ,, ,, 1900-01 ..	451 2 0	
,, 100 ,, ,, 1865		
Accumulated cash balance	70 0 8	
		521 2 8
TOTAL ..		562 8 8

STATEMENT No. 7.

1927. *Servants' Pension Fund*

Founded in 1876 as the Peddington Pension Fund

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	66 4 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 2,000, 3½% G. P. Notes ..	1,503 12 0	
Accumulated Interest	106 5 10	
		1,610 1 10
TOTAL ..		1,676 5 10

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STATEMENT No. 6.

Fund Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

General, I.M.S., for the foundation of a medal for the and Biological Science.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		545 2 8
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest realized during the year ..		17 6 0
Total ..		562 8 8

STATEMENT No. 7.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

with Rs. 500 odd from the Peddington Fund.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account		1,606 5 10
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest realized for the year		70 0 0
Total ..		1,676 5 10

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STATEMENT No. 8.

1927. *Building Fund*

From a sum of Rs. 40,000 given by the Government of India proceeds of a portion

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	430 10 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 13,000/- 3½% G.P. Notes ..	9,774 6 0	
Accumulated Interest	1,512 6 6	
		11,286 12 6
TOTAL ..		11,717 6 6

STATEMENT No. 9.

1927. *Catalogue of Scientific Serial Pub-*

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	415 0 0
TOTAL ..	415 0 0

STATEMENT No. 10.

1927. *International Catalogue of Scien-*

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	4,424 7 8
TOTAL ..	4,424 7 8

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STATEMENT No. 8.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

towards the rebuilding of the Society's premises, and from the sale of the Society's land.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	11,262 6 6
By Cash Receipts.	
Interest realized during the year	455 0 0
Total ..	11,717 6 6

STATEMENT No. 9.

lications, Calcutta, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

Cr.

	Rs. As P.
By Balance from last Account	415 0 0
Total ..	415 0 0

STATEMENT No. 10.

tific Literature, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	4,424 7 8
Total ..	4,424 7 8

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STATEMENT No. 11.

1927. *Akbarnama Reprint*

From a sum set apart in 1923 for

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	7,764	10	8
TOTAL ..	7,764	10	8

STATEMENT No. 12.

1927 *Provident Fund Ac-*

From contributions by the

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
To Withdrawal from Contributions	43	3	0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet	3,456	8	8
TOTAL ..	3,499	11	8

STATEMENT No. 13.

1927. *Sir William Jones Memorial*

From a sum gifted for the purpose in

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-1927				99	6	0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—						
Rs. 3,000, 3½% G.P. Notes	2,255	10	0			
Accumulated Interest	189	0	0			
				2,444	10	0
TOTAL ..				2,544	0	0

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STATEMENT No. 11.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

the reprint of the Akbarnama in England.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	7,764 10 8
TOTAL ..	7,764 10 8

STATEMENT No. 12.

count, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

Staff and the Society.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	2,542 1 0
BY CASH RECEIPTS.	
Staff Contribution for the year	443 3 9
By A.S.B. Contribution for the year	443 3 9
By Refund from A.S.B. (excess withdrawal of Contributions)	21 3 0
By Interest accrued for 1926	50 0 2
TOTAL ..	3,499 11 8

STATEMENT No. 13.

Fund Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

1926, by Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account..	2,449 12 0
BY CASH RECEIPTS.	
Interest realized for the year	94 4 0
TOTAL ..	2,544 0 0

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STATEMENT No. 14.

1927. *Annandale Memorial Fund*

From donations by subscription,

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Cost of Medal	113 12 0	..
Cost for Preparing Dies	175 0 0	..
		288 12 0
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	99 6 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 2,000, 3½% G.P. Notes	2,255 10 0	..
Accumulated Cash balance	333 11 0	..
		2,589 5 0
TOTAL ..	..	2,977 7 0

STATEMENT No. 15.

1927. *Permanent Library Endowment*

From gifts received,

Dr.

To CASH EXPENDITURE.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Purchase of Investments	5,617 6 6	..
Contingencies	1 0 0	..
		5,618 6 6
To Depreciation, Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	1,736 14 0
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 7,000, 3½% G.P. Notes ..	..	5,263 2 0
TOTAL ..	..	12,618 6 6

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STATEMENT No. 14.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

started in 1926.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account	2,882 12 0
By Cash Receipts.	
Interest realized for the year	94 11 0
Total ..	2,977 7 0

STATEMENT No. 15.

Fund Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

started in 1926.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P
By Balance from last Account		2,050 0 0
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest realized on Investments ..	158 9 0	..
Donations received during the year ..	3,315 0 0	..
Investments credited, Face Value ..	7,000 0 0	..
		10,473 9 0
By Advance from A.S.B.	..	94 13 6
Total ..	..	12,618 6 6

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STATEMENT No. 16.

1927. *Publication Fund*

From sale proceeds

Dr.

To Cash Expenditure.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Postage	545 2 6	
Printing	840 0 0	
		1,385 2 6
To Books returned	..	93 9 3
To Publications of the A.S.B.	..	13,656 2 6
To Depreciation on Investments revalued on 31-12-27	..	496 14 0
To Exchange difference on Fixed Deposit, London	..	57 8 6
To Balance as per Balance Sheet—		
Rs. 15,000, 3½% G.P. Notes	11,278 2 0	
Accumulated Cash Balance	7,170 4 3	
		18,448 6 3
Total ..		34,137 11 0

STATEMENT No. 17.

1927 *Fixed Deposit*

From a sum set aside to pay for the

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	9,961 8 11
To Interest accrued on Fixed Deposit	444 11 4
	10,406 4 3
Less Difference in Exchange rate	57 8 6
Total ..	10,348 11 9

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STATEMENT No. 16.

Account, in Account with A.S.B. *1927.*

of publications.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
By Balance from last Account..		23,832 11 5
By Cash Receipts.		
Interest on Investments	525 0 0	
Cash Sales of Publications	983 7 9	
Interest realized on Fixed Deposit, London	444 11 4	
		1,953 3 1
By Personal Account.		
Credit Sale of Publications	6,417 10 9	
Subscriptions to Journal and Proceedings	1,368 0 0	
Miscellaneous	20 15 3	
		7,806 10 0
By refund of Postage, by A.S.B.		545 2 6
Total ..		34,137 11 0

STATEMENT No. 17.

Account, London. *1927.*

printing of the Kashmiri Dictionary.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P
Printing Charges	840 0 0
By Balance as per Balance Sheet	9,508 11 9
Total ..	10,348 11 9

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STATEMENT No. 18.

1927. *Personal*

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	..	3,322 0 0
Advances for postage, etc.	..	1,447 2 3
Asiatic Society's Subscriptions, etc. ..	19,153 0 0	
Subscriptions to Journal and Proceedings and from Book Sales, etc., from Publication Fund	7,806 10 0	
		26,959 10 0

By Outstandings.	Amount due to the Society.			Amount due by the Society.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Members ...	4,587	10	0	247	0	0
Subscribers ...	..	...	...	24	0	0
Bill Collector's Deposit ...	..	...	...	100	0	0
Miscellaneous ...	924	5	9	5,198	8	6
	5,511	15	9	5,569	8	6

To Balance	..	57 8 9
TOTAL	..	31,786 5 0

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STATEMENT No. 18.

Account. *1927.*

Cr.

			Rs.	As.	P.
By Cash Receipts during the year	..	..	30,867	14	0
Bad Debts written off, A.S.B. Account	..	..	824	13	9
Do. Pub. Fund Account		..	93	9	3
TOTAL	..		31,786	5	0

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STATEMENT No. 19.

1927. *(1) Investment*

Dr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Market Value. Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account ..	2,80,700 0 0	2,69,606 3 10
To Purchase for the Barclay Memorial Fund	100 0 0	100 0 0
To Purchase for the P.L. End. Fund ..	7,000 0 0	7,000 0 0
TOTAL ..	2,87,800 0 0	2,76,706 3 10

Face Value Rs.	FUNDS.	Rate @ Rs. %	31st December, 1927, Valuation. Rs. A. P.	Valuation as per Individual Account. Rs. A. P.	Less Depreciation on 31st December, 1927. Rs. A. P.
	ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.				
	PERMANENT RESERVE.				
16,700	3½% G. Loan No. 155119, 1842-43	75/3/-			
1,00,000	3½% G. Loan No. 216811, 1854-55	75/3/-			
53,700	3½% G. Loan No. 216812, 1854-55 ...	75/3/-			
5,000	3½% G. Loan No. 029544, 1879	75/3/-	1,44,004 9 0	1,80,506 13 10	36,502 4 10
1,000	3½% G. Loan No. 029548, 1879	75/3/-			
500	3% G. Loan No. 093715, 1896-97	64/4/-			
14,700	3½% G. Loan Part of No. 337428, 1865	75/3/-			
	TEMPORARY RESERVE.				
1,600	3½% G. Loan Part of No. 337428, 1865 ...	75/3/-			
26,000	3½% G. Loan No. 238816, 1900-01	75/3/-	39,548 10 0	52,729 0 0	13,180 6 0
25,000	3½% G. Loan No. 238369, 1900-01	75/3/-			
	PUBLICATION FUND.				
15,000	3½% G. Loan Part of No. 337428, 1865	75/3/-	11,278 2 0	15,000 0 0	3,721 14 0
	BUILDING FUND.				
13,000	3½% G. Loan Part of No. 337428, 1865	75/3/-	9,774 6 0	13,000 0 0	3,225 10 0
	PENSION FUND.				
2,000	3½% G. Loan Part of No. 029546, 1879	75/3/-	1,503 12 0	1,870 6 0	366 10 0
	BARCLAY MEMORIAL FUND.				
300	3½% G. Loan No. 170971, 1854-55	75/3/-			
100	3½% G. Loan No. 220763, 1854-55	75/3/-			
100	3½% G. Loan No. 304677, 1900-01	75/3/-	451 2 0	600 0 0	148 14 0
100	3½% G. Loan No. 354795, 1865	75/3/-			
	SIR WILLIAM JONES MEMORIAL FUND.				
1,500	3½% G. Loan of 1854-55 ...	75/3/-			
1,500	3½% G. Loan of 1900-01 ..	75/3/-	2,255 10 0	3,000 0 0	744 6 0
	ANNANDALE MEMORIAL FUND.				
3,000	3½% G. Loan of 1842-43 ..	75/3/-	2,255 10 0	3,000 0 0	744 6 0
	PERMANENT LIBRARY ENDOWMENT FUND.				
5,000	3½% G. Loan No. 230065, 1854-55	75/3/-			
2,000	3½% G. Loan Nos. 231119 and 230787, 1854-55	75/3/-	5,263 2 0	7,000 0 0	1,736 14 0
2,87,800		.....	2,16,334 15 0	2,76,706 3 10	60,371 4 10

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STATEMENT No. 19.

Account (*Government Securities*). *1927.*

Cr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Market Value. Rs. As. P.
Balance as per Balance Sheet ..	2,87,800 0 0	2,16,334 15 0
Less Depreciation on Investments Re-valued on 31st December, 1927 ..	..	60,371 4 10
TOTAL ..	2,87,800 0 0	2,76,706 3 10

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STATEMENT No. 20.

1927. *(2) Investment*

Dr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Market Value. Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	20,000 0 0	20,326 14 2
To Profits realized on Sale of W. Bonds ..	..	322 4 11
To Appreciation War Bonds revalued on 31-12-1927	..	386 8 11
TOTAL ..	20,000 0 0	21,035 12 0

FUNDS.	31st December, 1927, Valuation. Rs.	A.	P.	Valuation as per War Bond Account. Rs.	A.	P.	Appreciation on 31st December, 1927. Rs.	A.	P.
TEMPORARY RESERVE.									
Rs.10,000/- 5½% W. Bonds of 1928 @ Rs. 105/8/- %	10,550	0	0	10,163	7	1	386	8	11
TOTAL Rs. ...	10,550	0	0	10,163	7	1	836	8	11

STATEMENT No. 21.

1927. *(3) Investment Account*

For Staff

Dr.

	Rs. As. P.
To Balance from last Account	2,563 4 0
To Deposits during the year	843 4 6
To Interest realized for 1926	50 0 2
	3,456 8 8

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STATEMENT No. 20.

Account (*War Bonds*). *1927.*

Cr.

	Face Value. Rs. As. P.	Market Value. Rs. As. P.
By Sale Proceeds of 5½% W. Bonds of 1928 Rs. 10,000/- F. Value	10,000 0 0	10,485 12 0
By Balance as per Balance Sheet ..	10,000 0 0	10,550 0 0
TOTAL ..	20,000 0 0	21,035 12 0

STATEMENT No. 21.

(*Savings Bank Deposit, Imperial Bank of India*). *1927.*

Provident Fund.

Cr.

	Rs. As. P.
By Balance as per Balance Sheet	3,456 8 8
TOTAL ..	3,456 8 8

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STATEMENT No. 22.

1927. *(4) Investment Account*

Dr.

		Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance from last Account		20,000	0	0
TOTAL ..		20,000	0	0

STATEMENT No. 23.

1927. *Cash*

Dr

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance from last Account				3,680	3	6
Asiatic Society of Bengal	19,258	10	5			
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	8,250	0	0			
Oriental Publication Fund No. 2 ..	3,000	0	0			
Sanskrit Manuscripts Fund Account ..	6,800	0	0			
Arabic and Persian Manuscripts Fund Account	5,000	0	0			
Barclay Memorial Fund Account ..	17	6	0			
Servants' Pension Fund Account ..	70	0	0			
Building Fund Account	455	0	0			
Provident Fund Account	443	3	9			
Sir William Jones Memorial Fund Account	94	4	0			
Annandale Memorial Fund Account ..	94	11	0			
Permanent Library Endowment Fund Account	10,473	9	0			
Publication Fund Account	1,953	3	1			
Fixed Deposit Account (London) ..	840	0	0			
Personal Account	30,867	14	0			
War Bond Account	10,485	12	0			
				98,103	9	3
TOTAL ..				1,01,783	12	9

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STATEMENT No. 22.

(Fixed Deposit, Imperial Bank of India). *1927.*

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.
By Balance as per Balance Sheet	20,000	0	0
TOTAL ..	20,000	0	0

STATEMENT No. 23.

Account. *1927.*

Cr.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
By Asiatic Society of Bengal	58,128	6	6			
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	8,293	0	5			
Do. do. No. 2 ..	1,991	15	6			
Sanskrit Manuscripts Fund Account ..	3,720	0	0			
Arabic and Persian Manuscripts Fund Account	4,168	1	6			
Provident Fund Account	43	3	0			
Annandale Memorial Fund Account ..	288	12	0			
Permanent Library Endowment Fund Account	5,618	6	6			
Publication Fund Account	1,385	2	6			
Fixed Deposit Account (London) ..	444	11	4			
Personal Account	1,447	2	3			
Savings Bank Deposit Fund Account ..	843	4	6			
Investment Account	7,100	0	0			
War Bond Account	322	4	11			
				93,794	6	11
Balance	..			7,989	5	10
TOTAL ..				1,01,783	12	9

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STATEMENT No. 24.

1927. *Balance*

LIABILITIES.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
Asiatic Society of Bengal	1,84,498 12 7	
Oriental Publication Fund No. 2 ..	18,426 9 6	
Sanskrit Manuscripts Fund Account ..	15,914 10 3	
Barclay Memorial Fund Account ..	521 2 8	
Servants' Pension Fund Account ..	1,610 1 10	
Building Fund Account ..	11,286 12 6	
Catalogue of Scientific Serial Publication, Calcutta	415 0 0	
International Catalogue of Scientific Literature	4,424 7 8	
Akbarnama Reprint Account	7,764 10 8	
Provident Fund Account	3,456 8 8	
Sir William Jones Memorial Fund Account	2,444 10 0	
Annandale Memorial Fund Account ..	2,589 5 0	
Permanent Library Endowment Fund Account	5,263 2 0	
Publication Fund Account	18,448 6 3	
Personal Account	57 8 9	
		2,77,121 12 4
TOTAL ..		2,77,121 12 4

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and the appended detailed accounts with the Books and Vouchers presented to us and certify that they are in accordance therewith, and set forth correctly the position of the Society as at 31st December, 1927.

PRICE, WATERHOUSE, PEAT & Co.,
Auditors,
Chartered Accountants.

Calcutta,
January, 23rd, 1928.

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STATEMENT No. 24.

Sheet. *1927.*

ASSETS.

	Rs. As. P.	Rs As. P.
Oriental Publication Fund No. 1 ..	2,041 12 4	
Arabic and Persian Manuscripts Fund Account	7,240 6 9	
Fixed Deposit Account (London) ..	9,508 11 9	
Fixed Deposit (Calcutta)	20,000 0 0	
Investment Account	2,16,334 15 0	
War Bond Account	10,550 0 0	
Savings Bank Deposit Fund Account ..	3,456 8 8	
		2,69,132 6 6
Cash Account		7,989 5 10
TOTAL ..		2,77,121 12 4

BAINI PRASHAD,
Honorary Treasurer.

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[APPENDIX IV.]

Abstract Proceedings Council, 1927.

(Rule 48 f.)

ADVERTISING—

Recommendations Finance Committee of 25-2-27. Accept, except recommendation re : Flash-light.

Resolved that the Council does not approve of advertising on the Society's Building.

Also resolved that the General Secretary communicate with the French Motor Car Co., for their present intention regarding proposed lease

No. 8. 28-2-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 (b) of 27-5-27. Recommendation : Agents have been written to ; no action. Accepted by Council.

No. 10. 30-5-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 23-9-27. Letter from Messrs. India Publicity Service regarding payment of arrears. Recommendation : The Treasurer to write. Accepted by Council.

No. 8. 26-9-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (d) of 23-9-27. Enquiries from Messrs. Garg Brothers about (1) the erection of illuminated signs and (2) the lease of a portion of the Society's land for building purposes. Recommendation : Decline (1). Ask for definite proposals about (2). The maximum lease to be for 20 years and any building erected to become the property of the Society on the expiry of the lease. Accepted by Council.

No. 8. 26-9-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 of 28-10-27. Letter from Messrs. Garg Brothers with reference to illuminated advertisements. Recommendation : The committee does not recommend acceptance. Accepted by Council.

No. 11. 31-10-27.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS—

Quinquennial re-election two Associate Members, Pierre Johans and Anantakrishna Shastri. Order : Put up for re-election.

No. 4. 31-1-27.

Letter from Mr. B. N. Vasu requesting that his father Mr. N. N. Vasu may not be removed from the member list of the Society. Ordinary membership to terminate and resolved that Mr. N. N. Vasu be recommended for election as an Associate Member of the Society.

No. 8 (b). 28-3-27.

ANNUAL MEETING—

Annual Report. Approved. Future inclusion of short resumé at the end recommended.

No. 12. 31-1-27.

Annual Meeting. Arrangements approved.

No. 13. 31-1-27.

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Letter Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bengal regarding Dress for Annual Meeting. Record.
No. 2. 28-2-27.

Invitation to H.E. the Governor of Bengal for the Annual Meeting. The General Secretary to arrange.
No. 18. 28-11-27.

At Home—

Letter Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bengal, intimating acceptance by H.E. of the invitation to an At Home and Secretary's report concerning the latter. Record.
No. 5. 28-2-27.

Report "At Home" on March 5th. Record. Unanimously resolved to place on record the Counil's hearty thanks to Sir R. N. Mookerjee for his generous action in this matter. Also resolved to send the usual letter of welcome to the new Governor, with a request to accept the patronship of the Society.
No. 1. 28-3-27.

Letters of thanks to, and from, Sir R. N. Mookerjee. Record.
No. 1. 25-4-27.

Bibliotheca Indica—

Recommendation Finance Committee No. 4 of 22-4-27. The question Mr. Ivanow's remuneration. Recommend to Council that Mr. Ivanow's remuneration be increased by Rs. 50/- per month with effect from the current month, to be met from O.P. Fund, No. 1. Accepted by Council.
No. 9. 25-4-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 (d) of 27-5-27. Payment of Salary to a typist for Mr. B. De. Recommendation: Recommend that the cost be met from O.P. Fund, No. 2. Mr. De to make his own arrangements and to submit previous estimate. Accepted by Council.
No. 10. 30-5-27.

Proposal from Prof. W. Caland to publish the Tandya Mahabrahmana (English Translation) in the *Bibliotheca Indica.* Find out remuneration required.
No. 7. 27-6-27.

Letter from Sir George Grierson regarding the proposed publication of a Kashmiri work of the 15th century and also the financing of the Kashmiri Dictionary. Ask for the MS. Accept printer's revised rates for the dictionary.
No. 8. 27-6-27.

Letter from Mr. Mohommed Habib requesting publication of "Khazainul Futuh" (translation) in the *Bibliotheca Indica.* Decline.
No. 7. 25-7-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 (a) of 22-7-27. Index for Mr. B. De's Tabaqat i-Akbari. Recommendation: The arrangement for the index to be left with the General Secretary and Mr. B. De. Accepted by Council.
No. 13. 25-7-27.

Letter from the Assistant Registrar, Calcutta University with reference to the reprinting of "Advaita Brahma Siddhi." Not to be reprinted by the Society. Permit reprint by University if source is suitably acknowledged.
No. 5. 31-10-27.

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Letter from Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig with reference to a preface to Muntakhab-ul-Lubab in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Accept Jt. Philological Secretary's recommendation, remuneration Rs. 100/-.
No. 5. 28-11-27.

Offer by Dr. M. Hidayat Hosain to edit "Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi" in the *Bibliotheca Indica* without remuneration. Accept with thanks
No. 19. 28-11-27

COMMITTEES —

Constitution Committees for 1927/28.

The General Secretary to circulate the present constitution of committees; Committees as at present constituted to be maintained pending re-constitution.
No. 12 (a). 28-2-27

Constitution various Committees for 1927/28.

The following Committees of 1926/27 are carried over from the previous year :—

Publication Committee.

President.
Treasurer.
General Secretary.
Philological Secretary.
Jt. Philological Secretary.
Biological Secretary.
Physical Science Secretary.
Anthropological Secretary.
Medical Secretary.
Library Secretary.
} Ex-officio Members.
Sir C. C. Ghose.

Library Committee.

President.
Treasurer.
General Secretary.
Philological Secretary.
Jt. Philological Secretary.
Biological Secretary.
Physical Science Secretary.
Anthropological Secretary.
Medical Secretary.
Library Secretary.
} Ex-officio Members.
Sir C. C. Ghose.
Percy Brown.

Finance Committee.

President.
Treasurer.
General Secretary.
} Ex-officio Members.
Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
MM. H. P. Shastri.
Mr. J. C. Mitra.
Mr. A. R. Bery.

Lease Committee.

President.
Treasurer.
General Secretary.
} Ex-officio Members.
Sir C. C. Ghose.
Mr. A. R. Bery.

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Insurance Committee.

President.
Treasurer. } Ex-officio Members.
General Secretary.
Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell.
N. Ottens.
Thornton Jones.
(Capt. B. A. Westbrook to be consulted.)

Dr. Annandale Memorial Committee.

President.
Treasurer. } Ex-officio Members.
General Secretary.
Major R. B. S. Sewell.

Barclay Memorial Rules Committee.

President.
Treasurer. } Ex-officio Members.
General Secretary.
Major R. B. S. Sewell.

Sir William Jones' Medal Committee.

President.
Treasurer. } Ex-officio Members.
General Secretary.
Major R. B. S. Sewell.

Note: Messrs. Thornton Jones and Westbrook have left India. Order: Reappoint all who are at present in Calcutta.
No. 2. 28-3-27.

CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS—

On proposal of Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose unanimously resolved to convey the Council's congratulations to MM. H. P. Shastri at the occasion of his receiving the Honorary Doctor's degree from the Dacca University.
No. 12 (c). 28-2-27.

Dr. Hora's Binding of a Manuscript. Council's thanks to be conveyed to Dr. Hora.
No. 12 (d). 28-2-27.

Letter from Dr. S. L. Hora intimating absence from Calcutta. Accept. Recommendation Finance Committee of 22-4-27. Extract: Recommend to Council acceptance of Dr. Hora's resignation with an expression of regret and of cordial thanks to him for the valuable service rendered to the Society as Treasurer for the past two years; also recommend that Dr. Baini Prashad be invited to accept the Treasurership.
No. 9. 25-4-27.

Letter of thanks from Mr. P. C. Lyon with reference to the resolution passed on the death of Mr. F. E. Pargiter. Record.
No. 17 (a) 25-7-27.

Return of the General Secretary from leave. Record, with the Council's cordial thanks to Dr. Christie for his valuable work in the interest of the Society during the General Secretary's absence.
No. 1. 28-11-27.

Presentation to the Society of a copy of "An Introduction to Medical Protozoology" by its author Lt.-Col. R. Knowles, and a copy of "Santal Folk Tales" by its author Rev. P. O. Bodding. Congratulations and thanks to the donors.
No. 2. 19-12-27.

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COUNCIL—

Signatures signifying formal acceptance of election as Council Members for 1927. And specimen signatures for the Bank. Record.
28-2-27.
No. 3.

Letter from Dr. S. L. Hora intimating absence from Calcutta.
Accept. Recommendation Finance Committee of 22-4-27.
Extract: Recommend to Council acceptance of Dr. Hora's resignation with an expression of regret and of cordial thanks to him for the valuable services rendered to the Society as Treasurer for the past two years; also recommend that Dr. Baini Prashad be invited to accept the Treasurership.
With a view to the requirements of the Society's Bankers, resolved to recommend to Council to pass a formal resolution to the effect that the General Secretary (Mr. Johan van Manen) be authorised to officiate as Honorary Treasurer to the Society until such date as the new Treasurer assumes his functions.
25-4-27.
No. 9.

Report regarding the General Secretary's health. Resolved that the General Secretary be granted six months' leave with continuation of full compensation allowance from 1st May, or such subsequent date as he may avail himself of it, and that he be given an honorarium of Rs. 4,000.
25-4-27.
No. 13 (a).

Letters of thanks from the General Secretary and Dr. S. L. Hora Record.
30-5-27.
No. 1.

Resignation of Biological Secretary. Dr. S. L. Hora to be invited to act as Natural History Secretary (Biology) in place of Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell resigned.
25-7-27.
No. 2.

Letter from Dr. S. K. Chatterji intimating absence from Calcutta. Record.
25-7-27.
No. 3.

Acceptance by Dr. S. L. Hora of the Natural History (Biology) Secretaryship. Record.
29-8-27.
No. 1.

Resignation of Biological Secretary. Accept. Ask Lt.-Col. Sewell to accept the appointment. To be proposed to the next Ordinary Monthly Meeting by the Council (Rule 13).
26-9-27.
No. 13.

Fixing date of the next Council and Committee meetings. 31st October, 1927.
26-9-27.
No. 6.

Date next Committee and Council Meetings. December 19th.
28-11-27.
No. 16.

Officiating arrangements for Treasurership. Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell to officiate as Honorary Treasurer during the absence of Dr. Baini Prashad.
31-10-27.
No. 18.

Informal consideration of the Composition of Council for 1928-29.
After discussion, the following list of candidates for nomination to next years' Council was placed before the meeting for consideration:—

President	.. ..	Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.
Vice-President	.. ..	Dr. W. A. K. Christie.
Ditto.	.. ..	Sir R. N. Mookerjee.

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Vice-President	.. ..	Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.
Ditto.	.. ..	Dr. E. H. Pascoe.
General Secretary	..	Johan van Manen, Esq.
Treasurer	.. ..	Dr. Baini Prashad.
Phil. Secretary	.. ..	MM. H. P. Shastri.
Jt. Phil. Secretary	..	Dr. M. Hidayat Hosain.
Nat. Hist. Secy. (Biology)	..	Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell.
Ditto. (Phys. Sci.)	.	Dr. C. V. Raman.
Anthropological Secretary	..	Rev. P. O. Bodding.
Medical Secretary	..	Lt.-Col. R. Knowles.
Library Secretary	..	Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell.
Member of Council	..	Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose.
Ditto.	..	B. L. Mitter, Esq.
Ditto.	..	Dr. S. K. Chatterji.
Ditto.	..	J. H. Lindsay, Esq.
Ditto.	..	B. De, Esq.
Ditto.	..	H. E. Stapleton, Esq.

Resolved: That the General Secretary do print and circulate to the Members of the Council the list of the Council as at present constituted, together with the new list placed before the meeting, and provided with a blank column for additional names; that thesel ists be returned to the General Secretary within a week of date of issue; that a list be compiled of the candidates finally proposed and be placed before the next Council Meeting to be voted upon.

No. 21. 28-11-27.

Council nomination for 1928-29.

The General Secretary reported that 17 Council members had returned the list of candidates circulated, duly signed and unanimously approved without any alternative suggestions.

Resolved to accept the list placed before the Council in the November Meeting and to order it to be sent out to the Resident Members, as prescribed in Rule 44.

No. 10. 19-12-27.

Officiating arrangements Treasurer. Resolved that the General Secretary (Mr. Johan van Manen) be authorised to officiate as Honorary Treasurer to the Society during the absence of the Honorary Treasurer, Dr. Baini Prashad, from December 16th, 1927 onwards until notification of the latter's return to Calcutta and resumption of office.

No. 11 (b). 19-12-27

EXCHANGES—

Library Committee No. 3 of 25-4-27. Requests for Exchange of publications from:

(*a*) Transvaal Museum, Pretoria.
Order: Journal, Memoirs.

(*b*) F. M. S. Museum, Kuala Lumpur.
Order: Journal, Memoirs.

(*c*) Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
Order: Journal.

Confirmed by Council.

No. 4. 25-4-27.

Library Committee No. 2 of 27-6-27. Request for exchange from Deutscher Seefischerei-Verein, Berlin. Recommendation: Exchange Journal. Confirmed by Council.

No. 3 (a). 27-6-27.

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Library Committee No. 3 of 27-6-27. Request for exchange from Director, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Tashkent. Recommendation: Decline. Confirmed by Council. 27-6-27.
No. 3 (b).

Library Committee No. 4 of 27-6-27. Request for exchange from Secretary, 'Sahityanushilan Samiti,' Rangpur. Recommendation: Decline. Confirmed by Council. 27-6-27.
No. 3 (c).

Library Committee No. 5 of 27-6-27. Request for exchange from General Secretary, International Institute of Agriculture, Rome. Recommendation: Exchange, Journal. Confirmed by Council. 27-6-27.
No. 3 (d).

Letter from the Director, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, inviting assistance for their Library. Exchange Journal. 25-7-27.
No. 8

Library Committee No. 5 of 27-7-27. Request for exchange from U. S. S. R. Society of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Recommendation: Decline. Confirmed by Council. 25-7-27.
No. 9.

Library Committee No. 1 of 29-8-27. Letter from the Consul-General for Germany, inviting subscription to, or exchange with, the "Literarisches Zentralblatt." Recommendation: Exchange with Journal. Confirmed by Council. 29-8-27.
No. 4.

Library Committee No. 3 of 31-10-27. Request for exchange from the Director of the Geological Survey of the Dutch East Indies, Bandoeng. Recommendation. Exchange Journal. Confirmed by Council. 31-10-27.
No. 6.

Library Committee No. 2 of 28-11-27. Request for exchange from the San Diego Society of Natural History. Recommendation: Decline. Confirmed by Council. 28-11-27.
No. 4.

Library Committee No. 1 of 19-12-27. Proposal for exchange from the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society. Recommendation: Decline. Confirmed by Council. 19-12-27.
No. 4.

ELLIOTT PRIZE—

Recommendation of the Elliott Prize Trustees. Prize for 1927 be awarded to Mr. Kalipada Biswas. Record. 28-11-27.
No. 8.

F. E. A. T. M.—

Forthcoming Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine held in Calcutta in the winter 1927-28. Majors Knowles and Sewell to be asked for recommendations as to appropriate action by the Society. 28-3-27.
No. 8 (e).

Recommendations Majors Knowles and Sewell regarding the forthcoming Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine. Resolved that the recommendations of Majors Knowles and Sewell about the entertainment of the F. E. A. T. M. be accepted. 25-4-27.
No. 13 (b).

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Letter from Honorary Secretary to the Trustees, Indian Museum concerning the F. E. A. T. M.

Appoint Major Knowles and Dr. Baini Prashad as Members of any joint-committee that may be formed.

No. 14 (a). 30-5-27.

Letter from the Secretary, Local Committee, F. E. A. T. M., regarding the publication of a history of the A. S. B. for presentation to the delegates of the F. E. A. T. M. Sir C. C. Ghose to prepare a pamphlet. Major Knowles to report on the financial aspects of the proposed entertainment of the F. E. A. T. M. by the Society and the Trustees of the Indian Museum.

No. 6. 25-7-27.

The proposed entertainment of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine. Accept proposal to entertain the foreign delegates to tea at 4 p.m. on 7th December.

No. 5. 26-9-27.

Pamphlet regarding the Society's activities for presentation to delegates to the F. E. A. T. M. Accept.

No. 3. 31-10-27.

Tea to the Foreign Delegates to the F. E. A. T. M. Accept quotation of Peliti's.

No. 6. 28-11-27.

Report on the entertainment to the Foreign Delegates of the F. E. A. T. M. Record.

No. 1. 19-12-27.

FELLOWS—

Minutes Meeting of Fellows, January 3rd, submitting the names of Lt.-Col. R. Knowles, Mr. Johan van Manen, Dr. B. Sahni and Mr. A. C. Woolner for recommendation to the Society for election to Fellowship. Accepted.

No. 5. 31-1-27.

Letters of thanks from new Fellows for election as Ordinary Fellows. Record.

No. 7. 28-2-27.

FINANCE—

Auditors Reports. Circulate.

No. 14 (b). 31-1-27.

Special Finance Committee of 24-1-27. Resolved to accept the Treasurer's modifications in the final allotment of certain securities to various funds as shown in the investment account in the financial statement for 1926. Accepted by Council.

No. 6. 31-1-27.

Budget for 1927. Order: Approved.

No. 7. 31-1-27.

Recommendation Finance Committee No. 5 of 25-2-27. Purchase of 3½% G. P. Notes for Rs. 100/- Face Value, for the Barclay Memorial Fund. Resolved to recommend to Council to authorise the Treasurer to endorse 3½% Government Paper No. 354795 for Rs. 100/- Face Value, to the Imperial Bank of India, Park Street Branch, for safe custody. Accepted by Council.

No. 8. 28-2-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 24-6-27. The question of renewing the Fixed Deposit for Rs. 10,000/- with Imperial Bank of India. Recommendation: Renew. Accepted by Council.

No. 18. 27-6-27.

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Finance Committee No. 3 (a) of 26-8-27. Payment of printing charges (£75-7s.-6d.) of the "Kashmiri Dictionary," Recommendation: Pay from O. P. Fund, No. 1. Accepted by Council.
29-8-27.
No. 12.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 25-11-27. Letter from the Honorary Treasurer proposing the sale of a portion of the Society's investments in the Temporary Reserve, to meet the expenditure anticipated before the end of the current year. Recommendation: Borrow in the first instance from current account, Science Congress. Authorise Treasurer to sell War Bonds, if and when necessary, to the required amount. Accepted by Council.
28-11-27.
No. 11.

Finance Committee No. 3 (d) of 15-12-27. Old debts and credits appearing in the books of the Society, which are being carried forward year after year. Recommendation: Write off both. Accepted by Council.
19-12-27.
No. 6.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 15-12-27. Payment of the Society's share to the Provident Fund account for 1927. (A bill for Rs. 443/3/9 against contribution of the staff to the same amount, is put up.) Recommendation: Pay. Accepted by Council.
19-12-27.
No. 6.

Finance Committee No. 4 of 15-12-27. Recommended that in future years budget estimates be discussed in the December Council. Accepted by Council.
19-12-27.
No. 6.

FURNITURE—

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 23-9-27. Proposal from Messrs. Gestetner & Co., Ltd., regarding the office Duplicator. Recommendation: Decline. Accepted by Council.
26-9-27.
No. 8.

HONORARY FELLOWS—

Proposal Mr. G. H. Tipper to recommend that His Excellency Lord Lytton be elected an Honorary Fellow of the Society. Accept.
31-1-27.
No. 3.

Letter Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bengal intimating acceptance of election of H.E. as an Honorary Fellow. Record.
28-2-27.
No 1.

Recommendation by Jt. Philological Secretary for the election of Prof. Snouck Hurgronje as an Honorary Fellow. Propose at next Monthly General Meeting.
30-5-27.
No. 2.

Recommendation of the Jt. Philological Secretary to elect Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig an Honorary Fellow. To be proposed by the Council to the next Ordinary General Meeting.
26-9-27.
No. 14.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS—

Letters of thanks from the General Secretary, Indian Science Congress. Record.
31-1-27.
No. 1.

Forthcoming Indian Science Congress to be held in Calcutta in the winter 1927/28. Majors Knowles and Sewell to be asked for recommendations as to appropriate action by the Society.
28-3-27.
No. 8 (e).

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Recommendations Majors Knowles and Sewell regarding the forthcoming Indian Science Congress. Resolved that the recommendations of Majors Knowles and Sewell with reference to the entertainment of the I.S.C. be accepted.
No. 13 (b). 25-4-27.

Report of an Annual Grant of Rs. 500/- from the Bombay University towards the Indian Science Congress. Record.
No. 14 27-6-27.

Letter from the General Secretary, Indian Science Congress, intimating resignation of Lt.-Col. H. W. Acton as Local Secretary of the I.S.C. Major Knowles to invite Major E. W. O'Gorman Kirwan to accept the office.
No. 17 (b). 25-7-27

Letter from the Chairman, Local Committee, Indian Science Congress, Session 1928, regarding financial assistance for the forthcoming Congress. Record.
No. 7. 28-11-27.

Reprint Proceedings of the First Indian Science Congress, 1914, for distribution to the 15th Congress. Reprint.
No. 17. 28-11-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (a) of 15-12-27. The Society's Contribution to the Indian Science Congress for 1927. Recommendation : That Rs. 800/- be Contributed. Accepted by Council.
No. 6. 19-12-27.

INSURANCE—

Finance Committee No. 4 (c) of 27-5-27. Insurance. Recommendation : Report to Council. Accepted by Council.
No. 10. 30-5-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 (b) of 22-7-27. One of the Society's Fire Policies taken out from the Lancashire Insurance Co., for Rs. 25,000 (MSS., Documents and Pictures) has been renewed from the 6th instant for a period of one year, at Rs. 31-4. Recommendation : Record. Accepted by Council.
No. 13. 25-7-27.

Recommendations Insurance Committee, of 20-10-27 :—

(1) That insurance should be effected with only one company—the Commercial Union.

(2) That the Finance Committee and the Council should determine what sum the Society can afford to spend on insurance so that the Insurance Committee may be enabled to prepare a detailed scheme.

(3) That Rs. 1,000 would be a reasonable sum.

(4) That the new scheme should include.

(*a*) A comprehensive fire policy covering all the Society's property (except pictures, the risk to which, in the opinion of the Committee, is not commensurate with the premium payable) and especially covering the stock of publications.

(*b*) A policy covering the risk of destruction of any kind by riot or civil commotion.

(*c*) An earthquake policy covering the building only.

(5) That a clause should be inserted in the fire policy allowing for the lending of books, MSS., and documents in accordance with the Society's rules.

Council Order : Recommendations to be further considered when framing 1928 budget. Tenders to be asked for when insurance scheme is approved.
No. 10. 31-10-27.

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Finance Committee No. 3 of 28-10-27. Recommendations of the Insurance Committee. That, when framing the budget estimates for 1928 the Council consider the possibility of increasing the allotment under the head of insuranee from Rs. 500 to Rs 1,000.

Council order: Recommendations to be further considered when framing 1928 budget. Tenders to be asked for when insurance scheme is approved.

No. 10. 31-10-22.

INVITATIONS—

Invitation from the University of Toronto to participate in their Centenary Celebrations. Mr. G. H. Tipper to be invited to represent the Society.

No. 3. 25-4-27.

Letter from the Secretary, 17th International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford. Send a copy to Members.

No. 3. 30-5-27.

Bulletin concerning the 17th International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford. Record.

No. 5. 25-7-27.

Representation of the Society at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford. Bring up again in January Council.

No. 3. 28-11-27.

Invitation from the Committee, Marcelin Berthelot Centenary Celebration, to send a representative. Request Dr. D. M. Bose to represent the Society.

No. 3. 29-8-27.

Invitation to the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference. Bring up again at March Council Meeting.

No. 3. 19-12-27.

LEASE—

Recommendation Finance Committee of 25-2-27. Resolved that the General Secretary communicate with the French Motor Car Co., for their present intention regarding proposed lease.

No. 8. 28-2-27.

See also Advertising, No. 8. of 26-9-27.

LECTURES—

Report visit and lecture of Prof. Edgerton of the Yale University. Record.

No. 2. 31-1-27.

Question of Public Lectures. Sir C. C. Ghose and Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell are appointed as a Sub-Committee to make arrangements.

No. 7. 30-5-27.

Interim Report by the Lecture Sub-Committee. Record.

No. 15. 27-6-27.

Interim Report on Public Lectures. Record. Invite Dr. Koester officially.

No. 11. 29-8-27.

Interim report on Public Lectures. Record.

No. 3. 26-9-27.

Letter from Dr. Koester with reference to his lecture to the Society, arranged for the 24th January, 1928. Col. Barwell to arrange to report further.

No. 11 (a). 19-12-27.

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LIBRARY—

Library Committee No. 4 of 25-4-27. Letter from Mr. Haricharan Ghosh (an ordinary Resident Member) requesting permission to take out certain starred and reference books from the Library. Recommendation: Recommend to Council to decline the request. Confirmed by Council.
No. 7. 25-4-27.

Library Secretary's statement regarding the present condition of the Library. Recommendation. Refer to Council.
No. 2. 30-5-27.

Library Secretary's statement regarding the present condition of the Library. Library Secretary is authorised to get estimates for binding and repairing the elephant and double elephant volumes.
No. 5. 30-5-27.

Request from Secretary to the Corporation inviting subscription to the Municipal Gazette. Ask for it free.
No. 4 (c). 27-6-27.

Library Committee No. 3 of 29-8-27. Exhaustion of the budget provision for Library. Recommendation: Finance Committee to consider question of further allotment. Confirmed by Council.
No. 13. 29-8-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 23-9-27. The question of supplementary grants for expenditure on library books. Recommendation: that an additional grant be made of Rs. 1,500 under the head "Library books," the amount to be reappropriated from the head "steel shelving." Accepted by Council.
No. 8. 26-9-27.

LIBRARY CATALOGUE—

Finance Committee No. 3 of 27-5-27. Consideration regarding the publication of the proposed revised Library Catalogue. Postpone. Accepted by Council.
No. 10. 30-5-27.

Suggestion from Dr. Baini Prashad regarding the Library Catalogue. A Sub-Committee of Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell and Dr. Prashad to report to the next meeting of Council on the question of an Author Catalogue of the printed books in European languages.
No. 4. 30-5-27.

Sub-Committee's report on Library Catalogue. Adopt. Re-appoint clerk on Rs. 80 per month.
No. 2. 27-6-27.

Report of Progress of Library Catalogue. Recommendation: Record.
No. 4. 25-7-27.

LIBRARY ENDOWMENT FUND—

Letter, Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bengal intimating the sanction by H.E. of a grant of Rs. 500/- to the Library Endowment Fund. Convey the Council's thanks.
No. 6. 28-2-27.

Recommendation Finance Committee No. 2 of 25-3-27. Report Honorary Treasurer regarding the Permanent Library Fund. Recommendation: That the Treasurer be authorised to purchase Government Paper (3½%) of the Face Value of Rs. 5,000/- from cash in the Permanent Library Fund and that the scrip be sent to the Imperial Bank of India for safe custody. Accepted by Council.
No. 4. 28-3-27.

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Library Secretary's statement regarding the present condition of the Library. Library Endowment Fund Circular to be recirculated with Library Secretary's additional note.
No. 5. 30-5-27.

Library Endowment Fund Circulars. Issue. Library Secretary to address the Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy.
No. 1. 27-6-27.

Library Committee No. 8 of 27-6-27. Library Endowment Fund Circulars. Recommendation: Isssue. Confirmed by Council.
No. 19. 27-6-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (a) of 23-9-27. Purchase of 3½% G.P. Notes for Rs. 5,000/- Face Value for the Permanent Library Endowment Fund of the Society. Recommendation: Resolved to recommend to Council to authorise the Treasurer to endorse 3½% Government Paper No. 230065 of 1854-55 for Rs. 5,000/- Face Value, to the Imperial Bank of India, Park Street Branch, for safe custody. Accepted by Council.
No. 8. 26-9-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (a) of 25-11-27. Letter from the Library Secretary regarding funds available in the Permanent Library Endowment Fund of the Society. Recommendation: Invest Rs. 2,000/- in 3½% Government Paper, 1854-1855; advance necessary balance from Society's current account, and refund from accruing interest. Accepted by Council.
No. 11. 28-11-27.

Loan of Manuscripts—

Notices from the First Subordinate Judge, Monghyr, regarding certain books and MSS. belonging to the Society. Consult Sir C. C. Ghose.
No. 9. 30-5-27.

Application from the Honorary Secretary, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-urdu for the loan of a Manuscript. Lend on bond of Rs. 400/-.
No. 6. 27-6-27.

Report on Manuscript lent out from the Society. Record. Lend Sanskrit Manuscript A. 15 to Treasurer for one month.
No. 17. 27-6-27.

Report on manuscripts lent. MSS. on loan on bonds imperfectly executed to be recalled. Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary to instruct the office concerning details of bond execution.
No. 12. 25-7-27.

Request (a) Editor Gaekwad's Oriental Series and Oriental Librarian Baroda, (b) Dr. N. N. Law, for the extension of the period of the loan of manuscripts. Lend on fresh bonds for 3 months.
No. 6. 29-8-27.

Application from Mr. V. Bhattacharya for the loan of Tibetan Xylographs. Decline.
No. 8. 29-8-27.

Report on Manuscripts lent. Record.
No. 10. 29-8-27.

Further application from Mr. V. Bhattacharya regarding the loan of Tibetan Xylographs. Decline.
No. 1. 26-9-27.

Report on Manuscripts lent. Record.
No. 4. 26-9-27.

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Report on Manuscripts lent. Request Mr. B. L. Mitter to suggest steps for the recovery of MSS. from Messrs. Khuda Bakhsh and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
No. 8. 31-10-27.

Report on Manuscripts lent. Accept.
No. 10. 28-11-27.

Report on Manuscripts lent. Record.
No. 11 (d). 19-12-27.

Letter from the Library Secretary concerning certain Library matters. Messrs. Khuda Baksh and Kalam Azad to be written to by registered letter demanding return of the MSS.; if the MSS. are not returned or an explanation received within three days of receipt the matter to be placed in the hands of the Society's solicitors.
No. 11 (c). 19-12-27.

MANUSCRIPTS—

Report find Rajasthani MSS. Record.
No. 8 (d). 28-3-27.

Finance Committee No. 4 (a) of 27-5-27. MSS. purchase recommendation: Continue current practice. Accepted by Council.
No. 10. 30-5-27.

MEMBERSHIP—

Finance Committee No. 4 (a) of 26-1-27. Bad debts written off during the year, 1926, on account of Deaths, Resignations, Rule 40. Recommendation: Approve. Accepted by Council.
No. 7. 31-1-27.

Letter Chief Justice of Bengal, accepting invitation to join the Society. Record.
No. 4. 28-2-27.

Recommendations of the Finance Committee. Accept. Apply rules in cases where members are in arrears.
No. 13. 25-7-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (c) of 15-12-27. Arrears of members' subscriptions during the year on account of deaths, resignations, etc. (Rules 38 and 40) and adjustments. Recommendation: Write off both. Accepted hy Council
No. 6. 19-12-27.

MEMORIALS—

Sir William Jones Memorial A draft of proposed rules to be circulated to Members of Committee.
No. 12 (b). 28-2-27.

Question of Customs Duty on the Bust of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee which is expected in the beginning of July. Claim exemption, the Society's rooms being a "public place."
No. 16. 27-6-27.

Report on the question of Customs Duty on the Bust of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. Record.
No. 11. 25-7-27.

Recommendations of the Medals Committee. Accept with Prof. Raman's amendment: "The General Secretary will also place before the Board for consideration detailed statements of the work or attainments of any other canditate submitted by any Fellow of the society."
No. 2. 26-9-27.

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Finance Committee No. 3 (e) of 23-9-27. Letter from Messrs. Martin & Co., regarding the marble pedestal for Sir Asutosh Mukherjee's Bust. Recommendation : Accept with thanks. Accepted by Council.
No. 8. 26-9-28.

Suggestion from Dr. U. N. Brahmachari that the award of the Sir William Jones Medal for 1928 be for 'Science including Medicine.' Accept.
No. 2. 31-10-27.

Appointment of Advisory Boards for the award of :—

(1) Barclay Memorial Medal.
(2) The Annandale Memorial Medal.
(3) Sir William Jones Medal.

Request the following to form the advisory boards :—

(1) Barclay Memorial Medal.
Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell.
Major R. Knowles.
Dr. G. E. Pilgrim.
Dr. P. J. Brühl.
Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.

(2) The Annandale Memorial Medal.
Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell.
Rev. P. O. Bodding.
Major R. Knowles.
Dr. B. S. Guha.

(3) Sir William Jones Medal.
Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell.
Dr. C. V. Raman.
Rev. P. O. Bodding.
Major R. Knowles.
Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.

No. 7. 31-10-27.

Fixing date for Medal Board's Meetings.

(1) Barclay Memorial.
(2) Annandale Memorial.
(3) Sir William Jones.

All three Boards to be convened for December 14th, at 5-30.
No. 9. 28-11-27.

MISCELLANEOUS—

Report find old Documents from the Society's archieves. Order : Record.
No. 8 (c). 28-3-27.

Letter from the Director, Institut International de Co-operation Scientifique, Paris, to the President, A.S.B. The General Secretary to send a suitable reply.
No. 8. 25-4-27.

Letter from the Honorary Treasurer regarding financial assistance from the International Educational Board. Draft application to be prepared by the Honorary Treasurer and Mr. B. L. Mitter.
No. 12. 27-6-27.

Draft letter to the International Educational Board. Issue after re-circulation for emendation in details.
No. 10. 25-7-27.

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Notices from the Honorary Secretary, K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute regarding prize essays. Order: Announce at the next monthly Meeting.
No. 16 (b). 29-8-27.

Letter from the International Education Board. Record.
No. 15. 26-9-27.

Reply from the International Education Board Record.
No. 15. 31-10-27.

NUMISMATICS—

Letter and notice from the Assistant Secretary, Numismatic Society of India, regarding a Numismatic Prize. Record. Announce in May General Meeting.
No. 2. 25-4-27.

Re-Submission of report on Numismatic matters. Re-circulate.
No. 6. 30-5-27.

Numismatic Report. Postpone.
No. 10. 27-6-27.

PATRONS—

Draft letter to H.E. the Governor of Bengal. Issue after consulting the Private Secretary.
No 13. 27-6-27.

See. "At Home."
No. 1. 28-3-27.

Acceptance by H.E. the Governor of Bengal of the Joint-Patronship of the Society. Record.
No. 1. 25-7-27.

PUBLICATIONS—

Recommendation Special Finance Committee of 24-1-27. Resolved that part of the budget grant for publication be utilised for temporary extra help to speed up publications in arrears. Accepted by Council.
No. 6. 31-1-27.

Remarks by Dr. Gudger on the researches of Dr. S. L. Hora. Record.
No. 3. 28-3-27.

Suggestion from Dr. Baini Prashad regarding the changes in the method of publication of Journal and Proceedings. Close Vol. XXI with Historical Number and Numismatic Supplement and start Vol. XXII without sub-division into subjects.
No. 4. 30-5-27.

Publication Committee No. 7 of 30-5-27. Resolved to adhere to the prescription that papers submitted by non-members must be communicated by a member. Accepted by Council.
No. 12. 30-5 27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (b) of 26-8-27. Statement of available balance shown in the Circulars to the Publication Committee. Recommendation: Recommend to the Council that from the beginning of next year there be included in the budget estimate the amount required for the payment of printing charges on all matter for Journal and Memoirs outstanding as well as usual budget allotment for current work; till then only the estimate of cost of the publication of the paper circulated to be stated on the Circular. Accepted by Council.
No. 12. 29-8-27.

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Letter from the Library Secretary suggesting the desirability of reviewing books in the Society's publications. Ask Col. Barwell to suggest honorary reviewers.
No. 16 (a). 29-8-27.

Publication elsewhere of matter submitted for publication by the Society. Reject or withdraw such matter and attempt to recover cost of printing.
No. 17. 31-10-27.

REPRESENTATION—

Representation on the Special Selection Committee, Kamala Lectureship, Calcutta University. MM. H. P. Shastri to be the Council's nominee.
No. 5. 25-4-27.

Representation of the Society on the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum. Re-appoint MM. H. P. Shastri.
No. 2. 29-8-27.

REQUESTS—

Letter requesting use of Hall, Mining and Geological Institute. Action approved.
No. 14. 31-1-27.

Request from Theologische Literaturzeitung, Göttingen, for free copies of Journal. Order: Refer to Col. Barwell.
No. 4 (a). 27-6-27.

Request from Director, Science Museum, London, for presentation of Journals to Science Library. (Circular No. 111.) Order: Present future issues of Journal.
No. 4 (b). 27-6-27.

Request from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel for the gift of the missing numbers of the Journal and Memoirs of his set. Grant.
No. 5. 27-6-27.

Request from MM. Padmanath Bhattacharya for Permission to reproduce certain illustrations from the Society's Journal. Grant.
No. 9. 27-6-27.

Use of the Society's Hall by the Rotary Club. Record.
No. 11. 27-6-27.

Request for the use of the Society's Hall by the Mining and Geological Institute of India. Grant.
No. 4. 25-7-27.

Request from the Superintendent, Indian Museum (Archæological Section) for the loan of the Jhaoli copper-plates. Grant.
No. 5. 25-8-27.

Request from Kamal Krishna Smrititirtha for the presentation of certain works in the Bibliotheca Indica. Decline.
No. 7. 29-8-27.

Letter of thanks from Prof. A. Foucher for supplying him with photographic copies of MS. A-15, and requesting permission to reproduce them. Invite Prof. Foucher to submit a paper about them for the Memoirs.
No. 16 (c). 29-8-27.

Request from Mr. P. Acharya for permission to reproduce a plate from the Society's Journal. Permit.
No. 12. 26-9-27.

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Request from the Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti for presentation of certain back numbers of the Society's Journal. Offer to supply at half price.
No. 4. 31-10-27.

Letter from the Jt. Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, concerning copper plate inscriptions from the Journal. Permit re-publication.
No. 16. 31-10-27.

Request from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission and Keeper of the Records of the Government of India for the loan of some portable exhibits from the collections of the Society for the Commission. Decline, action approved.
No. 2. 28-11-27.

Request from the Director, Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, for presentation to the Anthropological Library of the Museum, of a duplicate set of the loose numbers of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Grant.
No. 20. 28-11-27.

Request use of the Society's Hall by the Mining and Geological Institute of India. Grant.
No. 5. 19-12-27.

STAFF—

Finance Committee No. 4 (b) of 26-1-27. Increment staff salaries Recommendation : Secretary and Treasurer to determine. Accepted by Council.
No. 7. 31-1-27.

Recommendation Finance Committee No. 6 of 25-2-27. Report recommendations Treasurer and Secretary, annual increments staff pay. Approved. Accepted by Council.
No. 8. 28-2-27.

Recommendation Publication Committee No. 7 of 28-2-27. General Secretary's report appointment Press Clerk. Record. Accepted by Council.
No. 10. 28-2-27.

Confirmation Head Clerk. Confirm.
No. 12 (b). 28-2-27.

Finance Committee No. 3 (c) of 23-9-27. The question of Confirmation of the Press-Clerk. Recommendation : That Mr. D. K. Das be placed on a monthly salary basis of Rs. 130. Accepted by Council.
No. 8. 26-9-27.

Finance Committee No 3 (c) of 25-11-27. Application from Maulavi Shah Moinuddin Ahmed for increment of salary. Recommendation : Too early to reopen the question considered by Council resolution of 27-8-24. Accepted by Council.
No. 11. 28-11-27.

VISITS—

Letter from the Local Secretaries, 14th Indian Science Congress, about a proposed visit to the Society's Rooms. Parties of not more than 50 at a time to be invited.
No. 1. 31-10-27.

Visit of Mr. R. Littlehails and their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani of Sikkim. Record.
No. 15. 28-11-27.

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List of
Patrons,
Officers, Council Members, Members,
Fellows and Medallists
of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal,

On the 31st December, 1927.

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PATRONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

1926	..	H. E. Baron Irwin, of Kirby-under-Dale, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.
1927	..	H. E. Colonel Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

1916–1921	..	Lord Chelmsford, P.C., K.C.M.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
1917–1922	..	Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1921–1926	..	Earl of Reading, G.C.B., P.C., G.C.V.O., K.C.V.O., G.B.E.
1922–1927	..	Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.I.E.

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OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL DURING THE YEAR 1927.

Elections Annual Meeting.

President.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.
Rai Upendra Nath Brahmachari, Bahadur, M.D., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., L.L.D.
E. H. Pascoe, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.

Secretaries and Treasurer.

General Secretary :—Johan van Manen, Esq., F.A.S.B.
Treasurer :—Baini Prashad, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.
Philological Secretary :—Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shāstrī, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.A.S.B.
Joint Philological Secretary :—Shamsu'l 'Ulamā Mawlawī M. Hidāyat Hosain, Khan Bahadur, Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
Natural History Secretaries. { Biology :—Major R. B. S. Sewell, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.L.S., F.Z.S., I.M.S., F.A.S.B. / Physical Science :—C. V. Raman, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.A.S.B.
Anthropological Secretary :—Rev. P. O. Bodding, M.A. (Christ.), F.A.S.B.
Medical Secretary :—Major R. Knowles, B.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S., F.A.S.B.
Library Secretary :—Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell, M.C., M.A., Barrister-at-law.

Other Members of Council.

Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.
B. L. Mitter, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.
Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Esq., M.A., D.Lit. (London).
J. H. Lindsay, Esq., I.C.S., M.A., J.P.
B. De., Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (retired).

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS, ETC., DURING THE YEAR.

Dr. Baini Prashad (Treasurer) from April 24th, *vice* Dr. S. L. Hora, resigned.
Mr. Johan van Manen (Acting Treasurer) from middle of December to the end of the year, *vice* Dr. Baini Prashad, absent.
Dr. W. A. K. Christie (Acting Gen. Secretary) from 20-5-27 to 20-11-27, *vice* Mr. Johan van Manen, absent.
Dr. S. L. Hora (Biological Secretary) from 25-7-27 to 26-9-27, *vice* Major R. B. S. Sewell, resigned.
Major R. B. S. Sewell (Biological Secretary) from September 26th, *vice* Dr. S. L. Hora, resigned.
Dr. Baini Prashad (Acting Library Secretary) from middle of August to middle of September, *vice* Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell, absent.
Dr. S. K. Chatterji, absent from 25-7-27 for three months.
Mr. Percy Brown, absent from April for remainder of the year.

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OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL ELECTED FOR THE YEAR 1928.

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Sir E. H. Pascoe, Kt., M.A., Sc.D., D.Sc., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.

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Library Secretary :—Lt.-Col. N. F. Barwell, M.C., M.A., Barrister-at-law.

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Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.
Sir B. L. Mitter, Kt., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.
Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (London).
J. H. Lindsay, Esq., I.C.S., M.A., J.P.
B. De., Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (retired).
H. E. Stapleton, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S.

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R=Resident. N=Non-Resident. F=Foreign. A=Absent. L=Life.

An Asterisk is prefixed to names of Ordinary Fellows of the Society.

Date of Election.		
6-5-25	N	**Abbasi,** Mohammad Amin, *Special Arabic Lecturer.* Chittagong Madrasah, Chittagong.
5-4-22	R	**Abdul Ali,** Abul Faiz Muhammad, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S. 3, Turner Street, Calcutta.
7-3-27	R	**Abdul Kadir,** A. F. M., M.A. (Allahabad), *Maulvie Fazil (Punjab), Madrassah Final (Calcutta), Professor.* Islamia College, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.
3-3-09	R	**Abdul Latif,** Syed, Khan Bahadur, B.A., B.L., *Asst. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Dept., Writers' Buildings.* 11/1, Ahiripukur 2nd Lane, P.O. Ballygunge, Calcutta.
2-11-25	N	**Acharya,** Paramananda, B.Sc., *Archæological Scholar.* Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
2-3-21	R	**Acton,** Hugh William, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Lt.-Col., I.M.S. School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
7-12-25	N	**Afzal,** Syed Mohamad, Khan Bahadur, *Offg. Civil Surgeon, Bihar and Orissa Medical Service.* P.O. Mahendru, Patna.
2-3-21	R	**Agharkar,** Shankar Purushottam, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., *Professor of Botany, University College of Science.* 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
6-6-17	N	**Aiyangar,** K. V. Rangaswami, Rao Bahadur, *Principal, H. H. The Maharaja's College of Arts.* Trivandrum, Travancore.
6-12-26	N	**Aiyangar,** S. Krishnaswami, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R. Hist.S., *Professor, University of Madras.* "Srijayavasam," 1, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras, S.
7-1-20	N	**Aiyer,** S. Paramesvara, M.A, B.L., M.R.S.L., M.F.L.S., M.E.I.A, Kavitilaka, *Secretary to the Government of Travancore.* Trivandrum, Travancore.
1-12-20	N	**Akbar Khan,** Mohammed, The Hon'ble Nawab Major, C.I.E., I.A., *Khan of Hoti.* Hoti. N.-W.F.P.
4-4-23	R	**Alker,** A., *Merchant.* 4, Bankshall Street, Calcutta.
7-6-26	N	**Anbian,** A. John, B.A., M.P.E.S., *Manager and Correspondent, Principal.* The Cambridge Institution. Nagore.
3-7-12	N	**Andrews,** Egbert Arthur, B.A. Tocklai Experimental Station, Cinnamara, Jorhat, Assam.
5-11-24	R	**Asaduzzaman,** Khan Bahadur. *Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal.* 42, Beniapukur Road, Calcutta.
6-7-04	N	**Aulad Hasan,** Sayid, Khan Bahadur. Rajar Deori, Dacca.

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Date of Election.		
4-4-17	N	**Awati,** P. R., M.A., *Medical Entomologist.* Central Research Institute, Kasauli.
3-3-14	L	**Bacot,** J. Boulevard Saint-Antoine, 61, Versailles, Seine-et-Oise.
1-11-26	R	**Bagchi,** PROBODH CHANDRA, DR.-ES-LETTRES (PARIS), *Member of the A. S. of Paris; Lecturer, Calcutta University.* P-399, Russa Road, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Bagnall,** JOHN FREDERICK, *Consulting Engineer.* Messrs. Macneill & Co., 2, Fairlie Place, Calcutta.
2-4-24	N	**Bahl,** K. N., *Professor of Zoology, Lucknow University.* Badshabagh, Lucknow.
5-11-24	N	**Baidil,** A. MANNAN, *Assistant Superintendent, Dormitory.* Patna College, Bankipur.
7-3-27	N	**Bake,** A. A., *Doctorandus Or. Lit.* P.O. Santiniketan.
2-4-19	R	**Bal,** SURENDRA NATH, M.SC., F.L.S., *Curator, Industrial Section, Indian Museum.* 1, Sudder Street, Calcutta.
3-3-20	R	**Ballardie,** J. H. DE CAYNOTH, A.R.I.B.A. 7, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.
1-4-25	R	**Banerjee,** ABHAYA CHARAN, M.A., *Deputy Chief Engineer, Telegraphs.* 29A, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
4-3-25	R	**Banerjee,** ABINASH CHANDRA, RAI BAHADUR, M.A., M.L.C., *Coal Merchant and Colliery Proprietor.* 8B, Lall Bazar, Calcutta.
7-1-25	R	**Banerjee,** M. N., C.I.E., B.A., M.R.C.S., L.S.A., *Ex-Principal, Carmichael Medical College; Member of the Syndicate, Calcutta University.* 32, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
6-2-18	R	**Banerjee,** NARENDRA NATH, M.I.P.O.E.E., A.M.I.E., *Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs.* 42/1, Ritchie Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
5-4-22	N	**Banerjee,** SASADHAR, B.A., B.ED., *Head Master, Gait H. E. School.* Aurangabad, Gaya.
6-12-26	R	**Banerjee,** S. N., *Barrister-at-Law,* P-307, New Circular Road, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Banerjee,** WOOMESH CHANDRA, *Colliery Proprietor and Merchant.* 7, Swallow Lane, Calcutta.
5-7-26	R	**Banerji,** S. K., PH.D., *Lecturer in Indian History.* University of Lucknow, Lucknow.
1-3-05	R	**Banerji,** MURALIDHAR. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
2-7-19	A	**Banerji,** PRAMATHANATH, M.A., B.L., *Vakil, High Court.* 9, Mullick Lane, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.
2-7-07	N	**Banerji,** RAKHAL DAS, M.A. Hindu University, Benares.
5-3-24	R	**Bannerjee,** P. N., M.A. (CANTAB.), A.M.I.E., F.C.U., *Civil Engineer.* 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Baptist,** A. E., M.B.E., MAJOR, I.M.D., *Assistant Director.* School of Tropical Medicine, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Baral,** GOKUL CHANDRA, *Zemindar, Municipal Councillor and Honorary Presidency Magistrate.* 3, Hidaram Banerjee's Lane, Calcutta.
7-2-23	A	**Barber,** CECIL THOMAS, *Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
1-11-26	N	**Barhut,** THAKUR KISHORESINGH JI, *State Historian of Patiala Govt.* History and Research Department, Patiala.
4-5-21	A	**Barnardo,** F. A. F., C.B.E., C.I.E., M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.E., LT.-COL., I.M.S. Civil Surgeon, Hughli.
7-12-21	R	**Barua,** B. M., M.A., D.LITT., *Lecturer, Calcutta University.* Chandernagore, E. I. Ry.
3-12-23	R	**Barwell,** N. F., Lt.-Col. (retd.), M.C., M.A., *Bar.-at-Law.*

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		Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta (*and*) Aylmerton House, Aylmerton, Norfolk, England.
3-7-18	R	**Basu,** Charu Chandra, B.A., M.B., *Professor of Pathology, Carmichael Medical College.* 52/2, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Basu,** Jatindra Nath, M.A., M.L.C., *Solicitor.* 14, Baloram Ghose Street, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Basu,** Narendra Kumar, *Advocate, High Court.* 12, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
4-6-26	A	**Bathgate,** Jean Bertram (Mrs.). Jealgora, Dist. Manbhoom.
4-1-26	N	**Bathgate,** Richard Ged. Muir, M.I.M.E., F.G.S., *General Manager, East Indian Coal Company, Ltd.* Jealgora, Manbhoom.
6-5-25	N	**Batra,** Hargobind Lal, M.C., Major, I.M.S. Civil Surgeon, Jorhat, Assam.
7-7-09	N	**Bazaz,** Rangnath Khemraj, *Proprietor, Shri Venkateshwar Press.* 7th Khetwadi, Bombay No. 4.
3-7-95	L	**Beatson-Bell,** Rev. Sir Nicholas Dodd, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Edgeclisse, St. Andrews, Scotland.
4-1-26	R	**Becker,** John Neill, *Mercantile Assistant.* Messrs. Becker Gray & Co. (Cal.), Ld., Calcutta.
7-4-15	N	**Belvalkar,** Sripad Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., *Professor of Sanskrit.* Deccan College, Poona.
4-3-25	R	**Benthall,** E. C., *Merchant.* 37, Ballygunge Park, Calcutta.
7-4-09	R	**Bentley,** Charles A., M.B., D.P.H., D. T. M. & H. Department of Public Health, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Bery,** Atma Ram, *Merchant.* 43, Ripon Street, Calcutta.
6-12-26	R	**Bery,** Parmanand, *Partner, B. D. Bery & Co., Engineer.* 43, Ripon Street, Calcutta.
3-5-26	N	**Bhagwant Rai,** Sardar, Munshi Rai, M.P.H.S., *Retired District Judge.* Bhagwant Ashram, Patiala.
1-8-17	R	***Bhandarkar,** Devadatta Ramkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
6-6-23	N	**Bhanot,** Kali Das, *Superintendent, Forests.* Jubbal State, Chopal, via Simla.
3-5-26	N	**Bhaskaraiya,** C., M.A., *Assistant Director of Commercial Audit.* Kardyl Buildings, Mount Road, Madras.
5-4-26	N	**Bhatia,** M. L., M.Sc., *Lecturer in Zoology.* Lucknow University, Lucknow.
4-3-25	N	**Bhatnagar,** Jagmohan Lal, M.A., *Professor of History.* Randhir College, Kapurthala.
7-7-09	R	**Bhattacharji,** Shib Nath, M.B. 80, Shambazar Street, Calcutta
4-11-08	R	**Bhattacharya,** Bisvesvar, B.A., M.R.A.S., B.C.S. 16, Townshend Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
7-2-27	N	**Battacharya,** D. R., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.M.S., F.Z.S., *Head of the Department of Zoology.* Allahabad University, 15, George Town, Allahabad.
1-2-22	N	**Bhattacharya,** Vidhushekhara, Pandit, *Principal, Vidyabhavana.* Visvabharati, Santiniketan, Birbhum.
7-7-24	L	**Bhattacharyya,** Binayatosh, M.A., Ph.D., *General Editor, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, and Librarian, Oriental Collections, Baroda State.* Baroda.
9-6-22	R	**Bhattacharyya,** Sivapada, M.D. School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
4-2-25	N	**Bhor,** Shyam Chand, *Accountant.* Bhopal Chowk, Bhopal.
4-2-25	A	**Bishop,** Thomas Henry, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., *Chief*

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		Medical Officer, E. B. Ry. 2, Belvedere Park, Alipore, Calcutta.
1-8-23	R	**Biswas,** KALIPADA, M.A. Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, Howrah.
3-1-27	R	**Bivar,** HUGH GODFREY STUART, I.C.S. 1, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.
6-12-22	A	**Blackett,** SIR BASIL PHILLOT, K.C.B., *Finance Member, Government of India.* Delhi *and* Simla.
1-2-93	L	***Bodding,** REV. P. O., M.A. (CHRIST.), F.A.S.B. Mohulpahari, Santhal Parganas.
3-7-12	A	**Bomford,** TREVOR LAWRENCE, M.B., B.S., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., MAJOR, I.M.S. Civil Surgeon, Burdwan.
2-2-98	R	**Bose,** AMRITA LAL, *Dramatist.* 9-2, Ram Chandra Maitra Lane, Calcutta.
7-2-27	R	**Bose,** DEBENDRA MOHAN, M.A. (CAL.), B.SC. (LOND.), PH.D. (BERLIN), *Professor of Physics.* 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-4-26	R	**Bose,** GIRINDRA SHEKHAR, D.SC., M.B., *Medical Practitioner and University Lecturer.* 14, Parsi Bagan, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Bose,** H. M., B.A., *Bar.-at-Law.* 177, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
6-3-95	R	***Bose,** SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA, KT., C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.S., M.A., D.SC., F.A.S.B. Bose Institute, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-4-22	N	**Bose,** JOGESH CHANDRA, VIDYABINODE, *Landholder.* Contai, Midnapore.
6 7 25	R	**Bose,** MANMATHA MOHAN, M.A., *Professor, Scottish Churches College.* 19, Gokul Mitra Lane, Hatkhola, Calcutta.
6-7-10	N	**Botham,** ARTHUR WILLIAM, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. Shillong.
2-11-25	N	**Bradshaw,** ERIC JEAN, B.A., B.A.I., F.G.S., Resident Geologist, Yenangyaung, Burma.
6-12-26	R	**Brahmachari,** BIPIN BIHARI, D.P.H., *Asst. Director of Public Health, Bengal.* 18, Mohun Lal Street, Calcutta.
4-1-26	A	**Brahmachari,** INDU BHUSAN, *University Lecturer.* 110-2, Dhakuria Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.
1-1-08	R	***Brahmachari,** UPENDRA NATH, RAI BAHADUR, M.A., PH.D., M.D., F.A.S.B. 82/3, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
7-11-27	N	**Brahmachary,** SARAT CH., RAI SAHEB, M.A., B.T., *Superintendent.* Normal Training School, Hughli.
4-4-27	R	**Bridge,** REV. PETER GONZALEZ, D.D., *Principal, St. Paul's College.* 33/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
4-2-20	N	**Brij Narayan,** M.A., F.R.HIST.S., M.R.A.S., *Deputy Collector of Military Accounts, Western Command and Baluchistan Dist.* Quetta.
3-7-07	R	***Brown,** JOHN COGGIN, O.B.E., D.SC., F.G.S., M.I.M.E., M.INST.M.M., M.I.E., F.A.S.B. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
6-10-09	A	**Brown,** PERCY, A.R.C.A. *Government School of Art.* Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Browne,** H., CAPT., M.B.E., L.R.I.B.A., *Architect.* Messrs. Martin & Co., 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
2-7-24	F	**Browne,** REV. L. E., M.A. 21, The Drive, Northampton, England.
6-10-09	R	***Brühl,** PAUL JOHANNES, I.S.O., D.SC., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
8-1-96	N	***Burn,** SIR RICHARD, KT., C.I.E., I.C.S., F.A.S.B. Board of Revenue, Allahabad, U.P.

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4-3-25	N	**Buyers,** WILLIAM ALEXANDER, M.I.C.E. *Senior Government Inspector of Railways,* Bombay.
2-4-13	R	**Calder,** CHARLES CUMMING, B.SC., F.L.S. Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, Howrah.
2-8-26	A	**Calder,** NORMAN DOUGLAS, *Deputy Traffic Manager, E. B. Ry.* 3, Belvedere Park, Alipore, Calcutta.
7-2-27	R	**Captain,** DARA MANEKSHAW, *Merchant.* 1, Corporation Street, Calcutta.
7-12-25	A	**Carritt,** STANLEY ERNEST. c/o Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., 3, Esplanade, Calcutta.
1-9-20	R	**Chakladar,** HARAN CHANDRA, M.A. 28/4, Srimohan Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
7-3-27	R	**Chakravarti,** BYOMKES, M.A., *Barrister-at-Law.* 237, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
4-7-27	R	**Chakravarti,** CHINTAHARAN, M.A., *Hon. Assistant Secretary.* Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shambazar, Calcutta.
3-3-09	R	**Chakravarti,** NILMANI, M.A. Presidency College, Calcutta.
3-1-27	R	**Chakravarty,** NIRANJANPRASAD, PH.D. (Cantab.), *Lecturer, Calcutta University.* 4, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Chand,** LAL, *Printer.* 76, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
6-12-06	N	**Chand,** DEWAN TEK, O.B.E., I.C.S., M.A., M.R.A.S., *Barrister-at-Law., Commissioner.* Ambala, Punjab.
1-9-20	R	***Chanda,** RAMAPRASAD, RAI BAHADUR, B.A., F.A.S.B. 37A, Police Hospital Road, Calcutta.
3-1-06	R	**Chapman,** JOHN ALEXANDER. c/o The Imperial Library, Calcutta.
7-2-27	R	**Chatterjee,** ASHOKE, B.A. (CAL), B.A. (CANTAB.), *Editor,* "Welfare." 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
27-10-15	F	**Chatterjee,** SIR ATUL CHANDRA, KT., I.C.S., *High Commissioner for India.* 42, Grosvenor Gardens, London S.W. 1.
4-7-27	R	**Chatterjee,** PATITPABON, M.A., B.L., *Vakil, High Court.* 84, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
5-1-16	R	**Chatterjee,** KHAGENDRA NATH, B.A., B.L., *Attorney-at-Law.* 12, Madan Mohan Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
1-10-20	R	**Chatterjee,** NIRMAL CHANDRA. 52, Haris Mukerjee Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Chatterjee,** SAILENDRA NATH, *Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts (P. & A District).* 9/4, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta.
4-1-26	R	**Chatterji,** KSHITISH CHANDRA, M.A., *Lecturer in Comparative Philology, Calcutta University.* 99, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
7-6-11	R	**Chatterji,** KARUNA KUMAR, LT.-COL., I.T.F., M.C., V.H.S. 6/1, Wood Street, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Chatterji,** MOHINI MOHAN, M.A., B.L., *President, Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta.* 33, McLeod Street, Calcutta.
6-8-24	R	**Chatterji,** SUNITI KUMAR, M.A., D.LIT., *Khaira Professor, Calcutta University.* 3, Sukias Row, Calcutta.
5-11-24	R	**Chattopadhyay,** K. P., M.A. (CANTAB.), *Education Officer, Corporation of Calcutta.* 20, Mayfair, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
2-11-25	N	**Chattopadhyaya,** KSHETRESA CHANDRA, M.A., *Lecturer in Sanskrit.* Allahabad University, Allahabad.
28-9-93	R	***Chaudhuri,** B. L., B.A., D.SC. (EDIN.), F.R.S.E., F.L.S. (LOND.), F.A.S.B. 9A, South Road, Entally, Calcutta *and* Sherpur Town, Mymensingh.
1-4-14	A	**Chaudhuri,** GOPAL DAS. 32, Beadon Row, Calcutta.

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Date of Election.		
1-2-26	N	**Chaudhuri,** HARAPRASAD, PH.D., *Reader in Botany.* Punjab University, Lahore.
7-1-25	N	**Chaudhuri,** HEMANTA CHANDRA, *Zemindar.* Sherpur Town, Mymensingh.
4-3-25	R	**Chaudhuri,** J., B.A. (OXON.), M.A. (CAL.), *Barrister-at-Law.* 34, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
4-2-14	R	**Chaudhuri,** SAIYED NAWAB ALI, THE HON'BLE NAWAB BAHADUR, KHAN BAHADUR, C.I.E. 4, Old Ballygunge, Calcutta.
7-1-25	N	**Chaudhuri,** SATYENDRA MOHAN, B.A., B.SC., *Zemindar.* Sherpur Town. Mymensingh.
4-4-27	N	**Chetty,** R. K. SHANMUKHAM, M.L.A., *Pleader.* Hawarden Race Course, Coimbatore.
3-8-25	N	**Chhibber,** H. L., M.SC., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Asst. Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Burma Party.* 230, Dalhousie Street, Rangoon.
6-12-26	R	**Chokhani,** SREENARAYAN, *Secretary, Shree Hanuman Pustkalaya.* 8, New Ghuseri Road, Salkea, Howrah.
5-12-23	R	**Chopra,** B. N., *Asst. Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
1-2-22	R	**Chopra,** R. N., LT.-COL, I.M.S., *Professor of Pharmacology.* School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
5-12-27	L	**Chowdhury,** CHHAJURAM, C.I.E., M.L.C., 21, Belvedere Road, Calcutta.
3-7-07	R	***Christie,** WILLIAM ALEXANDER KYNOCH, B.SC., PH.D., M.INST.M.M., F.A.S.B. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3-11-09	N	***Christophers,** SAMUEL RICHARD, C.I E., O.B.E., F.A.S.B., M.B., LT.-COL., I.M S. Central Research Institute, Kasauli.
1-9-15	R	**Cleghorn,** MAUDE LINA WEST (MISS), F.L.S., F.E.S. 12, Alipur Road, Calcutta.
2-5-27	R	**Clegg,** EDWARD LESLIE GILBERT, B SC., *Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2-5-23	A	**Collenberg,** BARON H. RUDT VON, *Consul-General for Germany.* 2, Store Road, Calcutta.
1-11-26	R	**Collet,** ARTHUR LOWE, *Solicitor.* Messrs. Leslie & Hinds, 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
1-12-20	A	**Connor,** SIR FRANK POWELL, KT., LT.-COL., I.M.S., D.S.O., F.R.C.S., *Professor of Surgery, Medical College.* 2 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta.
3-6-24	R	**Cooper,** H., *Manufacturing Chemist.* 18, Convent Road, Calcutta.
6-6-27	R	**Coulson,** ARTHUR LENNOX, M.SC. (MELB.), D.I.C. (LOND.) F.G.S. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3-8-25	R	**Coyajee,** SIR J. C., KT., B.A. (CANTAB.), LL.B., I.E.S., *Professor, Presidency College.* 2B, Camac Street, Calcutta.
25-8-87	R	**Criper,** WILLIAM RISDON, F.C.S., F.I.C., A.R.S.M. Konnagar.
2-11-25	R	**Crookshank,** HENRY, *Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
4-1-26	N	**Cunningham,** J., M.D., LT.-COL., I.M.S., *Director, Pasteur Institute of India.* Kasauli, Punjab.
4-3-25	R	**Das,** AJIT NATH, M.R.A.S., F.Z.S., *Zemindar.* 24, South Road, Entally, Calcutta.

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2-4-24	R	**Das,** BIRAJ MOHAN, M.A.(CAL.), M.SC.(LOND.), *Superintendent, Calcutta Research Tannery.* 2/1, Kirti Mitter Lane, Calcutta.
7-11-27	R	**Das,** DHIRENDRA KUMAR, B.A., B.L., *Pleader.* 10/1, Bipradas Street, Calcutta.
3-4-18	N	**Das,** JAGANNATH, B.A., RATNAKAR, KAVISUDHAKAR. Shivalaghat, Benares City.
3-12-24	R	**Das,** SURENDRA NATH, M.B., *Medical Practitioner.* 67, Nimtala Ghat Street, Calcutta.
1-9-15	R	**Das-Gupta,** HEM CHANDRA, M.A., F.G.S., *Professor.* Presidency College, Calcutta.
6-9-22	R	**Das-Gupta,** SURENDRA NATH, M.A., PH.D., *Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy, Presidency College.* 104, Bakul Bagan Road, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Datta,** HIRENDRA NATH, M.A., B.L., *Solicitor, High Court.* 139, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
3-6-25	F	**Datta,** S. K., B.A., M.B., CH.B. (EDIN.). 2, Rue Général Dafour, Geneva, Switzerland.
6-8-24	L	**Davies,** L. M., MAJOR, *Royal Artillery.* c/o The Lloyds Bank, King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London.
2-8-26	R	**De,** BRAJENDRANATH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETIRED). 11, Lower Rawdon Street, Calcutta.
2-4-24	R	**De,** F. L., RAI BAHADUR. 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
19-9-95	L	**De,** KIRAN CHANDRA, C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S., *Member, Board of Revenue, Government of Bengal.* 21, Camac Street, Calcutta.
7-6-26	R	**De,** PHANINDRANATH, M.A., B.L., *Vakil, High Court.* 4, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.
3-1-27	R	**De,** SATISH CHANDRA, M.A., B.L, I.E.S. (RETIRED). 11, Ray Street, Elgin Road P.O., Calcutta.
6-6-17	R	**Deb,** KUMAR HARIT KRISHNA, M.A., *Zemindar.* 8, Raja Nabokishen Street, Calcutta.
7-9-21	R	**Deb,** KUMAR PROFULLA KRISHNA, *Zemindar.* 106/1, Grey Street, Calcutta.
4-3-25	R	**Deb,** KSHITINDRA, RAI MAHASAI OF BANSBERIA RAJ, RAJA. 21/E, Rani Sankari Lane, Kalighat, Calcutta.
5-12-27	L	**Dechhen,** H.H. MAHARANI KUNZANG, *Maharani of Sikkim.* Gangtok, Sikkim.
7-12-25	R	**Derviche-Jones,** ARTHUR DANIEL, LT.-COL., D.S.O., M.C., *Solicitor.* c/o Messrs. Orr Dignam & Co., Standard Buildings, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.
4-4-27	R	**Dewick,** REV. EDWARD CHISHOLM, M.A. (CANTAB.), *National Literature Secretary, Y.M.C.A. of India, Burmah and Ceylon.* 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.
4-5-10	L	**Dhavle,** SANKARA BALAJI, I.C.S., *District and Sessions Judge.* Monghyr.
7-3-27	R	**Dikkers,** FREDERIK GERHARD, *Manager, Holland-Bombay Trading Co., Ld., Holland House.* 7, Pollock Street, (Post Box No. 65), Calcutta.
4-8-20	R	**Dikshit,** KASHINATH NARAYAN, M.A., *Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
5-1-98	A	**Dods,** WILLIAM KANE, *Agent, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.* 4, Alipur Road, Calcutta.
2-7-02	R	**Doxey,** FREDERICK. 63, Park Street, Calcutta.
6-12-26	R	**Dutt,** JOGEN CHUNDER, M.A., B.L., *Attorney-at-Law.* 17, Maniktola Street, Calcutta.
4-2-25	R	**Dutt,** KIRAN CHANDRA, *Zemindar.* Laksmi Nibas, 1, Laksmi Dutt Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

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7-4-20	R	**Dutt,** KUMAR KRISHNA. 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
5-11-24	A	**Eaton,** WINIFRED A. (MISS), *Principal, Bible Training School for Women.* Palkonda, Vizagapatam.
1-2-26	R	**Edwards,** C. A. HENRY, *Deputy Chief Engineer, E. B. Ry.* 8, Belvedere Park, Alipore, Calcutta.
1-11-11	R	**Esch,** V. J., *Architect.* Victoria Memorial, Cathedral Avenue, Maidan, Calcutta.
2-5-27	N	**Feegrade,** E. S., *Indian Medical Department, Special Malaria Officer, Burma, Sir Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health.* 2, Theatre Road, Rangoon.
3-8-04	R	*__Fermor,__ LEWIS LEIGH, A.R.S.M., D.SC., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
31-10-06	N	**Finlow,** ROBERT STEEL, B.SC., F.I.C., *Director of Agriculture, Bengal.* Ramna, Dacca.
7-11-27	R	**Fitzgerald,** T. J., *Manager, U.S. Rubber Export Co.* 5, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Fitzpatrick,** H., *Engineer.* 17, Stephen Court, Calcutta.
4-1-26	R	**Fleming,** ANDREW, *General Manager for the East, Minimax, Ltd.* 59, Park Street, Calcutta.
4-3-25	A	**Foskett,** RALPH CAVAN. c/o The "Englishman," 9, Hare Street, Calcutta..
5-11-13	R	**Fox,** CYRIL S., B.SC., M.I.M.E., F.G.S. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
7-3-27	N	**French,** JOSEPH CHARLES, *Indian Civil Service.* Magistrate's House, Jessore.
2-4-19	N	**Friel,** RALPH, I.C.S. Silchar, Assam.
7-3-27	F	**Fukushima,** NAOSHIRO, *Assistant in the Sanskrit Seminary.* Imperial University, Tokio, Japan.
5-4-22	A	**Fülep,** E. G., *Proprietor, E. G. Fülep & Co.* 5, Mission Row, Calcutta.
7-6-26	R	**Fyfe,** DAVID ALLAN, *Assistant, Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Co.* 4, Bankshall Street, Calcutta.
4-1-26	R	**Gaffar,** ABDUL, KHAN SAHEB, *Police Magistrate, Alipore.* 23, Gardner Lane, Calcutta.
1-11-26	R	**Galstaun,** SHANAZAN, M.A., D.M.R.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *Medical Practitioner, Radiologist, Medical College Hospital.* 39, Theatre Road. Calcutta.
7-10-09	R	**Gangoly,** ORDHENDRA COOMAR, B.A. 12/1, Gangoly Lane, Calcutta.
3-3-20	N	**Ganguli,** PRATUL PATI, B.A., D.T.M., CAPT., I.M.S. (LATE), *Teacher of Medicine, Dacca Medical School.* 17, Nayabazar Road, Dacca.
2-11-25	R	**Gee,** EDWARD ROWLAND, B.A. (CANTAB.), *Asst. Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
5-4-26	R	**Ghose,** BIMAL CHANDRA, *Barrister-at-Law.* 27/1, Haris Mukherjee Road, Calcutta.
2-4-24	R	**Ghose,** SIR CHARU CHANDRA, KT., *Barrister-at-Law, Judge, High Court.* 10, Debendra Ghose Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
2-7-24	R	**Ghose,** BEPIN BEHARI, *Judge, High Court.* 101, Beltala Road, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Ghose,** SUSHIL CHANDRA, *Deputy Magistrate.* 1, Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta.

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6-12-26	R	**Ghosh**, B. K., *Barrister-at-Law.* 10, Rawdon Street, Calcutta.
7-3 27	R	**Ghosh**, HARI CHARAN, M.A., *Student.* 181/8, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
7-2-27	N	**Ghosh**, JNANENDRA CHANDRA, D.SC., *Professor of Chemistry.* Dacca University, Dacca.
2-4-24	R	**Ghosh**, K., D.T.M., D.P.H. (CANTAB.), L.M.S., *Medical Practitioner.* 45, Creek Row, Calcutta.
6-2-18	L	**Ghosh**, EKENDRA NATH, M.D., M.SC., F.Z.S., F.R.M.S., *Professor of Biology, Medical College.* 66, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
7-3-27	R	**Ghosh**, PHANINDRA NATH, M.A., PH.D., SC.D. (PADUA), *Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics, University of Calcutta.* 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-5-20	R	**Ghosh**, SUKHENDRA NATH, B.A. (CAL.), B.SC. (GLAS.), A.M.I.C.E., F.R. SAN. I., M.I.E., *Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Bengal.* 7, Heysham Road, Calcutta.
4-9-12	R	**Ghosh**, TARAPADA. 14, Paddapukur Street, Kidderpur, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Ghuznavi**, A. H., *Merchant and Zemindar.* 18, Canal Street, Entally, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Ghuznavi**, SIR A. K., KT., M.L.C., *Zemindar of Dilduar, late Minister, Government of Bengal.* North House, Dilduar, Mymensingh *and* Calcutta Club, Calcutta.
3-12-24	N	**Gilbert**, W. G. L., *Manager, Shahdara Saharanpur Light Railways.* Delhi.
7-9-10	N	***Gravely**, FREDERIC HENRY, D.SC., F.A.S.B. Government Museum, Egmore, Madras.
3-5-05	F	**Graves**, HENRY GEORGE, A.R.S.M. 52, Cardington Road, Bedford, England.
5-3-24	A	**Greaves**, SIR EWART, KT., *Judge, High Court.* 2, Short Street, Calcutta.
2-3-10	A	***Greig**, EDWARD DAVID WILSON, C.I.E., M.D., D.SC., LT.-COL., I.M.S., F.A.S.B. University of Edinburgh, Scotland.
5-12-00	L	**Grieve**, JAMES WYNDHAM ALLEYNE. c/o Messrs. Coutts & Co., 440, Strand, London, W.C. 2.
1-8-27	R	**Grimes**, THE VEN'BLE CECIL JOHN, *Archdeacon of Calcutta.* 6, Esplanade Row East, Calcutta.
4-2-25	R	**Guha**, B. S., M.A., PH.D. (Harvard). Indian Museum Calcutta.
6-12-26	R	**Guha**, SURENDRANATH, *Vakil, High Court, Government Pleader.* 18, Ram Mohan Dutt Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
1-2-26	N	**Gulati**, AMAR NATH, M.SC. c/o, Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, Muktesar, U.P.
1-3-26	N	**Gupta**, DHIRENDRA NATH, MAJOR, L.M.S. (BOMB.), *Behar and Orissa Medical Service.* Assistant Surgeon, Sadar Hospital, Arrah.
6-6-17	A	**Gupta**, KISHORIMOHAN, M.A., *Professor of History, M.C. College.* Sylhet, Assam.
7-3-23	A	**Gupta**, N., *Barrister-at-Law.* Calcutta Club, 241, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-3-19	N	**Gupta**, SIVAPRASAD. Seva Upavana, Benares City.
5-4-26	R	**Gupta**, SURENDRA NATH, *Insurance Broker.* 101/1, Clive Street, Calcutta.
3-6-25	R	**Gupta**, TARA PRASANNA, M.A. 28/2/1, Akhil Mistry Lane, Calcutta.

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5-8-15	N	**Gurner,** CYRIL WALTER, I.C.S. District Magistrate, Mymensingh.
4-1-26	R	**Habib,** MOHAMMAD, B.A. (OXON.), M.R.A.S., *Barrister-at-Law, Professor of History.* Muslim University, Aligarh.
6-5-25	N	**Habibullah,** SIR MD., KT., KHAN BAHADUR, *Member for Education, Health and Lands,* Government of India, Simla *and* Delhi.
6-3-01	N	**Habibur** RAHMAN KHAN, *Rais.* Bhikanpur, District Aligarh.
7-8-07	F	***Haines,** HENRY HASELFOOT, C.I.E., F.C.H., F.L.S., F.A.S.B. Glen Ashton, Wimborne, Dorset, England.
2-11-25	N	**Hamid,** MUHAMMAD, B.A., *Asst. Superintendent.* Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
2-11-21	N	**Haq,** SHAH EMDADUL, M.L.C. Bhowksar, Mudafargar, Dist. Tippera.
5-5-20	A	**Harcourt,** E. S., MAJOR. United Service Club, Calcutta.
1-5-12	R	**Harley,** ALEXANDER HAMILTON, M.A., *Principal.* Islamia College, Calcutta.
2-5-23	R	**Harnett,** W. L., LT.-COL., I.M.S., M.B., F.R.C.S., *Principal.* Medical College, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Harris,** H. G., *Director, Messrs. Martin & Harris, Ltd.* 8, Waterloo Street, Calcutta.
4-4-27	N	**Helland,** BERNHARD ALVIN, *Bachelor of Arts, Augsburg College (U.S.A), Bachelor of Divinity, Augsburg Seminary (U.S.A.), Master of Arts, University of Minnesota (U.S.A.), Missionary-Teacher, under appointment as Principal, Kaerabani Boys' Middle English and Guru Training School.* Kaerabani, via Dumka, Santal Parganas.
5-11-19	N	**Hemraj,** RAJ GURU. Dhokatol, Nepal.
3-12-24	R	**Hendry,** C. A. JOHN, F.R.G.S., M.I.S.E., A.M.I.M.E., M.I.E., M.MIN.I., *Consulting Mechanical Engineer, Messrs. Martin & Co.* 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
7-6-11	R	***Hidāyat Hosain,** MUHAMMAD, SHAMS-UL-'ULAMĀ, KHAN BAHADUR, PH.D., F.A.S.B. 96/2c, Collin Street, Calcutta.
4-2-20	N	**Hill,** HAROLD BRIAN CUNNINGHAM. Bhabua, Assam.
1-2-26	R	**Hingston,** H., MAJOR, I.M.S., M.D., *Surgeon to H.E. the Governor of Bengal.* Government House, Calcutta.
1-4-25	R	**Hobbs,** HENRY, *Merchant.* 4, Esplanade East, Calcutta.
7-6-26	N	**Hodge,** E. H. VERE, B.A., M.D. (CANTAB.), M.R.C.P. (LOND.), MAJOR, I.M.S., *Civil Surgeon.* Chittagong.
7-3-27	A	**Hopkinson,** ARTHUR JOHN, I.C.S, *British Trade Agent.* Gyantse and Yatung, Tibet, via Siliguri.
6-12-26	N	**Hora,** GOBINDSAHAI, *Commission Agent and Pensioner.* Kasur Mandi, Lahore, Punjab.
2-11-21	R	**Hora,** SUNDER LAL, D.SC. Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
4-3-25	R	**Hossain,** MUHAMMAD BASHEER, M.A., B.T., *Head Master, Government Woodburn M.E. School.* 24, Mussalmanpara Lane, Calcutta.
2-1-73	L	**Houstoun,** GEORGE L., F.G.S. Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire, Scotland.
6-6-23	N	**Howard,** A., C.I.E., M.A., *Director, Institute of Plant Industry, and Agricultural Adviser to States in Central India.* Indore, C.I.
4-1-26	R	**Hubert,** OTTO, *Chancellor to the German Consulate General.* 2, Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

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2-4-24	R	**Huq,** MAHFUZUL, M.A., *Lecturer, Presidency College.* 13/1, Collin Lane, Calcutta.
2-5-27	F	**Hürlimann,** MARTIN, *Dr. Phil.* Sihlberg, Zurich 2, Switzerland.
1-2-26	N	**Husain,** MOHAMMAD AFZAL, M.SC., M.A., *Offg. Imperial Entomologist, Agricultural Research Institute.* Pusa, Behar.
5-7-26	N	**Husain,** MOHAMMAD MOINUDDIN, *First Talukdar.* Club View, Secunderabad, Deccan.
6-6-23	N	**Hutton,** J. H., C.I.E., I.C.S., M.A., D.SC., *Hon. Director of Ethnography.* Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.
7-2-27	A	**Imam,** ABU MOHAMMAD SYED HASSAN, *Zemindar.* Hasan Manzil, Patna,
6-5-25	N	**Inamdar,** R. S., *Professor of Botany.* Benares Hindu University, Benares.
1-2-11	R	**Insch,** JAMES. c/o Messrs. Duncan Bros. & Co., 101, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1-4-25	A	**Ismail,** ABDULLAH MOHOMED, *Merchant.* 21, Amratolla Lane, Calcutta.
2-7-24	N	**Iyengar,** M. O. PARTHASARATHY, *Professor of Botany.* Presidency College, Madras.
5-12-23	R	**Jackson,** P. S., *Engineer, General Manager for India, The English Electric Co., Ltd.* D/4, Clive Buildings, Calcutta.
6-6-27	R	**Jain,** BALDEODAS, *Merchant and Banker.* 21, Armenian Street, Calcutta.
2-2-21	R	**Jain,** CHHOTE LAL, M.R.A.S. 25, Central Avenue North, Calcutta.
6-6-27	R	**James,** FREDERICK ERNEST, *General Secretary, Y.M.C.A.* 25, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
2-8-26	R	**James,** JOHN LANGFORD, *Barrister.* 2, Short Street, Calcutta.
2-11-25	N	**James,** RICHARD CONGDON, *Tea Planter.* Dhoolie T. E., Rangajan, Assam.
1-11-26	N	**Jameson,** THOMAS BLANDFORD, MAJOR, M.C., M.A. (CANTAB.), I.C.S., *District and Sessions Judge.* Midnapore.
6-5-25	R	**Jatia,** SIR ONKAR MULL, KT., O.B.E., *Merchant.* 2, Rupchand Roy Street, Calcutta.
7-2-23	A	**Jinavijayaji,** MUNI, *Principal, Gujerat Puratattva Mandir.* Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad.
3-6-08	R	**Jones,** HUBERT CECIL, A.R.S.M., A.R.C.S., F.G.S., *Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
5-4-26	A	**Jones,** THORNTON, *Solicitor.* c/o Messrs. Morgan & Co., 4, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
2-4-24	R	**Judah,** N. J., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.S. 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
5-2-19	N	**Kader,** SHEIKH ABDUL. Deccan College, Poona.
1-11-11	L	**Kamaluddin** AHMAD, SHAMS-UL-'ULAMĀ, M.A. Krishnagar College, Krishnagar.
5-3-24	R	**Kanjilal,** M. N., M.A. (CAL.), LL.B. (CANTAB.), *Barrister-at-Law.* 17, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
5-11-24	R	**Kapur,** SHAMLAL, *Import and Banking.* 84, Khengrapatty, Calcutta.
7-7-20	R	**Kar,** SITES CHANDRA. 47, Corporation Street, Calcutta.

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1-2-26	N	**Kashyap,** SHIV RAM, *Professor of Botany.* Government College. Lahore.
10-6-12	R	**Kazim Shirazi,** AGA MOHAMMED. 16A, Ahiripukur 1st Lane, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
6-6-27	R	**Keelan,** DOUGLAS HUGH, V.D., *Chief Commercial Manager, E.I. Ry.* United Service Club, Calcutta.
4-2-20	R	**Keir,** W. I., *Asst. Architect to the Govt. of Bengal.* Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
5-5-10	A	***Kemp,** STANLEY W., B.A., D.SC., F.A.S.B. Beechwood, Beechwood Avenue, Weybridge, England.
3-2-15	N	**Khan,** HAFIZ AHMED ALI, *Controller of Household and Officer-in-charge, State-Library.* Rampur State, U.P.
1-2-26	R	**Khaitan,** D. P., M.L.C., *Attorney-at-Law; Solicitor and Merchant.* 137, Canning Street, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Khambata,** R. B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., *Director of Public Health Laboratory and Professor of Laboratory Practice, School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.* 2-B, Camac Street, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Khanna,** VINAYEK LAL, M.R.A.S., *Merchant.* 2/1, Nunda Lal Mallick 2nd Lane, Beadon St. P.O., Calcutta.
2-8-26	R	**Khettry,** BENIMADHO, *Proprietor, Messrs. Gouri Shanker Khettry, Landholders, Bankers & Merchants.* 15, Paggiyapatti, Barabazar, Calcutta.
3-3-20	R	***Khuda Bukhsh,** S., M.A., F.A.S.B., *Barrister-at-Law.* 5, Elliott Road, Calcutta.
7-4-09	A	**Kilner,** JOHN NEWPORT, M.B., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Adra, Chota Nagpur.
2-11-25	R	**Kimura,** R. (Ko-Shi), *Lecturer, Calcutta University.* 22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
2-3-10	A	**Kirkpatrick,** W. Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta.
3-5-26	R	**Kirwan,** ERNEST WILLIAM O'GORMAN, MAJOR, I.M.S. Sealdah House, 135, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
7-7-20	A	***Knowles,** ROBERT, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., B.A. (CANTAB.), F.A.S.B., LT.-COL., I.M.S. 63, Park Street, Calcutta.
6-5-25	A	**Koester,** HANS, *Vice-Consul for Germany.* 17/1, Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Kolah,** K. S., *Merchant.* 8, Dhurrumtollah Street, Calcutta.
5-3-23	N	**Korke,** VISHNU TATYAJI, CAPTAIN, F.R.C.P. (EDIN.). Central Research Institute, Kasauli.
1-3-26	R	**Kramrisch,** STELLA, (MISS), PH.D., *Lecturer in Indian History of Arts, Calcutta University.* 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
7-12-21	N	**Kumar,** KUMAR ANAND. Fairfield, Firozepore Road, Lahore.
2-11-25	N	**Kuppaswamy,** VALAVANUR SUBRAMANIA, M.A., F.L.S., I.F.S., *Assistant Conservator of Forests.* Bellary, S. India.
2-11-25	N	**Kureishy,** R. A., B.A., LL.B., MEMBER, "ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY" (LONDON), MEMBER, "LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION" (LONDON), *Pleader.* "Noor Manzil," Gurgaon, Punjab.
7-3-23	R	**Labey,** GEORGE THOMAS, *Bengal Pilot Service.* United Service Club, Calcutta.
1-4-25	N	**Laden La,** SONAM WANGFEL, SARDAR BAHADUR, F.R.G.S., *Hony. A.D.C. to H. E. the Governor of Bengal, Chief of Police, Lhassa, Tibet.* Darjeeling.

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Date of Election.		
3-3-20	R	**Lahiri,** JAGADINDRANATH. 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
3-6-25	N	**Lal,** BUDH BEHARI, RAI SAHEB, B.A., PH.D., *Head Master.* Government High School, Naini Tal.
6-3-89	L	***La Touche,** THOMAS HENRY DIGGES, M.A., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. 230, Hills Road, Cambridge, England.
5-8-14	R	**Law,** BIMALA CHARAN, M.A., B.L., PH.D., F.R.HIST.S. 24, Sukea Street, Calcutta.
1-2-11	R	**Law,** NARENDRA NATH, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D. 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
1-7-14	R	**Law,** SATYA CHURN, M.A., B.L., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U. 24, Sukea St., Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Lele,** S. H., M.A., B.SC., *Lecturer in Zoology.* Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.
7-6-26	R	**Lemmon,** RICHARD DENNIS, *Merchant.* 8, Waterloo Street, Calcutta.
7-12-25	R	**Lindsay,** JAMES HAMILTON, I.C.S., *Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Edn. Dept.).* Grand Hotel, Calcutta.
3-5-11	R	**Lomax,** C. E., M.A. La Martiniere, Calcutta.
7-4-70	L	**Lyman,** B. SMITH. 708, Locust Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
5-7-26	N	**Lyne,** HOWARD WILLIAM, I.C.S. Khulna, E.B.R.
2-8-05	R	***McCay,** DAVID, LT.-COL., I.M.S., M.D., B.CH., B.A.O., M.R.C.P., F.A.S.B. 24, Park Street, Calcutta.
5-11-24	R	**MacGregor,** A. D., M.B.C., V.S., I.V.S., *Principal.* Bengal Veterinary College, Belgachia, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**McKay,** JOHN WALLACE, *Delegate, Chilean Nitrate Committee (Indian Delegation).* 7, Hare Street, Calcutta.
11-1-93	L	**Maclagan,** SIR EDWARD DOUGLAS, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 188, West Hill, Putney, London, S.W. 15.
5-3-24	R	**McPherson,** JAMES. c/o Messrs. Begg Dunlop & Co., Ltd., 2, Hare Street, Calcutta.
7-6-16	N	**Mahajan,** SURYA PRASAD. Murarpur, Gaya.
3-3-20	R	**Mahalanobis,** P. C., M.A., B.SC., *Professor, Presidency College.* 10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
5-12-06	R	**Mahalanobis,** SUBODH CHANDRA, B.SC. (EDIN.), F.R.S.E., I.E.S., *Professor, Presidency College.* P-45, New Park Street, Calcutta.
1-3-11	F	**Mahtab,** SIR BIJAY CHAND, K.C.S.I., I.O.M. MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR OF BURDWAN. 6, Alipur Lane, Calcutta.
6-2-24	R	**Mahindra,** K. C., B.A. (CANTAB.). Accounts Department, Messrs. Martin & Co., 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
7-8-18	R	**Maitra,** JATINDRA NATH, *Physician and Surgeon.* 68/A, Beadon St., Calcutta.
4-7-27	R	**Maitra,** JOGENDRA NATH, M.SC., M.B., *Medical Practitioner.* 58-A, Colootollah Street, Calcutta.
6-2-18	R	**Maitra,** SISIR KUMAR. 35/5, Paddapukur Road, Calcutta.
2-8-26	N	**Majumdar,** DHIRENDRA NATH, M.A., *Lecturer in Anthropology.* University of Lucknow, Lucknow.
2-6-20	N	**Majumdar,** NANI GOPAL, M.A. Archæological Department, Gorton Castle, Simla.
2-2-16	R	**Majumdar,** NARENDRA KUMAR, M.A., *Professor, Calcutta University.* 18, Jhamapukur, Mechuabazar, Calcutta.
4-6-13	N	**Majumdar,** RAMESH CHANDRA, M.A., PH.D., *Professor.* Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.
6-2-18	L	***Manen,** JOHAN VAN, F.A.S.B. 6, Temple Chambers, 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

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Date of Election.		
5-6-01	A	**Mann,** HAROLD HART, D.SC., M.SC., F.I.C., F.L.S., *Director of Agriculture, Bombay.* Poona.
10-10-19	N	**Manry,** REV. J. C., M.A., PH.D. Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, U.P.
4-8-20	R	**Martin,** OSWALD. 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
5-3-24	A	**Martin,** T. LESLIE, M.A. (CANTAB.). 6, Clive Street, Calcutta.
4-6-19	N	**Matthai,** GEORGE, M.A., *Professor.* Government College, Lahore.
1-2-22	N	**Megaw,** J. W. D., LT.-COL., I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab, Lahore.
5-12-23	N	**Meggitt,** F. J., *Professor of Biology.* University College, Rangoon.
3-3-86	L	**Mehta,** ROOSTUMJEE DHUNJEEBHOY, C.I.E., J.P., F.R.S.A. 9, Rainey Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
4-2-25	N	**Menon,** K. RAMUNNI, *Professor of Zoology.* Presidency College, Madras.
1-2-26	F	**Meston,** LORD, K.C.S.I., LL.D. Hurst, Cookenham Dene, Berkshire, England.
5-11-84	N	***Middlemiss,** CHARLES STEWART, C.I.E., F.R.S., B.A., F.G.S., F.A.S.B. Srinagar, Kashmir.
3-9-84	A	**Miles,** WILLIAM HENRY, F.E.S. 7, King Edward Court, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
1-2-26	N	**Mills,** JAMES PHILIP, I.C.S. c/o Lloyds Bank (King's Branch), Calcutta.
2-11-25	R	**Mirza,** M. B., *Merchant.* 18/2, Dilkusha Street, Calcutta.
7-6-26	N	**Mishra,** DEOMITRA, *Public Prosecutor.* Kotah, Rajputana.
5-6-12	N	**Misra,** CHAMPARAM, B.A., *Dy. Director of Industries.* Cawnpore, U.P.
5-11-19	N	**Misra,** PRAMATHA NATH, M.R.A.S., *Pleader.* Malda.
2-4-24	R	**Mitra,** J. C., M.A., B.L., *Retired Accountant-General, Bengal.* 1, Abinash Mitter Lane, Calcutta.
6-6-06	R	**Mitra,** KUMAR MANMATHA NATH. 34, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
2-4-19	R	**Mitra,** PANCHANAN. Bangabasi College, Calcutta.
2-4-24	R	**Mitsukuri,** R., LL.B., *Manager, Messrs. Asano Bussan Co., Ltd.* 2 & 3, Clive Row, Calcutta.
6-3-24	R	**Mitter,** SIR BINOD CHANDRA, KT., *Barrister-at-Law.* 2/1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
5-3-24	N	**Mitter,** SIR B. L., KT., M.A., B.L., *Barrister-at-Law, Law Member, Viceroy's Council.* Delhi.
1-4-25	R	**Mitter,** B. P. D., B.A., B.SC. 75, Chuckerbere Road, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Mitter,** DWARKANATH, M.A., D.L., *Judge, High Court.* 12, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
5-4-26	R	**Mitter,** KHAGENDRA NATH, M.A., *Professor, Presidency College.* 61A, Ram Kanta Bose Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.
5-4-26	R	**Mitter,** KUMAR KRISHNA, *Merchant and Landlord.* 14, Ahiritolla Street, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Mitter,** THE HON'BLE SIR PROVASH CHANDRA, KT., C.I.E., M.L C. 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
4-3-25	R	**Mitter,** PROFULLA CHANDRA, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (BERLIN), *Sir Rash Behary Ghosh Professor of Chemistry, Calcutta University.* 22, Garpar Road, Calcutta.
1-11-26	R	**Modi,** JAL R. K., B.A. 4, Camac Street, Calcutta.

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3-1-27	N	**Mohammed,** GHULAM, M.A., LL.B., *Indian Audit and Account Service.* Officer on Special Duty with the Railway Board, Delhi.
2-5-23	R	**Möller,** H. P., *Merchant.* 18, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
6-8-24	N	**Moloney,** WILLIAM J., *General Manager of Reuter's for the East.* c/o 26/7, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Mookerjee,** ADITYA NATH, *Principal, Sanskrit College.* 10/B, Mohun Lal Street, Shambazar, Calcutta.
5-11-24	R	**Mookerjee,** B. N., B.A. (CANTAB.), *Engineer.* 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Mookerjee,** J. N., *Civil Engineer.* 6 & 7, Clive Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Mookerjee,** PRIYANATH, RAI BAHADUR, M.A., I.S.O., *Late Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal.* 30, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Mookerjee,** SATISH CHANDRA, *Barrister-at-Law.* 7, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
3-5-98	R	**Mookerjee,** SIR RAJENDRA NATH, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. 7, Harington Street, Calcutta.
2-7-24	R	**Mookerjee,** SYAMA PRASAD, M.A., B.L., *Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the University of Calcutta.* 77, Russa Road North, Calcutta.
5-2-19	R	**Moreno,** HENRY WILLIAM BUNN, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S. 13, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.
29-9-99	R	**Mukerjee,** JATINDRA NATH, B.A., *Solicitor.* 4, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
2-8-26	R	**Mukerjee,** JNANENDRA NATH, D.Sc. (LONDON), F.C.S. (LONDON), *Fellow of the Indian Chemical Society; Guruprasad Professor of Chemistry, University of Calcutta.* 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-4-26	R	**Mukerjee,** KSHETRAKALO, *Contractor.* 41, Haldarpara Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.
2-2-21	R	**Mukerjee,** SUBODH CHANDRA, SHASTRI, M.A., Docteur-es-Lettres (Paris). 3/1A, Raja Rajballav Street, Bagh Bazar, Calcutta.
5-7-22	N	**Mukerji,** RADHAKUMUD, *Professor of Indian History.* University of Lucknow, Lucknow.
5-3-24	R	**Mukerji,** S., M.A., B.L., *Vakil and Zemindar.* 7, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.
7-2-27	R	**Mukherjee,** HARENDRA NATH, B.SC., M.B. (CAL.), D.I.C. (LOND.), *Medical Practitioner.* Biochemical Department, Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, Calcutta.
7-11-27	N	**Mukherjee,** DEVAPROSANNA, M.A., B.L., *Zeminder.* Burdwan.
5-3-24	R	**Mukherjee,** NARENDRA NATH, B.A. (CAL.), *Publisher.* 31, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
5-2-08	R	***Mukhopadhyaya,** GIRINDRA NATH, BHISAGACHARYA, B.A., M.D., F.A.S.B. 156, Haris Mukerjee Road (North), Bhowanipur, Calcutta.
5-7-26	R	**Mukhopadhyaya,** PRABHAT KUMAR, M.A., *Research Assistant, Calcutta University.* 27, Govinda Ghosal Lane, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
2-2-21	R	**Mukhopadhyaya,** RAMAPRASAD, M.A., B.L. 77, Russa Road North, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
4-1-26	N	**Murray,** HOWARD, C.I.E., LT.-COL., INDIAN ARMY, *Deputy Financial Adviser, Army Head-quarters.* Cecil Hotel, Simla.

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5-3-24	R	**Murray**, Sir Alexander R., c.b.e., *Merchant, Messrs. Jardine Skinner & Co.* 4, Clive Row, Calcutta.
3-6-25	N	**Musa**, Muhammad, Moulvi, Khan Bahadur, m.a., *Principal, Chittagong Madrasah.* Madrasah Hill, Chittagong.
1-6-21	N	**Muzammil-Ullah Khan**, Mohd., Hon'ble Nawab, Khan Bahadur, o.b.e., *Rais.* Bhikanpur, Dist. Aligarh, U.P.
6-12-26	R	**Nag**, Kalidas, m.a. (Cal.), d.litt. (Paris), *Lecturer on the Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.* 2/1, Townshend Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
7-3-06	N	**Nahar**, Puran Chand, *Solicitor.* c/o 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
7-5-24	N	**Nait**, Shri Ram, Rai Saheb, *Late Diwan, Bijawar State.* Banpure Gate, Tikamgarh, Bundelkhand.
5-12-27	L	**Namgyal**, H.H. Maharaja Sir Tashi, k.c.i.e., *Maharaja of Sikkim.* Gangtok, Sikkim.
6-6-27	R	**Nandi**, Maharaj-kumar Sris Chandra, m.a., *Zemindar.* 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
7-3-23	R	**Nandi**, P., m.d. (Cal.), *Professor of Pharmacology, Carmichael Medical College.* 34/1, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
25-9-18	N	**Narayan**, Victor Nityendra, *Maharaj Kumar of Cooch Behar.* Cooch Behar.
7-12-26	R	**Narayanaswami**, V., m.a. 45/B, Townshend Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta.
1-2-26	N	**Narke**, Ganesh Govind, *Geologist and Mining Engineer, Professor of Geology and Chemistry.* College of Engineering, Poona.
5-7-16	R	**Naseer Hosein Khayal**, Nawab Syed. 78, Prinsep Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	N	**Newman**, Chas F., f.r.g.s., m.c.p. Bhopal, C.I.
4-1-26	N	**Nomani**, Hamid H., Mawlavi, m.a., *Deputy Collector.* Rajshahi.
6-8-24	N	**Nyss**, Wm. B. S., *Superintendent, Excise and Salt.* Burdwan.
2-8-26	N	**Oak**, Madhava Ramchandra, m.a., *Professor of Philosophy and English Literature, Maharaja's College.* Jaipur, Rajputana.
1-4-25	A	**Oaten**, Edward Farley, m.a., ll.b. (Cantab.), i.e.s., *Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.* United Service Club, Calcutta.
7-4-15	F	**Ohtani**, Count Kozui. San-ya-so, Edomachi, Fushimi, Kyoto, Japan.
2-11-25	R	**Ormond**, Ernest Charles, *Barrister-at-Law.* Bar Library, High Court, Calcutta.
6-6-23	R	**Ottens**, Nicholas, b.sc. 15, Clive Row, Calcutta.
7-6-26	A	**Outhwaite**, H. A., *Statistical Officer, E.B. Ry.* 1, Kyd Street, Calcutta.
5-12-23	N	**Pande**, Shiva Bandhan, *Retired Tahsildar and Zemindar.* Ramaipatti, Mirzapur, U.P.
1-2-26	N	**Parija**, Pran Krishna, b.sc. (Cal.), m.a. (Cantab.), i.e.s., *Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts; Fellow of the Senate of the Patna University; Professor of Botany.* Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
5-4-26	N	**Parker**, Richard Henry, i.c.s., *late Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; Under Secretary to the A.G.G., Rajputana.* Mount Abu, Rajputana.

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5-11-19	R	*Pascoe, Sir Edwin Hall, kt., m.a., sc.d. (Cantab.), d.sc. (Lond.), f.g.s., f.a.s.b., *Director, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
6-6-88	L	Pennell, Aubray Percival, b.a., *Barrister-at-Law.* Rangoon.
1-4-25	R	Perier, Ferdinand, s.j., *the Most Reverend Archbishop of Calcutta.* 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
6-11-89	L	*Phillot, Douglas Craven, Lt.-Col., m.a., ph.d., m.r.a.s., f.a.s.b., *Indian Army (Retired).* Felsted, Essex, England.
1-6-04	A	*Pilgrim, Guy E., d.sc., f.g.s., f.a.s.b. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
4-3-25	A	Pochhammer, Wilhelm von, *Secretary to German Embassy.* Tokio, Japan.
4-3-25	R	Poddar, Hanuman Prasad, *Banker and Commission Agent.* 10A, Central Avenue (South), Calcutta.
1-4-25	N	Prasad, Sri Durga Sadasivesvara, Raja Bahadur, Sri Vasireddi, Mannei Sultan, Garu, Zemindar of Jayantipuram. Camp Nandigama, Dist. Kistna.
3-4-18	R	Prashad, Baini, d.sc., f.z.s., f.r.s.e. Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3-8-25	R	Pruthi, Hem Singh, *Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
1-11-26	R	Pugh, Lewis Pugh Evans, b.a. (Oxon.), *Barrister-at-Law.* Temple Chambers, 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	Pushong, E. S., m.d., l.s.a., *Medical Practitioner.* 1, Wood Street, Calcutta.
2-4-24	R	Raha, S. K., Rai Bahadur, *Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt.* 5, Lovelock Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
7-4-80	N	Rai, Bepin Chandra. Giridih, Chota Nagpur.
1-2-22	R	*Raman, Chandrasekhara Venkata, m.a., d.sc., f.r.s., f.a.s.b. 210, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.
1-11-26	N	Ramanujaswami, P. V., m.a., *Vice-Principal.* Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.
4-1-05	N	Rankin, James Thomas, i.c.s., *Commissioner.* Dacca.
7-3-27	R	Rankin, Sir George, kt.; *Chief Justice of Bengal.* 9, Camac Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	Rao, H. Srinivasa, *Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	Rao, M. Vinayak, Rao Bahadur, b.a., f.g.s., *Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
1-2-26	N	Rao, T. Ramachandra, Rao Sahib, *Officiating Government Entomologist.* Lawley Road, Coimbatore.
1-11-26	N	Rao, Wuppala Lakshmana, m.a., b.sc., Dr-rer-Nat. Digumarti House, Berhampore, Ganjam.
6-12-26	N	Rau, A. Subba. Medical College, Bangalore.
1-11-26	R	Rau, S. Sethu Rama, Rao Bahadur, b.a., f.g.s. Geological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2-7-24	N	Ray, Abinash Chandra, b.a. Cooch Behar.
2-7-24	R	Ray, Bhabendra Chandra, *Zemindar.* 6, Short Street, Calcutta.
7-2-27	R	Ray, Bidhubhusan, d.sc., *Lecturer in Physics, Calcutta University.* 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
1-11-26	R	Ray, Gyanendranath, i.c.s., *Additional Judge, Alipur.* 5, Swinhoe Street, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

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7-9-10	R	**Ray,** KUMAR SARAT KUMAR, M.A., M.R.A.S. 52, Police Hospital Road, Entally, Calcutta.
5-1-21	N	**Ray,** JAGADISNATH, MAHARAJA, *Maharaja of Dinajpore.* Dinajpore.
2-4-24	R	**Ray,** JANAKI NATH, RAJA, *Zemindar and Banker.* 102, Sovabazar Street, Calcutta.
5-3-90	R	***Ray,** SIR PROFULLA CHANDRA, KT., C.I.E., D.SC., F.A.S.B. University College of Science, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Ray-Chowdhury,** M. N., RAJA, M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.C.S., *Raja of Santosh.* 1, Alipur Park Road East, Calcutta.
3-3-20	R	**Raye,** NARENDRA NATH, *Principal.* Ripon College, Calcutta.
3-8-25	N	**Reuben,** DAVID EZRA, I.C.S. Judge's House, Cuttack, B. N. Ry.
2-4-24	F	**Richards,** F. J., I.C.S. 6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
3-4-18	F	**Robinson,** HERBERT C., *Director of Museum and Fisheries.* Federated Malay States, Kuala Lumpur.
3-12-24	F	**Roerich,** GEORGE NICHOLAS, M.A., M.R.A.S., *Orientalist.* 310, Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.
3-12-24	N	**Rogers,** T. E., *Tea Planter.* Mariani Tea Estate, Mariani, Assam.
3-3-20	A	**Ronaldshay,** THE EARL OF. England.
7-5-24	A	**Rose,** G. F., *Merchant; Director, Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co., Ltd.* 8, Clive Row, Calcutta.
4-12-01	F	***Ross,** SIR EDWARD DENISON, KT., C.I.E., PH.D., F.A.S.B., *Director, School of Oriental Studies.* Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.2.
3-7-18	R	**Roy,** BIDHAN CHANDRA, B.A. (CAL.), M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P. (LOND.). 36, Wellington Street, Calcutta.
7-9-21	A	**Roy,** HEM CHANDRA. 76/1A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
3-12-24	A	**Roy,** P. L., *Barrister-at-Law.* 15, Store Road, Calcutta.
5-2-19	R	**Roy,** SASADHAR. 48/1, Chaulpatty Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
7-7-20	R	**Roy-Chaudhuri,** HEM CHANDRA, M.A., PH.D. 43/2, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
6-8-24	R	**Roy-Chowdhury,** BRAJENDRA KISHORE, *Zemindar, Mymensingh.* 53, Sukea Street, Calcutta.
5-5-15	A	**Rushbrook-Williams,** L. F., C.B.E., M.A., B.LITT. (OXON.), M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S. Home Department, Government of India, Delhi.
1-2-26	N	**Ruthnaswamy,** M., *President,* Legislative Council, Madras.
1-4-25	R	**Sadiq,** SYED MOHAMMAD, *Unani Physician.* 11, Harin Bari 1st Lane, Calcutta.
5-4-16	N	**Saha,** RADHIKA NATH, M.R.A.S., *Medical Practitioner.* 16, Lachmikundu, Benares City, U.P.
5-11-24	N	***Sahni,** B., D.SC., F.A.S.B. *Professor of Botany.* The University, Lucknow.
1-4-25	N	**Sales,** HAROLD SPENCE, M.I.E. (IND.), *Formerly Fellow, Punjab University; Bridge Engineer, E.B.R.* No. 2, Bungalow, Paksey.
2-11-25	R	**Sanaullah,** MUHAMMAD, M.A., *Professor of Arabic and Persian, Presidency College.* 16, Hyat Khan Lane, Sealdah, Calcutta.

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Date of Election.		
7-6-26	R	**Sandstrom,** Earl Russell, *Banking, International Banking Corporation.* 4, Clive Street, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Sarkar,** C. K., C.E., *Engineer and Architect.* 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
1-11-22	N	**Sarkar,** Suresh Chandra, *Dy. Magistrate and Dy. Collector.* Barganda, Giridih.
7-3-27	R	**Sarma,** Sir B. Narasimha, K.C.S.I., *President, Railway Rates Advisory Committee.* 24/1, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
1-4-25	N	**Sarraf,** B. L., B.A., LL.B., *Lawyer.* Sarrafa Bazar, Saugor, C.P.
3-3-09	R	**Sarvadhikary,** Sir Devaprasad, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E., C.B.E., M.A., B.L., F.C.U., LL.D. (Aberdeen), LL.D. (St. Andrews), Suriratna, Vidyaratnakar, Jnanasindhu. 20, Suri Lane, Entally, Calcutta.
6-12-26	N	**Sawyer,** Arthur Manuel, *Forester and Botanist, Research Assistant, Botanical Section, Assistant Director of Agriculture (Botany).* College of Agriculture, Mandalay, Burma.
1-4-25	R	**Sen,** Binoy Chandra, M.A., *Professor of History, City College.* 7, Bishwakosh Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.
3-12-24	R	**Sen,** H. K., M.A., D.Sc. (London), D.I.C., *Professor of Chemistry, University College of Science.* 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
7-5-02	R	**Sen,** Jogindranath, M.A., Vidyaratna, Vidyabhusan. 32, Prasanna Kumar Tagore Street, Calcutta.
5-12-23	L	**Sen,** Lakshman, H.H. Raja of Sundarnagar. Suket State, Punjab.
5-4-26	R	**Senior-White,** Ronald, F.E.S., F.R.S.T.M. & H., *Malariologist.* B. N. Ry. House, Kidderpore, Calcutta.
1-12-97	R	**Seth,** Mesrovb Jacob, M.R.A.S., M.S.A., F.R.S.A., *Examiner in Classical Armenian to the Calcutta University.* 19, Lindsay Street, Calcutta.
1-2-26	R	**Setna,** S. B., M.Sc., *Lecturer.* The Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.
5-7-11	R	***Sewell,** Robert Beresford Seymour, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S., F.L.S., F.A.S.B., Lt.-Col., I.M.S. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
7-2-23	R	**Shanks,** George, Major, I.M.S., *Professor of Pathology.* Medical College, Calcutta.
2-11-25	R	**Sharif,** Mohammad, M.Sc., F.R.M.S. Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
4-2-85	L	***Shāstrī,** Haraprasad, Mahāmahopādhyāya, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.A.S.B., Hon. Member, R.A.S. 26, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.
2-5-23	N	**Shebbeare,** E. O. Conservator of Forests., Darjeeling.
6-1-09	N	**Shirreff,** Alexander Grierson, B.A., I.C.S. Sitapur, U.P.
4-1-26	R	**Shortt,** H. E., Major, I.M.S., *Director, Kala-azar Commission.* Golaghat, Assam.
5-2-02	N	**Shyam Lal,** Lala, M.A., LL.B. Nawabganj, Cawnpore, U.P.
3-12-24	N	**Siddiqi,** A., M.A. (Allahabad), Ph.D. (Göttingen), *Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies.* Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.
5-3-13	L	***Simonsen,** John Lionel, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.A.S.B. Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.
6-2-18	N	**Singh,** Badakaji Marichi Man. 38, Khichapokhari, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Date of Election.		
6-12-26	R	**Singh,** Bawa Ramnik, Rai Bahadur, *Civil Engineer, E. B. Ry.* 3, Koilaghat Street, Calcutta.
29-8-99	N	**Singh,** Sir Prabhu Narain, H.H. The Maharaja Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., *Maharaja of Benares.* Ramnagar Fort, Benares.
7-4-09	N	**Singh,** Prithwipal, Raja, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., F.T.S., *Talukdar of Surajpur.* Chandrahas Palace, Hathaunda, Barabanki, Oudh.
6-12-26	R	**Singh,** Ram, *Executive Engineer, E.B. Ry.* 3, Koilaghat Street, Calcutta.
6-11-99	L	**Singh,** Sir Rameshwar, H.H. The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja, G.C.I.E., K.B.E., D.LITT., F.R.A.S., F.P.U. Darbhanga.
7-2-94	N	**Singh,** Vishwa Nath, H.H. The Maharaja Bahadur. Chhatturpur, Bundelkhund.
6-2-18	N	**Singha,** Kumar Arun Chandra, M.A. Dacca.
3-6-25	R	**Singhania,** Parshotamdas, *Merchant.* 3-1, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta.
3-4-18	N	**Sinha,** Bhupendra Narayan, Raja Bahadur, B.A. Nashipur Rajbati, Nashipur.
1-2-22	R	**Sinha,** Kumar Gangananda, M.A., *Zemindar.* 16, Chandra Chatterji Street, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
4-3-25	R	**Sinha,** Purna Chandra, *Landholder.* 146, Baranoshi Ghosh Street, Jorasanko, Calcutta.
2-7-13	N	**Sinha,** Rudra Datta, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S. Nazirabad Road, Lucknow.
6-6-27	N	**Sinha,** Sheonandan Prasad, M.B., *Civil Assistant Surgeon, Curator of the Museum.* Patna Medical College, P.O. Mahendru, Patna.
5-9-12	N	**Singhi,** Bahadur Singh. Azimgunj, Murshidabad.
4-1-26	N	**Sinton,** J. A., O.B.E., Major, I.M.S., V.C., *Officer-in-Charge, Malaria Bureau.* Central Research Institute, Kasauli.
5-7-16	R	**Sircar,** Ganapati, Vidyaratna. 69, Beliaghatta Main Road, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Sircar,** N. N., M.A., B.L., *Barrister-at-Law.* 36/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
5-3-24	R	**Sircar,** Sir Nil Ratan, Kt., M.A., M.D., *Physician.* 7, Short Street, Calcutta.
2-6-20	A	**Skinner,** S. A., *Engineer and Director, Messrs. Jessop & Co., Ltd.* 93, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1-3-26	R	**Snaith,** John Frank, *Managing Director, Messrs. Hamilton & Co.* 8, Old Court House Street, Calcutta.
3-5-26	N	**Sohan Lal,** L., B.A., B.T., *Lecturer in Geography and History.* Central Training College, Lahore.
2-8-26	R	**Sohoni,** Vishvanath Vishnu, B.A., B.Sc., *Meteorologist.* The Observatory, Alipore, Calcutta.
5-4-26	N	**Sondhi,** Gautam. 6, Kacheri Road, Lahore.
7-3-27	R	**Stagg,** M., Major, R.E., *Master.* H.M.'s Mint, Strand Road, Calcutta.
7-3-23	N	**Stamp,** L. Dudley, B.A., D.Sc. University of London, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London, W.C. 2.
6-6-27	R	**Staples,** Edward Henry, *Broker.* 3, Auckland Place, [Calcutta.
4-1-26	R	**Stapleton,** Grace (Miss), M.D., B.S. (London), *Superintendent.* Dufferin Hospital, Calcutta.
28-9-04	L	**Stapleton,** Henry Ernest, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S. *Offg. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.* 8, Galstaun Mansions, Calcutta.

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7-12-25	R	**Stark,** LEONARDUS, *Banker.* c/o Netherlands India Commercial Bank, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.
6-5-25	R	**Staub,** MAX, *Consul for Switzerland.* 100, Clive Street, Calcutta.
2-12-08	R	**Steen,** HUGH BARKLEY, M.D., LT.-COL., I.M.S. *Professor of Surgery, Medical College.* Calcutta.
2-11-25	N	**Stocks,** C. DE BEAUVOIR, (MRS.). c/o Postmaster, Kalimpong.
1-8-23	A	**Stow,** ALEXANDER MONTAGU, O.B.E., M.A. (CANTAB.), I.C.S. Chief Commissioner, Delhi.
1-11-22	R	**Strickland-Anderson,** (MRS.). 1, Alipur Park, Calcutta.
5-6-07	R	***Suhrawardy,** ABDULLAH AL-MA'MUN, IFTIKHARUL MILLAT, M.A., *Barrister-at-Law,* D.LITT., LL.D., F.A.S.B. 56, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.
7-6-20	R	**Suhrawardy,** HASSAN, MAJOR, M.D., F.R.C.S., I.T.F.M.C., *Chief Medical Officer, E. B. Ry.* 2, Belvedere Park, Alipur, Calcutta.
4-4-27	R	**Suhrawardy,** SIR Z. R. Z., KT. *Judge, High Court.* 3, Wellesley 1st Lane, Calcutta.
3-3-20	N	**Sundararaj,** BUNGURU, M.A., PH.D., *Director of Fisheries.* Madras.
4-1-26	R	**Sur,** S. N., M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. Assistant Director of Public Health, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
6-4-98	R	**Tagore,** SIR PRADYOT COOMAR, KT., MAHARAJA BAHADUR. Pathuriaghatta, Calcutta.
6-7-04	A	**Talbot,** WALTER STANLEY, C.I.E., I.C.S., (*retired*). Glenhurst Esher, Surrey, England.
1-4-25	R	**Taraporewala,** IRACH J. S., B.A., PH.D., *Barrrister-at-Law, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Calcutta.* 77-9, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta.
7-11-27	R	**Tarkatirtha,** BIMALANANDA, *Kabiraj, Punditbhusan, Byakaranatirtha.* 90/3, Grey Street, Calcutta.
31-8-93	L	**Tate,** GEORGE PASSMAN. 56, Cantonment, Bareilly, U.P.
5-6-78	F	**Temple,** SIR RICHARD CARNAC, BART., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., *Formerly Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army.* c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Cox's and King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London, S. W.
4-8-09	N	**Thompson,** SIR JOHN PERRONET, KT., C.S.I., M.A., I.C.S., *Chief Secretary, Govt. of the Punjab.* United Service Club, Simla.
1-6-04	L	***Tipper,** GEORGE HOWLETT, M.A., F.G.S., M.INST.M.M., F.A.S.B. 33, Grantchester, Cambridge, England.
5-12-17	A	**Tripathi,** RAMPRASAD, *Reader in Modern Indian History.* The University, Allahabad.
5-12-27	N	**Tritton,** ARTHUR STANLEY, M.A., D.LITT., *Professor.* Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.
5-7-26	F	**Tyson,** JOHN DAWSON, I.C.S. *Secretary to the Agent to the Govt. of India in South Africa.* Cape Town, S. Africa.
6-5-25	R	**Ukil,** AMULYA CHANDRA, M.B. (CAL.), *Professor of Bacteriology, National Medical Institute, and Assistant Director, Clinical Research Association.* 6/1, Kanklia Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
7-3-27	R	**Urquhart,** REV. W. S., M.A., D.LITT., *Principal, Scottish Churches College.* 3 & 4, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta.

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5-11-24	R	**Vaile,** MAURICE ARTHUR STUART, *Exchange Broker, Messrs. Thomas Seth Apcar & Co* 8, Clive Street, Calcutta.
4-7-27	A	**Vance,** R. L., M.B., *Major, Indian Medical Service.* Gyantse, Tibet.
6-7-25	N	**Varma,** SOHAN LAL, *Honorary Magistrate, Banking and Zemindari.* Laharpur, Sitapur District.
7-12-25	R	**Varugis,** GEORGE, B.SC. (WALES). c/o Prof. K. Zachariah, 33/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
5-7-05	R	**Vidyabhusana,** AMULYA CHARAN. 28A, Telepara Lane, Calcutta.
1-2-26	N	**Viswanath,** B., *Fellow, Chemical Society of London; Fellow, Chemical Society of India; Officiating Government Agricultural Chemist.* Lawley Road, Coimbatore.
6-3-01	L	**Vogel,** JEAN PHILIPPE, LITT.D., F.A.S.B. The University, Lieden, Holland.
27-9-94	L	***Vost,** WILLIAM, LT.-COL., I.M.S. 26, Crystal Palace Part Road, Sydenham, London, S.E. 26.
1-11-26	N	**Wadhwana,** M. M., *Demonstrator in Geology and Geography.* University College, Rangoon.
6-5-25	N	**Wadia,** D. N., M.A., B.SC., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., *Geological Survey of India.* Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3-6-25	R	**Walton,** ERIC BELL, *Chartered Civil Engineer.* 93, Park Street, Calcutta.
7-3-27	A	**Ward,** DOROTHY (MRS.). c/o J. Dickinson & Co., Ld., P.O. Box No. 45, Calcutta.
2-5-27	R	**Watson,** ALFRED HENRY, *Journalist.* c/o The "Statesman," Calcutta.
1-12-09	N	**Webster,** J. E., I.C.S. Sylhet, Assam.
1-11-26	R	**Westcott,** Foss, THE MOST REVEREND, D.D. (CANTAB.), HONORARY D.D. (OXON.), *Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon.* Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
19-9-06	L	**Whitehead,** RICHARD BERTRAM, I.C.S. Rupar, Ambala, Punjab.
7-5-19	A	**Wills,** CECIL UPTON, B.A., I.C.S. Nagpur.
6-12-26	F	**Winfield,** WALTER WARREN, B.A., B.D., *Missionary.* c/o Baptist Missionary Society, 19, Furnival Street, London, E.C. 4, England,
7-3-06	A	***Woolner,** ALFRED COOPER, C.I.E., M.A., F.A.S.B. Punjab University, Lahore.
1-4-08	R	**Wordsworth,** WILLIAM CHRISTOPHER, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.). c/o The "Statesman," 6, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
7-3-27	R	**Wright,** FREDERIC MAITLAND, *Broker.* 2-5, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
5-2-19	N	**Yazdani,** GHULAM, M.A. Hyderabad, Deccan.
6-6-06	N	**Young,** MANSEL CHARLES GAMBIER. Khagaul, Dinapore, E I.R.
4-1-26	N	**Younus,** MUHAMMAD, *Assistant Director-General of Police, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.* Saifabad, Hyderabad (Deccan).

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ORDINARY MEMBERS.

(*Chronological.*)

1870.			
	April	7.	Lyman, B. Smith
1873.			
	Jan.	2.	Houstoun, G. L.
1878.			
	June	5.	Temple, Sir R. C.
1880.			
	April	7.	Rai, B. C.
1884.			
	Sept.	3.	Miles, W. H.
	Nov.	5.	Middlemiss, C. S.
1885.			
	Feb.	4.	Shastri, Haraprasad
1886.			
	Mar.	3.	Mehta, R. D.
1887.			
	Aug.	25.	Criper, W. R.
1888.			
	June	6.	Pennell, A. P.
1889.			
	Mar.	6.	La Touche, T. H. D.
	Nov.	6.	Phillott, D. C.
1890.			
	Mar.	5.	Ray, Sir Prafulla C.
1892.			
	Jan.	11.	Maclagan, Sir Edward D.
	Feb.	1.	Bodding, P. O.
1893.			
	Aug.	31.	Tate, G. Passman
	Sept.	28.	Chaudhuri, B. L.
1894.			
	Feb.	7.	Singh, H.H. Vishwa Nath
	Sept.	27.	Vost, W.
1895.			
	Mar.	6.	Bose, Sir Jagadis C.
	July	3.	Beatson-Bell, Sir Nicholas D.
	Sept.	19.	De, K. C.
1896.			
	Jan.	8.	Burn, Sir Richard
1897.			
	Dec.	1.	Seth, M. J.
1898.			
	Jan.	5.	Dods, W. K.
	Feb.	2.	Bose, A. L.
	April	6.	Tagore, Sir Pradyot C.
	May	4.	Mookerjee, Sir R. N.
1899.			
	Aug.	29.	Singh, Sir Prabhu Narain
	Sept.	29.	Mukerjee, J. N.
	Nov.	6.	Singh, Sir Rameshwara
1900.			
	Dec.	5.	Grieve, J. W. A.
1901.			
	Mar.	6.	Habibur, R. K.
	,,	,,	Vogel, J. P.
	June	5.	Mann, H. H.
	Dec.	4.	Ross, Sir Edward D.
1902.			
	Feb.	5.	Shyam Lal.
	May.	7.	Sen, J. N.
	July	2.	Doxey, F.
1904.			
	June	1.	Pilgrim, G. E.
	,,	,,	Tipper, G. H.
	July	6.	Aulad Hasan.
	,,	,,	Talbot, W. S.
	Aug.	3.	Fermor, L. L.
	,,	,,	Stapleton, H. E.
1905.			
	Jan.	4.	Rankin, J. T.
	Mar.	1.	Banerji, M.
	May	3.	Graves, H. G.
	July	5.	Ghosh, A. C.
	Aug.	2.	McCay, D.
1906.			
	Jan.	3.	Chapman, J. A.
	Mar.	7.	Nahar, P. C.
	,,	,,	Woolner, A. C.
	June	6.	Mitra, K. M. N.
	,,	,,	Young, M. C. G.
	Sept.	19.	Whitehead, R. B.
	Oct.	31.	Finlow, R. S.
	Dec.	5.	Mahalanobis, S. C.
	,,	,,	Chand, D. T.
1907.			
	Jan.	2.	Banerji, R. D.
	June	5.	Suhrawardy, A. A.
	July	3.	Brown, J. C.
	,,	,,	Christie, W. A. K.
	Aug.	7.	Haines, H. H.
1908.			
	Jan.	1.	Brahmachari, U. N.
	Feb.	5.	Mukhopadhyaya, G. N.
	April	1.	Wordsworth, W. C.
	June	3.	Jones, H. C.
	Nov.	4.	Bhattacharji, B.
	Dec.	2.	Steen, H. B.

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1909.
Jan. 6. Shirreff, A. G.
Mar. 3. Abdul Latif.
,, ,, Chakravarti, N.
,, ,, Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.
April 7. Bentley, C. A.
,, ,, Kilner, J. N.
,, ,, Singh, P.
July 7. Bazaz, R. K.
,, ,, Bhattacharji, S. N.
Aug. 4. Thompson, Sir J. P.
Oct. 6. Brown, P.
,, ,, Brühl, P.
,, 7. Gangoli, O. C.
Nov. 3. Christophers, S. R.
Dec. 1. Webster, J. E.

1910.
Mar. 2. Greig, E. D. W.
,, ,, Kirkpatrick, W.
May 4. Dhavle, S. B.
,, ,, Kemp, S. W.
July 6. Botham, A. W.
Sept. 7. Gravely, F. H.
,, ,, Ray, S. K.

1911.
Feb. 1. Insch, J.
,, ,, Law, N. N.
Mar. 1. Mahtab, Sir Bijay Chand
May 3. Lomax, C. E.
June 7. Chatterjee, K. K.
,, ,, Hosain, M. H.
July 5. Sewell, R. B. S.
Nov. 1. Ahmed. K.
,, ,, Ecsh, V. J.

1912.
Jan. 10. Kazim Shirazi, A. M.
May 1. Harley, A. H.
June 5. Misra, C.
July 3. Andrews, E. A.
,, ,, Bomford, T. L.
Sept. 4. Ghosh, T.
,, ,, Singhi, B. S.

1913.
Mar. 5. Simonsen, J. L.
April 2. Calder, C. C.
June 4. Majumdar, R. C.
July 2. Sinha, R.
Nov. 5. Fox, C. S.

1914.
Feb. 4. Chaudhuri, S. N. A.
Mar. 4. Bacot, J.
April 1. Chaudhuri, G. D.
July 1. Law, S. C.
Aug. 5. Law, B. C.

1915.
Feb. 3. Khan, H. A. A.
April 7. Belvalkar, S. K.
,, ,, Ohtani, Count K.
May 5. Rushbrook-Williams, L. F.
Aug. 4. Gurner, C. W.
Sept. 1. Cleghorn, M. L. W.
,, ,, Das-Gupta, H. C.
Oct 27. Chatterjee, Sir A. C.

1916.
Jan. 5. Chatterjee, K. N.
Feb. 2. Majumdar, N. K.
April 5. Saha, R. N.
June 7. Mahajan, S. P.
July 5. Naseer Hosein, K.
,, ,, Sarkar, G.

1917.
April 4. Awati, P. R.
June 6. Deb, H. K.
,, ,, Gupta, K.
,, ,, Aiyangar, K. V. R.
Aug. 1. Bhandarkar, D. R.
Dec. 5. Tripathi, R.

1918.
Feb. 6. Banerji, N. N.
,, ,, Ghosh, E. N.
,, ,, Maitra, S. K.
,, ,, Manen, Johan van
,, ,, Singh, B. M.
,, ,, Singha, A. C.
April 3. Das, J. R.
,, ,, Prashad, B.
,, ,, Robinson, H. C.
,, ,, Sinha, B. N.
July 3. Roy B. C.
,, ,, Basu, C. C.
Aug. 7. Maitra, J. N.
Sept. 25. Narayan, V. N.

1919.
Feb. 5. Abdul Kader.
,, ,, Moreno, H. W. B.
,, ,, Ray, S.
,, ,, Yazdani, G.
Mar. 5. Gupta, S. P.
April 2. Bal, S. N.
,, ,, Friel, R.
,, ,, Mitra, P.
May 7. Wills, C. U.
June 4. Matthai, G.
July 2. Banerji, P.
Oct. 10. Manry, J. C.
Nov. 5. Hemraj, R.
,, ,, Misra, P. N.
,, ,, Pascoe, Sir E. H.

1920.
Jan. 5. Aiyar S. P.
,, ,, Suhrawardy, H.
Feb. 4. Hill, H. B. C.
,, ,, Keir, W. I.
,, ,, Brij Narayan.
Mar. 3. Ballardie, J. H. de Caynoth.
,, ,, Ganguli, P.
,, ,, Khuda Bukhsh, S.

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	Mar.	3.	Lahiri, J.	
	,,	,,	Mahalanobis, P. C.	
	,,	,,	Sundara Raj, B.	
	,,	,,	Raye, N. N. [Earl of	
	,,	,,	Ronaldshay, The	
180	April	7.	Dutt, K. K.	
	May	5.	Ghosh, S. N.	
	,,	,,	Harcourt, E. S.	
	June	2.	Majumdar, N. G.	
	,,	,,	Skinner, S. A.	
185	July	7.	Kar, S. C.	
	,,	,,	Knowles, R.	
	,,	,,	Roy-Chaudhuri, H. C.	
	Aug.	4.	Dikshit, K. N.	
	,,	,,	Martin, O.	
190	Sept.	1.	Chakladar, H. C.	
	,,	,,	Chanda, R.	
	,,	,,	Chatterjee, N. C.	
	Dec.	1.	Connor, Sir F. P.	
195	,,	,,	Akbar Khan, M.	
	1921.			
	Jan.	5.	Ray, J.	
	Feb.	2.	Jain, Chhote Lall	
	,,	,,	Mukerjee, R.	
	,,	,,	Mookerjee, S. C.	
200	Mar.	2.	Acton, H. W.	
	,,	,,	Agharkar, S. P.	
	May	4.	Barnardo, F. A. F.	
	June	1.	Muzamilullah Khan, Mohammad	
	Sept.	7.	Deb. P. K.	
205	,,	,,	Roy, H C.	
	Nov.	2.	Hora, S. L.	
	,,	,,	Huq, S. E.	
	Dec.	7.	Kumar, A. K.	
	,,	,,	Barua, B. M.	
	1922.			
210	Feb.	1.	Bhattacharya, V. S.	
	,,	,,	Chopra, R. N.	
	,,	,,	Megaw, J. W. D.	
	,,	,,	Raman, C. V.	
	,,	,,	Sinha, G.	
215	April	5.	Abdul Ali, A. F. M.	
	,,	,,	Banerjee, S.	
	,,	,,	Bose, J. C.	
	,,	,,	Fülep, E. G.	
	June.	7.	Bhattacharya, S. P.	
220	July.	5.	Mookerjee, R. K.	
	Sept.	6.	Das-Gupta, S. N.	
	Nov.	1.	Strickland-Anderson, Mrs.	
	,,	,,	Sarkar, S. C.	
	Dec.	6.	Blackett, Sir Basil P.	
	1923.			
225	Feb.	7.	Barber, C. T.	
	,,	,,	Jinavijayaji, Muni	
	,,	,,	Shanks, G.	
	Mar.	7.	Gupta, N.	
230	,,	,,	Labey, G. T.	
	,,	,,	Nandi, P.	
	Mar.	7.	Stamp, L. D.	
	April	4.	Alker, A. [Ravon	
	May	2.	Collenberg, Baron H.	
	,,	,,	Harnett, W. L.	
	,,	,,	Möller, H. P.	235
	,,	,,	Shebbeare, E. O.	
	June	6.	Bhanot, K.	
	,,	,,	Howard, A.	
	,,	,,	Hutton, J. H.	
	,,	,,	Ottens, N.	240
	Aug.	1.	Biswas, K.	
	,,	,,	Stow, A. M.	
	Dec.	5.	Chopra, B. N.	
	,,	,,	Meggit, F. J.	
	,,	,,	Barwell, N. F.	245
	,,	,,	Jackson, P. S.	
	,,	,,	Korke, V. T.	
	,,	,,	Sen, H. H. Lakshman	
	,,	,,	Pande, S. B.	
	1924.			
	Feb.	6.	Mahindra, K. C.	250
	Mar.	5.	Banerjee, P. N.	
	,,	,,	Browne, H.	
	,,	,,	Ray Chowdhury, M. N.	
	,,	,,	Fitzpatrick, H.	
	,,	,,	Kanjilal M. N.	255
	,,	,,	Mukerji, S.	
	,,	,,	Murray, Sir Alexander	
	,,	,,	Martin, T. L.	
	,,	,,	Mitter, P. C.	
	,,	,,	Mitter, Sir B. C.	260
	,,	,,	Mitter, Sir B. L.	
	,,	,,	Mitter, D. N.	
	,,	,,	Mukherjee, N. N.	
	,,	,,	McPherson, J.	
	,,	,,	Greaves, Sir Ewart	265
	,,	,,	Chatterji, M. M.	
	,,	,,	Sircar, N. N.	
	,,	,,	Sircar, Sir N. R.	
	April	2.	Bahl, K. N.	
	,,	,,	Das, B. M.	270
	,,	,,	Ghose, K.	
	,,	,,	Judah, N. J.	
	,,	,,	Ray, J. N.	
	,,	,,	Raha, S. K.	
	,,	,,	De, F. L.	275
	,,	,,	Richards, F. J.	
	,,	,,	Huq, M.	
	,,	,,	Mitra, J. C.	
	,,	,,	Ghose, Sir C. C.	
	,,	,,	Mitsukuri, R.	280
	May	7.	Rose, G. F.	
	,,	,,	Nait, S. R.	
	,,	,,	Bhattacharya, B.	
	June	4.	Cooper, H.	
	July	2.	Ray, A. C.	285
	,,	,,	Ghose, B. B.	
	,,	,,	Browne, L. E.	
	,,	,,	Iyengar, M. O. P.	
	,,	,,	Mookerjee, S. P.	
	,,	,,	Ray, B. C.	290

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Aug. 6. Chatterji, S. K.
,, ,, Nyss, Wm. B. S.
,, ,, Moloney, W. J.
,, ,, Roy-Chowdhury, B. K.
,, ,, Davies, L. M.
,, 27. Chattopadhyay, K. P.
,, ,, Baidil, A. M.
,, ,, MacGregor, A. D.
Sept. 24. Sahni, B.
,, ,, Eaton, Miss W. A.
,, ,, Mookerji, B. N.
,, ,, Asaduzzaman.
Nov. 5. Vaile, M. A. S.
,, ,, Kapur, S.
Dec. 3. Siddiqi, A.
,, ,, Das, S. N.
,, ,, Roy, P. L.
,, ,, Mookerjee, J. N.
,, ,, Newman, Chas. F.
,, ,, Gilbert, W. G. L.
,, ,, Rao, H. S.
,, ,, Pushong, E. S.
,, ,, Rogers, T. E.
,, ,, Basu, J. N.
,, ,, Ghose, S. C.
,, ,, Sarkar, C. K.
,, ,, Chatterjee, S. N.
,, ,, Hendry, C. A.
,, ,, Mukherjee, P. N.
,, ,, Roerich, G. N.
,, ,, Sen, H. K.

1925.

Jan. 7. Banerjee, M. N.
,, ,, Chaudhuri, H. C.
,, ,, Chaudhuri, S. M.
Feb. 4. Bhor, S. C.
,, ,, Bishop, T. H.
,, ,, Dutt, K. C.
,, ,, Guha, B. S.
,, ,, Menon, K. R.
Mar. 4. Banerjee, A. C.
,, ,, Benthall, E. C.
,, ,, Bhatnagar, J. L.
,, ,, Buyers, W. A.
,, ,, Chaudhuri, J.
,, ,, Das, A. N.
,, ,, Deb, Kshitindra
,, ,, Fosket, R. C.
,, ,, Hossain, M. B.
,, ,, Mitter, P. C.
,, ,, Pochhammer, W. von
,, ,, Poddar H. P.
,, ,, Sinha, P. C.
April 1. Banerjee, A. C.
,, ,, Perier, F.
,, ,, Hobbs, H
,, ,, Ismail, A. M.
,, ,, Laden La, S. W.
,, ,, Mitter, B. P. D.
,, ,, Oaten, E. F.
,, ,, Sadiq, H. S. M.
April 1. Sales, H. S.
,, ,, Sarraf, B. L.
,, ,, Sen, B. C.
,, ,, Prasad, S.
,, ,, Taraporewala, I. J. S.
May 6. Abbasi, M. A.
,, ,, Baral, J. C.
,, ,, Batra, H. L.
,, ,, Bery, A. R.
,, ,, Bose, H. M.
,, ,, Habibullah, Md.
,, ,, Inamdar, R. S.
,, ,, Jatia, Sir O. M.
,, ,, Khanna, V. L.
,, ,, Koester, Hans
,, ,, Kolah, K. S.
,, ,, Rao, M. V.
,, ,, Staub, Max.
,, ,, Ukil, A. C.
,, ,, Wadia, D. N.
June 3. Datta, S. K.
,, ,, Gupta, T. P.
,, ,, Lal, B. B.
,, ,, Musa, M. M.
,, ,, Singhania, P.
,, ,, Walton, E. B.
July 6. Bose, M. M.
,, ,, Varma, S. L.
Aug. 3. Chhibber, H. L.
,, ,, Coyajee, Sir J. C.
,, ,, Pruthi, H. S.
,, ,, Reuben, D. E.
Nov. 2. Acharya, P.
,, ,, Bradshaw, E. J.
,, ,, Chaṭṭopādhyāya, K. C.
,, ,, Crookshank, H.
,, ,, Gee, E. R.
,, ,, Hamid, M.
,, ,, James, R. C.
,, ,, Kimura, R.
,, ,, Kuppaswamy, V. S.
,, ,, Kureishy, R. A.
,, ,, Mirza, M. B.
,, ,, Ormond, E. C.
,, ,, Sanaullah, M.
,, ,, Sharif, M.
,, ,, Stocks, Mrs. C. de Beauvoir
Dec. 7. Afzal, S. M.
,, ,, Carritt, S. E.
,, ,, Derviche-Jones, A.
,, ,, Lindsay, J. H.
,, ,, Narayanaswami, V.
,, ,, Stark, L.
,, ,, Varugis, G.

1926.

Jan. 4. Bathgate, Mrs. J. B.
,, ,, Bathgate, R. G. M.
,, ,, Becker, J. N.
,, ,, Brahmachari, I. B.

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	Jan.	4.	Chatterji, K. C.
410	,,	,,	Cunningham, J.
	,,	,,	Fleming, Andrew
	,,	,,	Gaffar, Abdul
	,,	,,	Habib, Mohammad
	,,	,,	Hubert, Otto
415	,,	,,	Murray, H.
	,,	,,	Nomani, H. H.
	,,	,,	Shortt, H. E.
	,,	,,	Sinton, J. A.
	,,	,,	Stapleton, G. (Miss)
420	,,	,,	Sur, S. N.
	,,	,,	Younus, Muhammad
	Feb.	1.	Edwards, C. A. H.
	,,	,,	Ruthnaswamy, M.
	,,	,,	Meston, Lord
425	,,	,,	Rao, T. R.
	,,	,,	Husain, M. A.
	,,	,,	Gulati, A. N.
	,,	,,	Setna, S. B.
	,,	,,	Lele, S. H.
430	,,	,,	Viswanath, B.
	,,	,,	Narke, G. G.
	,,	,,	Chaudhuri, H.
	,,	,,	Kashyap, S. R.
	,,	,,	Parija, P. K.
435	,,	,,	Ghuznavi, Sir A. K.
	,,	,,	Khaitan, D. P.
	,,	,,	Hingston, H.
	,,	,,	Harris, H. G.
	,,	,,	Ghuznavi, A. H.
440	,,	,,	Khambata, R. B.
	,,	,,	Chand, Lal
	,,	,,	Baptist, A. E.
	Mar.	1.	Bannerjee, W. C.
	,,	,,	McKay, J. W.
445	,,	,,	Mookerjee, S. C.
	,,	,,	Snaith, J. F.
	,,	,,	Gupta, D. N.
	,,	,,	Mukherjee, A. N.
	,,	,,	Datta, H. N.
450	,,	,,	Basu, N. K.
	,,	,,	Kramrisch, Stella (Miss)
	,,	,,	Bagnall, J. F.
	April	5.	Sondhi, G.
	,,	,,	Gupta, S. N.
455	,,	,,	Bose, G. S.
	,,	,,	Senior-White, R.
	,,	,,	Ghose, B. C.
	,,	,,	Parker, R. H.
	,,	,,	Bhatia, M. L
460	,,	,,	Mitter, K. N.
	,,	,,	Jones, T.
	,,	,,	Mukherjee, K.
	,,	,,	Mitter, K. K.
	May	3.	Sohan Lal, L.
465	,,	,,	Bhagwant Rai.
	,,	,,	Bhaskaraiya, C.
	,,	,,	Kirwan, E. W. O'G.
	June	7.	Outhwaite, H. A.
	June	7.	Mishra, D.
	,,	,,	Hodge, E. H. V.
470	,,	,,	De, P. N.
	,,	,,	Anbian, A. J.
	,,	,,	Lemmon, R. D.
	,,	,,	Sandstrom, E. R.
	,,	,,	Ray, G.
475	,,	,,	Fyfe, D. A.
	July	5.	Husain, M. M.
	,,	,,	Banerji, S. K.
	,,	,,	Mukhopadhyaya, P. K.
	,,	,,	Tyson, J. D.
480	,,	,,	Lyne, H. W.
	Aug.	2.	Calder, N. D.
	,,	,,	Oak, M. R.
	,,	,,	Sohoni, V. V.
	,,	,,	Majumdar, D. N.
485	,,	,,	Mukherjee, J. N.
	,,	,,	Khettry, B.
	,,	,,	James, J. L.
	,,	,,	De, B.
	Nov.	1.	Jameson, T. B.
490	,,	,,	Collet, A. L.
	,,	,,	Modi, J. R. K.
	,,	,,	Rau, S. S. R.
	,,	,,	Westcott, F.
	,,	,,	Barhut, T. K.
495	,,	,,	Pugh, L. P. E.
	,,	,,	Ramanujaswami, P. V.
	,,	,,	Wadhwana, M. M.
	,,	,,	Mills, J. P.
	,,	,,	Rao, W. L.
500	,,	,,	Galstaun, S.
	,,	,,	Chokhani, S.
	,,	,,	Bagchi, P. C.
	Dec.	6.	Brahmachari, B. B.
	,,	,,	Aiyangar, S. K.
505	,,	,,	Singh, B. R.
	,,	,,	Hora, G.
	,,	,,	Dutt, J. C.
	,,	,,	Guha, S.
	,,	,,	Banerjee, S. N.
510	,,	,,	Bery, P.
	,,	,,	Ghosh, B. K.
	,,	,,	Nag, K.
	,,	,,	Sawyer, A. M.
	,,	,,	Singh, R.
515	,,	,,	Rau, A. S.
	,,	,,	Winfield, W. W.
	1927.		
	Jan.	3.	Chakravarty, N.
	,,	,,	Bivar, H. G. S.
	,,	,,	De, S. C.
520	,,	,,	Mohammed G.
	Feb	7.	Imam, A. M. S. H.
	,,	,,	Chatterjee. A.
	,,	,,	Bose, D. M.
	,,	,,	Ghosh, J. C.
525	,,	,,	Captain, D. M.
	,,	,,	Bhattacharya, D. R.
	,,	,,	Ray, B.

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Feb. 7. Mukherjee, H. N.
530 Mar. 7. Hopkinson, A. H.
,, ,, Urquhart, W. S.
,, ,, Sarma, Sir B. N.
,, ,, Bake, A. A.
,, ,, Rankin, Sir G.
535 ,, ,, Dikkers, F. G.
,, ,, Ghosh, H. C.
,, ,, Stagg, M.
,, ,, Ward, Mrs. D.
,, ,, Chakravarti, B.
540 ,, ,, French, J. C.
,, ,, Ghosh, P. N.
,, ,, Abdul Kadir, A. F. M.
,, ,, Fukushima, N.
,, ,, Wright, F. M.
545 April 4. Helland, B. A.
,, ,, Suhrawardy, Sir Z. R. Z.
,, ,, Dewick, E. C.
,, ,, Chetty, R. K. S.
,, ,, Bridge, P. G.
550 May 2. Feegrade, E. S.
,, ,, Hurlimann, M.
,, ,, Clegg, E. L. G.
May 2. Watson, A. H.
June 6. Coulson, A. L.
,, ,, Nandi, S. C.
,, ,, Jain, B. 555
,, ,, Keelan, D. H.
,, ,, Staples, E. H.
,, ,, Sinha, S. P.
,, ,, James, F. E. 560
July 4. Chatterjee, P.
,, ,, Chakravarti, C.
,, ,, Maitra, J. N.
,, ,, Vance, R. L.
Aug. 1. Grimes, C. J. 565
Nov. 7. Das, D. K.
,, ,, Tarkatirtha, B.
,, ,, Mukherji, D.
,, ,, Fitzgerald, T. J.
,, ,, Brahmachary, S. C. 570
Dec. 5. Tritton, A. S.
,, ,, Namgyal, H.H. Sir Tashi.
,, ,, Dechhen, H.H. Kunzang.
,, ,, Chowdhury, C. 574

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LIFE MEMBERS.

(*Chronological.*)

7- 4-70 B. Smith Lyman (70 N.).
2- 1-73 G. L. Houston (73 N.).
4- 2-85 H. P. Shastri (12 N.).
3- 3-86 R. D. Mehta (89 R.).
6- 6-88 A. P. Pennell (88 F.).
6- 3-89 T. H. D. La Touche (10 N.).
6-11-89 D. C. Phillott (10 F.).
11- 1-93 Sir Edward D. Maclagan (94 R.).
1- 2-93 P. O. Bodding (14 N.).
31- 7-93 G. P. Tate (23 N.).
27- 9-94 W. Vost (94 F.).
3- 7-95 Sir Nicholas D. Beatson-Bell (95 N.).
19- 9-95 K. C. De. (26 R.).
6-11-99 H.H. Sir Rameshwar Singh (14 N.).
5-12-00 J. W. A. Grieve (00 F.).
6- 2-01 J. Ph. Vogel (25 F.).
1- 6-04 G. H. Tipper (27 N.).
28- 9-04 H. E. Stapleton (26 R.).
19- 7-06 R. B. Whitehead (26 N.).
1- 1-08 U. N. Brahmachari (27 R.).
4- 5-10 S. B. Dhavle (10 N.).
7- 6-11 M. Hidayat Hosain (27 N.).
1-11-11 Kamaluddin Ahmad (24 N.).
5- 3-13 J. L. Simonsen (19 N.).
4- 3-14 J. Bacot (14 F.).
6- 2-18 E. N. Ghosh (25 R.).
6- 2-18 Johan van Manen (25 R.).
5-12-23 H.H. Lakshman Sen (24 N.).
7- 5-24 B. Bhattacharya (24 N.).
6- 8-24 L. M. Davies (24 N.).
5-12-27 Chhajuram Chowdhury (27 R.).
5-12-27 H.H. Sir Tashi Namgyal (27 N.).
5-12-27 H.H. Kunzang Dechhen (27 N.).

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	Feb.	7.	Mukherjee, H. N.
530	Mar.	7.	Hopkinson, A. H.
	,,	,,	Urquhart, W. S.
	,,	,,	Sarma, Sir B. N.
	,,	,,	Bake, A. A.
	,,	,,	Rankin, Sir G.
535	,,	,,	Dikkers, F. G.
	,,	,,	Ghosh, H. C.
	,,	,,	Stagg, M.
	,,	,,	Ward, Mrs. D.
	,,	,,	Chakravarti, B.
540	,,	,,	French, J. C.
	,,	,,	Ghosh, P. N.
	,,	,,	Abdul Kadir, A. F. M.
	,,	,,	Fukushima, N.
	,,	,,	Wright, F. M.
545	April	4.	Helland, B. A.
	,,	,,	Suhrawardy, Sir Z. R. Z.
	,,	,,	Dewick, E. C.
	,,	,,	Chetty, R. K. S.
	,,	,,	Bridge, P. G.
550	May	2.	Feegrade, E. S.
	,,	,,	Hurlimann, M.
	,,	,,	Clegg, E. L. G.
	May	2.	Watson, A. H.
	June	6.	Coulson, A. L.
	,,	,,	Nandi, S. C. 555
	,,	,,	Jain, B.
	,,	,,	Keelan, D. H.
	,,	,,	Staples, E. H.
	,,	,,	Sinha, S. P.
	,,	,,	James, F. E. 560
	July	4.	Chatterjee, P.
	,,	,,	Chakravarti, C.
	,,	,,	Maitra, J. N.
	,,	,,	Vance, R. L.
	Aug.	1.	Grimes, C. J. 565
	Nov.	7.	Das, D. K.
	,,	,,	Tarkatirtha, B.
	,,	,,	Mukherji, D.
	,,	,,	Fitzgerald, T. J.
	,,	,,	Brahmachary, S. C. 570
	Dec.	5.	Tritton, A. S.
	,,	,,	Namgyal, H.H. Sir Tashi.
	,,	,,	Dechhen, H.H. Kunzang.
	,,	,,	Chowdhury, C. 574

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LIFE MEMBERS.

(*Chronological.*)

7- 4-70 B. Smith Lyman (70 N.).
2- 1-73 G. L. Houston (73 N.).
4- 2-85 H. P. Shastri (12 N.).
3- 3-86 R. D. Mehta (89 R.).
6- 6-88 A. P. Pennell (88 F.).
6- 3-89 T. H. D. La Touche (10 N.).
6-11-89 D. C. Phillott (10 F.).
11- 1-93 Sir Edward D. Maclagan (94 R.).
1- 2-93 P. O. Bodding (14 N.).
31- 7-93 G. P. Tate (23 N.).
27- 9-94 W. Vost (94 F.).
3- 7-95 Sir Nicholas D. Beatson-Bell (95 N.).
19- 9-95 K. C. De. (26 R.).
6-11-99 H.H. Sir Rameshwar Singh (14 N.).
5-12-00 J. W. A. Grieve (00 F.).
6- 2-01 J. Ph. Vogel (25 F.).
1- 6-04 G. H. Tipper (27 N.).
28- 9-04 H. E. Stapleton (26 R.).
19- 7-06 R. B. Whitehead (26 N.).
1- 1-08 U. N. Brahmachari (27 R.).
4- 5-10 S. B. Dhavle (10 N.).
7- 6-11 M. Hidayat Hosain (27 N.).
1-11-11 Kamaluddin Ahmad (24 N.).
5- 3-13 J. L. Simonsen (19 N.).
4- 3-14 J. Bacot (14 F.).
6- 2-18 E. N. Ghosh (25 R.).
6- 2-18 Johan van Manen (25 R.).
5-12-23 H.H. Lakshman Sen (24 N.).
7- 5-24 B. Bhattacharya (24 N.).
6- 8-24 L. M. Davies (24 N.).
5-12-27 Chhajuram Chowdhury (27 R.).
5-12-27 H.H. Sir Tashi Namgyal (27 N.).
5-12-27 H.H. Kunzang Dechhen (27 N.).

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ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
2-12-85	* A. Führer, *Professor of Sanskrit.* 5, Dorenbachstrasse, Binningen, Basel, Switzerland.
4-6-02	* A. H. Francke, Rev. c/o Universitets Bibliothek, Dorotheenstr. 81, Berlin, N.W. 7.
1-7-08	* Dinesh Chandra Sen, Rai Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt. 19, Visvakosh Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.
7-9-10	* L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, Rao Bahadur, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I., *Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University.* 2/3, Premchand Boral Street, Bowbazar, Calcutta.
7-12-10	* H. Hosten, Rev., S.J. St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.
5-3-15	* E. Brunetti. 27, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
3-10-19	* H. Bruce Hannah. Bengal Club, Calcutta.
1-2-22	† Pierre Johans, Rev., S.J., B.Litt. (Oxon.), *Professor of Philosophy.* St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.
1-2-22	† Anantakrishna Sastri, Mahamahopadhyaya. 57/1, Sreegopal Mullick Lane, Calcutta.
6-2-24	W. Ivanow. c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.
6-2-24	Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha, Mahamahopadhyaya. Bhatpara, 24-Parganas.
1-2-26	Durgadas Mukherjee, M.A., *Professor.* 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
2-5-27	N. N. Vasu, Rai Saheb. 20, Visvakosh Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

* Re-elected for a further period of five years on 5-3-1924 under Rule 2c.

† Re-elected for a further period of five years on 7-3-27 under Rule 2c.

ORDINARY FELLOWS.

Date of Election.	
2-2-10	Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt.
2-2-10	T. H. D. La Touche, B.A., F.G.S.
2-2-10	D. C. Phillott, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.
2-2-10	Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc.
2-2-10	Sir E. D. Ross, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D.
7-2-12	Sir J. C. Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
7-2-12	P. J. Brühl, I.S.O., F.G.S., Ph.D., F.C.S.
7-2-12	S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.M.S.
7-2-12	C. S. Middlemiss, C.I.E., B.A., F.G.S., F.R.S.
5-2-13	J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Litt.D.
5-2-13	S. W. Kemp, B.A., D.Sc.
3-2-15	E. D. W. Greig, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.
3-2-15	G. H. Tipper, M.A., F.G.S., M.Inst.M.M.
3-2-15	H. H. Haines, C.I.E., F.C.H., F.L.S.
2-2-16	Sir Richard Burn, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S.

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Date of Election.	
2-2-16	L. L. Fermor, A.R.S.M., D.SC., F.G.S.
7-2-17	F. H. Gravely, D.SC.
6-2-18	J. L. Simonsen, D.SC., F.I.C.
6-2-18	D. McCay, M.D., M.R.C.P., I.M.S.
6-2-18	A. A. Suhrawardy, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D.
5-2-19	J. Coggin Brown, O.B.E., M.I.M.E., F.G.S.
5-2-19	W. A. K. Christie, B.SC., PH.D., M.INST.M.M.
5-2-19	D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., PH.D.
5-2-19	R. B. Seymour Sewell, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S., I.M.S.
2-2-21	U. N. Brahmachari, M.A., PH.D., M.D.
2-2-21	B. L. Chaudhuri, B.A., D.SC., F.L.S., F.R.S.E.
1-2-22	Sir Edwin H. Pascoe, KT., M.A., D.SC., SC.D., F.G.S.
1-2-22	Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A.
7-2-23	S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L.
7-2-23	G. N. Mukhopadhyaya, B.A., M.D.
4-2-25	M. Hidayat Hosain, PH.D.
4-2-25	Guy E. Pilgrim, D.SC., F.G.S.
4-2-25	C. V. Raman, M.A., D.SC., F.R.S.
1-2-26	P. O. Bodding, M.A.
7-2-27	R. Knowles, B A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., I.M.S.
7-2-27	Johan van Manen.
7-2-27	B. Sahni, D.SC.
7-2-27	A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., M.A.

SPECIAL HONORARY CENTENARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
15-1-84	A. H. SAYCE, *Professor of Assyriology, Queen's College.* Oxford, England.
15-1-84	EMILE SENART. 18, Rue François, Paris, France.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Date of Election.	
5-2-96	CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. 9, Farrar Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
6-12-99	SIR EDWIN RAY LANKESTER, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. British Museum (Nat. Hist.), Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
2-3-04	SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., O.M., PH.D., D.LITT., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S. (*retired*). Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
6-9-11	ALFRED WILLIAM ALCOCK, C.I.E., M.B., LL.D., F.R.S. Heathlands, Belvedere, Kent, England.
6-9-11	KAMAKHYANATH TARKAVAGISA, MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA. 111/4, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
5-8-15	SIR JOSEPH JOHN THOMSON, KT., O.M., M.A., SC.D., D.SC., LL.D., PH.D., F.R.S. Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
6-12-16	G. A. BOULENGER, F.R.S., LL.D. Jardin Botanique du L'Etat, Brussels.

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Date of Election.	
2-5-17	HERBERT ALLEN GILES, *Professor.* 10, Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge, England.
5-2-20	THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR CHARLES ELIOT, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L. Beech Hill, Carleton, Skipton-in-Craven, England.
4-2-20	SYLVAIN LEVI. Collège de France, rue Guy-de-la-Brosse 9, Paris, Ve.
4-2-20	SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., D.SC., D.O.L., F.B.A. Srinagar, Kashmir.
4-2-20	A FOUCHER, D.LITT. Boulevard Raspail 286, Paris XVIe.
4-2-20	SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., F.R.C.S., LL.D., F.R.S. Royal College of Surgeons of England, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C. 2.
4-2-20	R. D. OLDHAM, F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.G.S. 1, Broomfield Road, Kew, Surrey, England.
4-2-20	SIR DAVID PRAIN, KT., C.M.G., C.I.E., M.A., M.B., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.R.S., F.Z.S., M.R.I.A. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Surrey, England.
4-2-20	SIR JOSEPH LARMOR, KT., M.P., M.A., D.SC., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. St. John's College, Cambridge, England.
4-2-20	SIR JAMES FRAZER, KT., D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D. Trinity College, Cambridge.
4-2-20	J. TAKAKUSU. Imperial University of Tokio, Japan.
2-3-21	F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E., M.A., PH.D., *Librarian.* India Office Library, Whitehall, London, S.W. 1.
7-6-22	W. H. PERKIN, PH.D., SC.D., LL.D., F.R.S. 5, Charlbury Road, Oxford.
7-6-22	SIR THOMAS HOLLAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., D.SC., F.R.S. Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, London, S.W. 7.
7-6-22	SIR LEONARD ROGERS, KT., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., I.M.S. 24, Cavendish Square, London, 4.
1-11-22	ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D., D.O.L., *Boden Professor of Sanskrit.* University of Oxford, Oxford, England.
7-1-25	STEN KONOW. Ethnographisk Museum, Oslo, Norway.
3-11-25	H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (RETIRED). Pitfold, Shottermill, Surrey, England.
7-3-27	THE RT. HON'BLE THE EARL OF LYTTON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Knebworth, Herts, England.
4-7-27	C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE. Rapenburg 61, Leiden, Holland.
5-12-27	LT.-COL. SIR T. WOLSELEY HAIG, C.M.G. 34, Gledstanes Road, West Kensington, London, W. 14.

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN ABSENT FROM INDIA THREE YEARS AND UPWARDS.*

**Rule* 40.—After the lapse of three years from the date of a member leaving India, if no intimation of his wishes shall, in the interval, have been received by the Society, his name shall be removed from the List of Members.

The following members are liable to removal from the next Member List of the Society under the operation of the above rule:—

1. W. Kirkpatrick. (1910.)
2. Ramaprasad Tripathy. (1917.)

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3. C. U. Wills. (1919.)
4. E. S. Harcourt. (1920.)
5. E. J. Fülep. (1922.)

Loss of Members During 1927.

By Retirement.

Ordinary Members.

1. B. N. Ghosh. (1926.)
2. B. L. Batia. (1926.)
3. Jogendra Nath Mukherjee. (1925.)
4. Asutosh Shastri. (1923.)
5. Mohd. Yusuf Hashimi. (1916.)
6. F. W. Shipway. (1924.)
7. R. H. Whitehouse. (1915.)
8. J. Mein Austin. (1924.)
9. Hridayranjan Sen. (1926.)
10. H. C. Barnes. (1898.)
11. D. N. Basu. (1924.)
12. J. A. Richey. (1926.)
13. Mohendra Nath Goswami. (1926.)
14. Kshitindranath Tagore. (1909.)
15. Ganendra Chandra Ghosh. (1925.)
16. R. H. Richardson. (1925.)
17. J. N. C. Ganguly. (1925.)
18. Nagendra Nath Vasu. (1894.)
19. S. R. Das. (1924.)
20. J. W. Tomb. (1926.)
21. J. J. Asana. (1926.)
22. R. W. G. Hingston. (1924.)
23. Udai Vir Singh Tomar. (1925.)
24. Ram Dev Chokhany. (1926.)
25. T. W Haig. (1892.)
26. S. R. Bose. (1926.)
27. J. S. Gambhir. (1919.)
28. Gurdial Singh Lamba. (1926.)
29. Hiran Kumar Ray-Chaudhuri. (1924.)
30. P. K. Telang. (1921.)
31. J. H. Jennaway. (1925.)
32. Debendra Nath Bose. (1925.)
33. E. L. Norton. (1913.)
34. A. C. Atkinson. (1911.)

By Death.

Ordinary Members.

1. J. D. Nimmo. (1889.)
2. Braja Lal Mukherjee. (1909.)
3. S. K. Bose. (1924.)
4. Hafiz Nazir Ahmed. (1924.)

Under Rule 38.

1. Satyendra Nath Bose. (1917.)
2. Rasik Lal Datta. (1917.)
3. N. P. Panikker. (1920.)

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4. Nares Ch. Sen-Gupta. (1914.)
5. Shyam Narain Singh. (1919.)

Under Rule 40.

1. E. P. Harrison. (1908.)
2. C. J. Hamilton. (1916.)

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MEDALISTS.

ELLIOTT GOLD MEDAL AND CASH.

Recipients.

1893 Chandra Kanta Basu.
1895 Yati Bhusana Bhaduri
1896 Jnan Saran Chakravarti.
1897 Sarasi Lal Sarkar.
1901 Sarasi Lal Sarkar.
1904 Sarasi Lal Sarkar.
1904 Surendra Nath Maitra.
1907 Akshoy Kumar Mazumdar.
1911 Jitendra Nath Rakshit.
1911 Jatindra Mohan Datta.
1913 Rasik Lal Datta.
1913 Saradakanta Ganguly.
1913 Nagendra Chandra Nag.
1913 Nilratan Dhar.
1918 Bibhutibhushan Dutta.
1919 Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh.
1922 Abani Bhusan Datta.
1923 Bhailal M. Amin.
1926 Bidhu Bhusan Ray.
1927 Kalipada Biswas.

BARCLAY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

Recipients.

1901 E. Ernest Green.
1903 Sir Ronald Ross, KT., K.C.B., C.I.E., K.C.M.G., M.R.C.S., F.R.C.S., D.P.H., LL.D., D.SC., M.D., F.R.S.
1905 D. D. Cunningham, C.I.E., F.R.S.
1907 A. W. Alcock, C.I.E., M.B., LL.D., F.R.S.
1909 Sir David Prain, KT., C.I.E., C.M.G., M.A., M.B., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.Z.S., M.R.I.A., F.R.S.
1911 Karl Diener.
1913 William Glen Liston, C.I.E., M.D., D.P.H.,
1915 J. S. Gamble, C.I.E., M.A., F.R.S.
1917 H. H. Godwin-Austen, F.R.S., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.
1919 N. Annandale, C.I.E., D.SC., C.M.Z.S., F.L.S., F.R.S., F.A.S.B.
1921 Sir Leonard Rogers, KT., C.I.E., M.D., B.S., F.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.
1923 S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.B., I.M.S.
1925 J. Stephenson, C.I.E., B.SC., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.E., I.M.S.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ORDINARY MONTHLY MEETINGS, 1927.

JANUARY, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting was held on Monday, the 3rd, at 5-30 P.M.

PRESENT.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Acting President, in the Chair.

Members :

Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Bhaskaraiya, Mr. C.
Bose, Mr. M. M.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
De, Mr. B.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Fleming, Mr. Andrew.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Hosain, Dr. M. Hidayat.
Jain, Mr. Chotelal.
Lindsay, Mr. J. H.
Majumdar, Mr. D. N.
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Miles, Mr. W. H.
Mitter, Mr. B. L.
Mukherjee, Mr. G. N.
Pascoe, Dr. E. H.
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.
Shastri, Mr. H. P.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A. A.

Visitors :

Ghose, Mr. K. N.
Ghose, Mr. N. C.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of twenty-two presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

(1) *Chakravarty, Niranjanprasad*, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Lecturer, Calcutta University ; 4, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.

Proposer : H. K. Deb.
Seconder : Haran Ch. Chakladar.

(2) *Home, Amal*, Editor, "Calcutta Municipal Gazette," C.C. ; 99/1-N, Cornwallis Street, Shambazar, Calcutta.

Proposer : Upendra Nath Brahmachari.
Seconder : M. Hidayat Hosain.

(3) *Bivar, Hugh Godfrey Stuart*, I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 6, Church Lane, Calcutta ; at present Constantia, Kurseong, D.H. Ry.

Proposer : B. L. Mitter.
Seconder : R. B. Seymour Sewell.

(4) *De, Satis Chandra*, M.A., B.L., I.E.S. (retired) ; 11, Ray Street, Elgin Road P.O., Calcutta.

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Proposer: Ramaprasad Chanda.
Seconder: Percy Brown.

(5) *Mohammed, Ghulam*, M.A., LL.B., Indian Audit and Account Service; Officer on Special Duty with the Railway Board, Delhi.

Proposer: N. Barwell.
Seconder: B. L. Mitter.

The General Secretary reported the death of:—

W. B. Kirkwood (An Ordinary Member, 1926).

The General Secretary reported the loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of:—

R. McCarrison (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
B. C. Mazumdar (An Ordinary Member, 1920).
R. S. Venkatrama Iyer (An Ordinary Member, 1925).

The General Secretary reported that the elections of:—

L. P. Mathur (Elected on 1-2-1926),
Wajid Ali Khan Panee (Elected on 7-6-1926),
Karunapada Acharya (Elected on 7-6-1926),
Dwijendra Nath Maitra (Elected on 7-6-1926),
Akshay Kumar Sarkar (Elected on 7-6-1926),
P. Mukerjea (Elected on 5-7-1926),
Md. Shahidullah (Elected on 5-7-1926).
Tarak Nath Mukerjea (Elected on 5-7-1926),
B. R. Nayar (Elected with effect from 6-9-1926) and
B. B. L. Bhatia (Elected with effect from 6-9-1926),

had become null and void, under rule 9.

The following papers were read:—

1. J. H. Hutton.—*A Naga Hills Celt.*
2. J. H. Hutton.—*Some Megalithic Work in the Jaintia Hills.*
3. Jayme Ribeiro.—*The Caves of Sewri.*

The General Secretary exhibited a Tibetan Maṇḍala and a Tibetan Sin-Destroyer, khādaka ḍāka.

The General Secretary reported that His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to the Society on Wednesday, the 22nd December, 1926, when he was formally installed Patron in the presence of the Council Members.

The Chairman announced the results of the ballot for the election of Ordinary Members and declared all the candidates duly elected.

The General Secretary reported that an attempt would be made to arrange for a public lecture by Sir Leonard Rogers in the Society's rooms. If so, due notice would be issued in proper time.

The Chairman announced that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal had consented to be present in the Annual Meeting of the Society to be held on Monday, the 7th February, at 5-30 P.M.

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FEBRUARY, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 7th, immediately after the termination of the Annual Meeting.

PRESENT.

W. A. K. CHRISTIE, ESQ., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

Members :

Chopra, Mr. B. N.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Insch, Mr. Jas.
Knowles, Major R.
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Mitter, Mr. B. L.
Mitter, Mr. Justice D. N.
Mookerjee, Dr. G. N.
Mookerjee, Sir Rajendra Nath
Raman, Dr. C. V.
and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

(6) *Imam, Abu Mohammad Syed Hassan,* Zemindar; Hasnain Manzil, Gaya.

Proposer : M. Hidayat Hosain.
Seconder : S. L. Hora.

(7) *Chatterjee, Ashoke,* B.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Cantab.), Editor, "Welfare;" 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer : Johan van Manen.
Seconder : B. S. Guha.

(8) *Bose, Debendra Mohan,* M.A. (Cal.), B.Sc., (Lond.), Ph.D. (Berlin), Professor of Physics; 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer : J. N. Mukherjee.
Seconder : Sir P. C. Mitter.

(9) *Ghosh, Jnanendra Chandra,* D.Sc., Professor of Chemistry; Dacca University, Dacca.

Proposer : Sir P. C. Mitter.
Seconder : J. N. Mukherjee.

(10) *Captain, Dara Manekshaw,* Merchant; 1, Corporation Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : R. B. Khambata.
Seconder : J. C. Coyajee.

(11) *Claridge, Henry Clifford,* Educationist, Rector, Narkeldanga George High School; 21, The Mall, Dum Dum Cantonments.

Proposer : Ganapati Sircar.
Seconder : Haraprasad Shastri.

(12) *Bhattacharya, D. R.,* M.Sc , Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.M.S., F.Z.S., Head of the Department of Zoology, Allahabad University; 15, George Town, Allahabad.

Proposer : R. B. S. Sewell.
Seconder : S. L. Hora.

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(13) *Ray, Bidhubhusan*, D.Sc., Lecturer in Physics, Calcutta University ; 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer : J. N. Mukherjee.
Seconder : Sir P. C. Mitter.

(14) *Mukherjee, Harendra Nath*, B.Sc., M.B. (Cal.), D.I.C. (Lond.), Medical Practitioner; Biochemical Department, Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, Calcutta.

Proposer : J. N. Mukherjee.
Seconder : Sir P. C. Mitter.

(15) *Ahmad, Mian Mohamad Zahuruddin*, M.A., LL.B., M.D.H., Professor; Lecturer in Philosophy, Islamia College, Hostel 30b, 30c, College Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : M. Hidayat Hosain.
Seconder : Haraprasad Shastri.

The General Secretary reported that the Council recommended the re-election of the following gentlemen as Associate Members of the Society for a further term of five years :

The Rev. Fr. Pierre Johans, S.J.
Vedantabisharad Ananta Krishna Shastri.

The General Secretary reported that the Council recommended the election of His Execellency Lord Lytton as an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

The President announced the results of the ballot for the election of Ordinary Members and declared all candidates duly elected.

—◇—

MARCH, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 7th, at 5-30 P.M.

PRESENT.

W. A. K. CHRISTIE, ESQ., B.Sc., Ph.D., M. Inst. M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

Members :

Barnardo, Lt.-Col. F. A. F.
Bhanot, Mr. K. D.
Bhaskaraiya, Mr. C.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chatterjee, Mr. M. M.
Coyajee, Mr. J. C.
Collet, Mr. A. L.
Deb, Raja Kshitindra
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Dutt, Mr. J. C.
Fermor, Dr. L. L.
Ghose, Mr. T. P.
Ghose, Mr. Justice B. B.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Hobbs, Mr. H.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Koester, Dr. Hans
Law, Dr. S. C.
Lindsay, Mr. J. H.
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Misra, Mr. P. N.
Modi, Mr. R. J. K.
Mookerjee, Mr. S. C.
Rao, Mr. H. S.
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Sohoni, Mr. V. V.
Taraporevala, Mr. I. J. S.
Tipper, Mr. G. H.

and others.

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Visitors:

Malla, Mr. I. S. Malla, Mr. S. P. S.
Singha, Mr. T. B.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt during the past two months of 38 presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for for election as Ordinary Members :—

(16) *Hopkinson, Arthur John,* I.C.S., British Trade Agent, Gyantse and Yatung, Tibet, via Siliguri.
Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: N. Barwell.

(17) *Urquhart, Rev. W. S.,* M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Principal, Scottish Churches College, 3 & 4, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta.
Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(18) *Sarma, Sir B. Narasimha,* K.C.S.I., President, Railway Rates Advisory Committee; 24/1, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
Seconder: Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary.

(19) *Bake, A. A.,* Doctorandus Or. Lit., P.O. Santiniketan.
Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(20) *Rankin, Sir George,* Kt., Chief Justice of Bengal; Bengal Club, Calcutta.
Proposer: Sir C. C. Ghose.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(21) *Dikkers, Frederik Gerhard,* Manager, Holland-Bombay Trading Co., Ld., Holland House, 7, Pollock Street (Post Box No. 65), Calcutta.
Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(22) *Bhandari, Sukhsampathirai,* Author of "Bharatiya Satyata," "Bharat Darshan," etc., 13, Shakkar Bazar, Indore.
Proposer: Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder: M. Hidayat Hosain.

(23) *Mukerjee, N. M.,* M.Sc., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, St. John's College, Agra, U.P.
Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: M. Hidayat Hosain.

(24) *Ghosh, Hari Charan,* M.A., Student, 181/8, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: S. L. Hora.

(25) *Stagg, Major M.,* R.E., Master, H.M. Mint, Calcutta, Strand Road, Calcutta.
Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: G. H. Tipper.

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(26) *Ward, Dorothy (Mrs. R. J. D. Ward)*, c/o. J. Dickinson & Co., Ld., P.O. Box No. 45, Calcutta.

Proposer: J. McPherson.
Seconder: F. Doxey.

(27) *Chakravarti, Byomkes, The Hon. Mr.*, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Minister, 237, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer: Sir C. C. Ghose.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie

(28) *French, Joseph Charles*, Indian Civil Service, Magistrate's House, Jessore.

Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: S. L. Hora.

(29) *Roy, Sachindra Lal*, Occasional writer in magazines, etc., Reapara P.O., Dt. Midnapore.

Proposer: U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder: S. L. Hora.

(30) *Ghosh, Phanindra Nath*, M.A., Ph.D., Sc.D. (Hon.) (Padua), Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics, University of Calcutta; 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer: J. N. Mukherjee.
Seconder: P. C. Mitter.

(31) *Abdul Kadir, A. F. M.*, M.A. (Allahabad), Maulvie Fazil (Punjab), Madrassah Final (Calcutta), Professor, Islamia College, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: M. Hidayat Hosain.
Seconder: M. Mahfuzul Haq.

(32) *Fukushima, Naoshiro*, Assistant in the Sanskrit Seminary, Imperial University, Tokio, Japan.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: Sir C. C. Ghose.

(33) *Wright, Frederic Maitland*, Broker, 2-5, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.

Proposer: N. Barwell.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

The General Secretary reported the loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of:

R. H. Whitehouse (An Ordinary Member, 1915).
J. Mein Austin (An Ordinary Member, 1924).

The General Secretary reported that the election of

Nawab Ahmed Khan (Elected on 1-11-26)

had become null and void, under Rule 9.

The General Secretary reported that the following gentlemen had withdrawn their application for membership in the Society:—

Maulvie Md. Sayid (Elected on 6-12-26).
Narayan Bohidar (Elected on 6-12-26).

The President, in accordance with Rule 13, called for a ballot for the election as an Honorary Fellow of the Society

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of H.E. Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, proposed for election in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the 7th February, 1927.

The President, in accordance with Rules 2 and 13, called for a ballot for the re-election of the following gentlemen as Associate Members of the Society for a period of five years:—

The Rev. Fr. Pierre Johans, S.J.
Vedantabisharad Ananta Krishna Shastri.

The following papers were read:—

1. Satya Churn Law.—*Little noticed Habits of some Birds of the District of 24-Perghanas.*

2. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharjea.—*The Upanishad Texts and their Position in Sruti Literature.*

3. C. W. Gurner.—*Some textual Notes on Asvaghosa's Buddhacharita.*

4. J. P. Mills.—*Folk-stories in Lhota-Naga, in Text and Translation.*

5. Sunder Lal Hora.—*On a peculiar Fishing Implement from the Kangra Valley, Punjab.*

6. Sunder Lal Hora.—*On the Occurrence of the Polyzoon Plumatilla Fruticosa in running Water in the Kangra Valley, Punjab.*

7. Sunder Lal Hora.—*On the Manuscript Drawings of Fish in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

8. M. M. Chatterji.—*A further Study of Bengali Customs; Initiation into Wifehood.*

The following exhibits were shown and commented upon:—

1. W. A. K. Christie.—The Widmanstätten Figures of the Samelia Meteorite.
2. Johan van Manen.—An illuminated Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscript, illustrating the Six Chakras.
3. Johan van Manen.—Three Nepali-Tibetan Images, partly inscribed.

The President announced the results of the ballots for the election of an Honorary Fellow, the re-election of the Associate Members and the election of Ordinary Members and declared all candidates duly elected.

—◇—

APRIL, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 4th, at 5-30 P.M.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

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Members :

Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Dutt, Mr. J. C.
Hobbs, Mr. H.
Jain, Mr. C. L.
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Mookerjee, Mr. P. N.
Sewell, Major R. B. S.
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Varugis, Mr. G
Ward, Mrs. D.
and others.

Visitors :

Biswas, Mr. S. L.

and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of seventeen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

(34) *Helland, Bernhard Alvin*, Bachelor of Arts, Augsburg College (U.S.A.), Bachelor of Divinity, Augsburg Seminary (U.S.A.), Master of Arts, University of Minnesota (U.S.A.), Missionary-Teacher, under appointment as Principal, Kaerabani Boys' Middle English and Guru Training School; Kaerabani, via Dumka, Santal Parganas.

Proposer: P. O. Bodding.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(35) *Suhrawardy*, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Z. R. Z., Judge, High Court; 3, Wellesley 1st Lane, Calcutta.

Proposer: B. L. Mitter.
Seconder: T. P. Ghose.

(36) *Dewick, Rev. Edward Chisholm*, M.A. (Cantab.), National Literature Secretary, Y.M.C.A. of India, Burmah, and Ceylon, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: J. N. C. Ganguly.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(37) *Chetty, R. K. Shanmukham*, M.L.A., Pleader, Coimbatore, (South India); Hawarden Race Course, Coimbatore (Madras Presidency).

Proposer: Ganganand Sinha.
Seconder: Sir C. C. Ghose.

(38) *Bridge, Rev. Peter Gonzalez*, D.D., Principal, St. Paul's College; Clerk in Holy Orders; 33/1, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: J. H. Lindsay.
Seconder: Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

The General Secretary reported the death of :—

Shams-ul-Ulama Hafiz Nazir Ahmed (An Ordinary Member, 1924).

The General Secretary reported the loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of :—

Hridayranjan Sen (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
J. A. Richey (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
H. C. Barnes (An Ordinary Member, 1926).

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The General Secretary reported that

Kanai Lal Sen (Elected on 6-12-26)

had withdrawn his application for membership.

The General Secretary reported that elections of

Nabajiban Banerjee (Elected on 6-12-26),
Amarendra Narayan Ray (Elected on 6-12-26),
Syed Mobinur Rahman (Elected on 6-12-26),
Nirmal Chunder Chunder (Elected on 6-12-26),

had become null and void, under rule 9.

The General Secretary reported receipt of news of the death of F. E. Pargiter, a former President of the Society (1904-5).

The General Secretary reported that the composition of the various committees of the Society for the ensuing year to be as follows :—

Publication Committee .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. Sectional Secretaries. } *Ex-officio.*
Sir C. C. Ghose.

Library Committee .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. Sectional Secretaries. } *Ex-officio.*
Sir C. C. Ghose.
Mr. Percy Brown.

Finance Committee .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. } *Ex-officio.*
Sir R. N. Mookerjee.
MM. H. P. Shastri.
Mr. J. C. Mitra.
Mr. A. R. Bery.

Lease Committee .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. } *Ex-officio.*
Sir C. C. Ghose.
Mr. A. R. Bery.

Insurance Committee .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. } *Ex-officio.*
Mr. N. F. Barwell.
Mr. N. Ottens.

Medal Committees .. President. Treasurer. General Secretary. } *Ex-officio.*
Major R. B. S. Sewell.

The president announced that the Council had decided that in future, Rule No. 3, regarding the reading of papers would be strictly enforced and that papers submitted for publication and reading must be accompanied by an abstract, as brief as

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possible, and in no case exceeding 1200 words, which shall indicate the subject of the paper and the nature of the addition to existing knowledge contained in it.

The President announced that, in accordance with Rules 2 and 13, the Council had proposed for election as an Associate Member of the Society of Mr. N. N. Vasu for the statutory period of five years.

MM. Haraprasad Shastri made a statement concerning the qualifications of the candidate.

The following papers were read :—

1. H. C. Das-Gupta.—*A few types of Indian Sedentary Games.*

2. B. Chopra.—*A Note on the Fish Mortality in the Indaw River in Upper Burmah.*

3. Promotho Nath Misra.—*Lakshman Samvat.*

4. A. A. Bake.—*Java and Bali, a Branch of Hindu Culture.*

The following exhibit was shown and commented upon :—

1. H. C. Das-Gupta.—A few Rock-sections showing the true nature of a Rajmahal intertrappean Band.

The President announced the results of the ballot for the election of Ordinary Members and declared all candidates duly elected.

The President announced that a meeting of the Medical Section would be held on the 11th of the month.

—◇—

MAY, 1927.

An ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 2nd, at 5-30 P.M.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

Members :

Bose, Mr. M. M.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Chaudhuri, Mr. J.
Cleghorn, Miss M. L.
Collet, Mr. A. L.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Fermor, Dr. L. L.
Galstaun, Dr. G.
Guha, Dr. B. S.
Insch, Mr. Jas.
Jain, Mr. C. L
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Mirza, Mr. M. B.
Mukherjee, Mr. D.
Prashad, Dr. Baini.
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.
Sewell, Major R. B. S.
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Ward, Mrs. R. J. D.

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Visitors:

Coulson, Mr. A. L.
Cleghorn, Miss O.
Insch, Mrs. Jas.
Menothi, Mr. M.
and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of fourteen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members:—

(39) *Feegrade, E. S.*, Indian Medical Department, Special Malaria Officer, Burma; Sir Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health, 2, Theatre Road, Rangoon.

Proposer: H. Srinivasa Rao.
Seconder: B. N. Chopra.

(40) *Hürlimann, Martin*, Dr. Phil., Sihlberg, Zurich, 2, Switzerland.

Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(41) *Beerli, H.*, Merchant, c/o Volkart Bros., 5, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(42) *Clegg, Edward Leslie Gilbert*, B.Sc., Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: G. H. Tipper.

(43) *Watson, Alfred Henry*, Journalist, Editor "Statesman;" 9, Roy Mansions, Calcutta.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of:—

D. N. Basu (An Ordinary Member, 1924).
M. N. Goswami (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
Kshitindra Nath Tagore (An Ordinary Member, 1909).
Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh (An Ordinary Member, 1925).
R. H. Richardson (An Ordinary Member, 1925).

The General Secretary reported that

Amal Home (Elected on 3-1-27),

had withdrawn his application for membership.

The General Secretary reported that in accordance with Rules 37 and 38, the names of the following members would be suspended as defaulters within the Society's building for a month to be removed from the Society for non-payment unless the amount due be paid before the next Monthly Meeting:—

Satyendra Nath Mitra (1917).
Rasik Lal Datta (1917).

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N. Padmanabha Panikker (1920).
Nares Ch. Sen-Gupta (1914).
Shyam Narain Singh (1919).

The General Secretary reported that in accordance with Rule 40, the names of the following members would be removed from the next member list of the Society :—

E. P. Harrison (1908).
C. J. Hamilton (1916).

The General Secretary reported that a letter and notice had been received from the Assistant Secretary, Numismatic Society of India, Lucknow, regarding a silver medal essay for 1927 on "The Monetary System of India at the time of the Muhammedan Conquest (circa 1200 A.D.) as illustrated by known coins, literature and inscriptions."

The General Secretary reported the receipt of a gift to the Society from Count K. Ohtani of a manuscript-reproduction camera. The gift had been accepted by Council who had conveyed thanks to the donor.

The General Secretary reported that in accordance with Rule 45, the Council submit for confirmation to the meeting, the following change in the constitution of the Council made in one of the Council Meetings held since the last Ordinary Monthly Meeting :—

Treasurer :—Dr. Baini Prashad, *vice* Dr. S. L. Hora, *resigned.*

The appointment was confirmed.

The President, in accordance with Rules 2 and 3, called for a ballot for the election as an Associate Member of the Society of Mr. N. N. Vasu, proposed for election in the Monthly Meeting of 4th April, 1927.

The following exhibit was shown and commented upon :—

1. R. B. Seymour Sewell.—Primitive forms of Apparatus for obtaining fire and various types of lamps used in India, past and present.

The President announced the results of the ballots for the election of Ordinary Members and an Associate Member and declared all candidates duly elected.

—◇—

JUNE, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 6th, at 5-30 P.M.

Present:

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

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Members :

Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Hosain, Dr. M. Hidayat
Prashad, Dr. Baini
Sewell, Major R. B. S.
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Stagg, Major M.
Ward, Mrs. D.
Wright, Mr. F. M.

and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of seventeen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

(44) *Coulson, Arthur Lennox*, M.Sc. (Melb.), D.I.C. (Lond.), F.G.S., Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: L. L. Fermor.

(45) *Nandi, Maharaj-Kumar Sris Chandra*, M.A., Zemindar, 302, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Proposer: R. D. Banerji.
Seconder: M. Hidayat Hosain.

(46) *Jain, Baldeodass*, Merchant and Banker, 21, Armenian Street Calcutta.

Proposer: C. L. Jain.
Seconder: Johan van Manen.

(47) *Keelan, Douglas Hugh*, V.D., Chief Commercial Manager, E.I.Ry. United Service Club, Calcutta.

Proposer: N. Barwell.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(48) *Staples, Edward Henry*, Broker, 3, Auckland Place, Calcutta.

Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: L. L. Fermor.

(49) *Sinha, Sheonandan Prasad*, M.B., Civil Assistant Surgeon, Curator of the Museum, Patna Medical College, P.O. Mahendru, Patna.

Proposer: Baini Prashad.
Seconder: R. B. S. Sewell.

(50) *James, Frederick Ernest*, General Secretary, Y.M.C.A., 25, Cowringhee, Calcutta.

Proposer: N. Barwell.
Seconder: Baini Prashad.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of :—

J. N. C. Ganguli (An Ordinary Member, 1925).
N. N. Vasu (An Ordinary Member, 1894—Elected Associate Member in May, 1927).

The General Secretary reported that the election of

H. C. Claridge (Elected on 17-2-27),

had become null and void, under Rule 9.

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The General Secretary reported that in accordance with Rules 37 and 38, the names of the following members announced at the last Monthly Meeting had since been suspended as defaulters and had now been removed from the Society for non-payment :—

Satyendra Nath Mitra (1917).
Rasik Lal Dutta (1917).
N. Padmanabha Panikker (1920).
Nares Ch. Sen-Gupta (1914).
Shyam Narain Singh (1919).

MM. Haraprasad Shastri read an obituary notice of Mr. F. E. Pargiter. (See page clxiv.)

Mr. Justice C. C. Ghose, Kt., related some personal reminiscences of Mr. Pargiter.

A resolution of condolence was passed, the members standing.

The president announced that, in conformity with Rules 2 and 13, the Council proposed Prof C. Snouck Hurgronje for election as an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

Dr. M. Hidayat Hosain, in accordance with Rule 13, stated the grounds on which the recommended election was desirable.

The following papers were read :—

1. D. C. Chatterjee.—*The Yogavataropadesa. A Mahayana treatise on Yoga by Dharmendra in its Tibetan version with Sanskrit Restoration and English Translation.* (Communicated by MM. H. P. Shastri.)

2. Baini Prashad.—*On the Dates of Publication of P. M. Heude's Memoirs on the Molluscs of China.*

3. Baini Prashad.—*On the Dates of Publication of Hanley and Theobald's Conchologia Indica.*

4. S. L. Hora.—*An Albino Magur—Clariasbatrachus (Linn.).*

The President announced the result of the ballots for the election of Ordinary Members and declared all candidates duly elected.

—◇—

JULY, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 4th, at 5-30 P.M.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

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Members:

Bose, Mr. M. M.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Captain, Mr. D. M.
Chaudhuri, Dr. B. L.
Coyajee, Prof. J. C.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
De, Mr. B.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Hora, Mr. S. L.
Hosain, Dr. M. Hidayat
Huq, Mr. M. Mahfuzul
Khan, Mr. R. R.
Mehta, Mr. R. D.
Prashad, Dr. Baini
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Stagg, Major M.
Sohoni, Mr. V. V.
Taraporevala, Mr. I. J. S.
Ward, Mrs. D.

and others.

Visitor:

Bilimoria, Mr. D. R.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of sixteen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members:—

(51) *Chatterjee, Patitpabon*, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, 84, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

Proposer: R. P. Mukhopadhyay.
Seconder: S. Khuda Bukhsh.

(52) *Chakravarti, Chintaharan*, M.A., Hon. Assistant Secretary, Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shambazar, Calcutta.

Proposer: N. G. Majumdar.
Seconder: H. K. Deb.

(53) *Maitra, Jogendra Nath*, M.Sc., M.B., Medical Practitioner, 58-A, Colootollah Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: J. N. Maitra.
Seconder: H. C. Ray.

(54) *Vance, R. L.*, M.B., Major, Indian Medical Service, Gyantse, Tibet.

Proposer: W. A. K. Christie.
Seconder: R. B. S. Sewell.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the last month by resignation of:—

J. W. Tomb (An Ordinary Member, 1926).

The General Secretary reported that the elections of

Sukhsampathirai Bhandari (Elected on 7-3-27),
M. M. Mukherjee (Elected on 7-3-27),
Sachindra Lal Ray (Elected on 7-3-29),

had become null and void, under Rule 9.

The President, in conformity with Rules 2 and 13, called for a ballot for the election as an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, proposed for election in the last Ordinary Monthly Meeting.

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The following paper was read :—

1. J. C. Coyajee.—*The supposed Sculpture of Zoroaster on the Taki-i-Bostan.*

The following exhibit was shown and commented upon :—

1. Baini Prashad.—Early Conchological Literature.

(*a*) Description exacte des principales curiositez naturelles du magnifique cabinet D'Albert Seba, Vols. 1 to 4, Amsterdam, 1735.

(*b*) Choix de coquillages et de crustacés, by F. M. Regenfuss. Copenhagen, 1758.

(*c*) Testacea Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis, by Ignatius a Born. Vienna, 1780.

(*d*) Historiae conchyliorum, by Martin Lister, London, 1685.

(*e*) Exercitatio anatomica, by Martin Lister, London, 1695.

The President announced the results of the ballots for the election of Ordinary Members and an Honorary Fellow and declared all candidates duly elected.

AUGUST, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 1st, at 5·30 P.M.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

Members :

Chatterjee, Mr. Patit Pabon
Collet, Mr. A. L.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Ghose, Mr. Justice C. C., Kt.
Ghose, Mr. T. P.
Guha, Dr. B. S.
Gupta, Mr. S. N.
Hora, Dr. S. L.
Insch, Mr. Jas.
Jain, Mr. C. L.
James, Mr. J. Langford
Prashad, Dr. Baini
Rao, Mr. M. Vinayak
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Stagg, Major M.
Ward, Mrs. D.
and others.

Visitors :

Insch, Mrs. Jas.
Sankey, Mr. A. R.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary announced that H.E. The Governor of Bengal had accepted the Joint-Patronship of the Society.

The General Secretary reported receipt of seventeen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidate was balloted for as an Ordinary Member :—

(55) *Grimes*, The Ven'ble *Cecil John*, (Archdeacon of Calcutta), The Parsonage, Darjeeling, or 6, Esplanade Row (East), Calcutta.

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Proposer: N. F. Barwell.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

The General Secretary reported the deaths of:

Sudhindra Kumar Bose (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
J. D. Nimmo (A Life Member, 1889).

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of:—

J. J. Asana (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
R. W. G. Hingston (An Ordinary Member, 1924).

The President announced that in accordance with Rule 45, the Council submitted to the meeting for confirmation the following change in the composition of the Council made at the Council meeting on July 25th, 1927.

Natural History Secretary (Biology):—Dr. S. L. Hora, *vice* Major R. B. S. Sewell, *resigned.*

The appointment was confirmed.

The following papers were read:—

1. S. L. Hora.—*On a Goat employed as "Scape-Goat" in the Bilaspore District, Central Provinces, (India).*

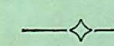
2. Sir George A. Grierson.—*The Language of the Maha-Naya-Prakasa.*

Dr. Baini Prashad exhibited a number of Zoological Books, and gave a description of them.

The President announced the result of the ballot for the election of the Ordinary Member and declared the candidate duly elected.

The President announced that unless special notice would be given there would be no Ordinary Monthly Meetings during the recess months of September and October.

The President drew attention of the Members to the bust of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee installed in the hall.



NOVEMBER, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 7th, at 5-30 P.M.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

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Members :

Agharkar, Dr. S. P.
Banerji, Mr. R. D.
Barwell, Lt.-Col. N. F.
Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chanda, Rai Bahadur R. P.
Chatterjee, Mr. Patit Pabon
Collenberg, Baron Rudt von
Collet, Mr. A. L.
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Fermor, Dr. L. L.
Ghose, Mr. Justice B. B.
Guha, Dr. B. S.
Hobbs, Mr. H.
Hosain, Dr. M. Hidayat
Ivanow, Mr. W.
Miles, Mr. W. H.
Mitter, Mr. B. P. D.
Mookerji, Mr. S. C.
Mukherjee, Mr. D.
Sarvadhikary, Sir D. P.
Sewell, Lt.-Col. R. B. S.
Shastri, MM. H. P.
Stagg, Major M.
Stapleton, Mr. H. E.
Suhrawardy, Mr. Justice Z. R. Z., Kt.
Ward, Mrs. D.
and others.

Visitors :

Ghosal, Dr. U. N.
Vickers, Mrs.
and others

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of fifty-three presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The General Secretary reported that the following candidates had been elected Ordinary Members during the recess months, September and October, under Rule 7 :—

(56) *Das, Dhirendra Kumar*, B.A., B.L., Pleader, 10/1, Bipradas Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : N. F. Barwell.
Seconder : T. B. Jameson.

(57) *Tarkatirtha, Bimalananda*, Kabiraj, Punditbhusan, Byakaranatirtha, 90/3, Grey Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder : N. N. Law.

(58) *Vyasa, Pundit Gauri Sankar Prasad*, Headmaster, M.E. School, Indargarh Raj.

Proposer : Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder : Baini Prashad.

(59) *Ghosh, Debendra Nath*, M.B., Medical Practitioner, 1/1, Gour Laha Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder : W. A. K. Christie.

(60) *Mukherji, Devaprosanna*, M.A., B.L., Zemindar, Burdwan.
Proposer : U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder : W. A. K. Christie.

(61) *Fitzgerald, T. J.*, Manager, U.S. Rubber Export Co., 5, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

Proposer : G. T. Labey.
Seconder : W. A. K. Christie.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members :—

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(62) *Rajguru, Satyanarayan*, Rajguru Street, P.O. Parlakimedi, District Ganjam.
Proposer : Haraprasad Shastri.
Seconder : Baini Prashad.

(63) *Brahmachary, Sarat Ch.*, Rai Saheb, M.A., B.T., Superintendent, Normal Training School, Hughli.
Proposer : U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder : W. A. K. Christie.

(64) *De, P. C.*, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Hughli.
Proposer : U. N. Brahmachari.
Seconder : W. A. K. Christie.

The General Secretary reported the death of :

Brajalal Mukherjee (An Ordinary Member, 1909).

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of :—

Udai Vir Singh Tomar (An Ordinary Member, 1925).
S. R. Das (An Ordinary Member, 1924).
Ram Deo Chokhany (An Ordinary Member, 1926).
Sir T. W. Haig (An Ordinary Member, 1892).
S. R. Bose (An Associate Member, 1921 ; An Ordinary Member, 1926).

The General Secretary reported that the election of

H. Beerli (Elected on 1-5-27),

had become null and void, under Rule 9.

The General Secretary reported that notices from the Honorary Secretary, K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute, had been received regarding two prize essays.

The President announced that, in accordance with Rule 48A, the Council, since the last Monthly Meeting, (26th September, 1927) had passed a revised set of Regulations regarding the award of the Barclay Memorial Medal and a set of Regulations regarding the award of the Annandale Memorial and the Sir William Jones Medals, as follows :—

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE AWARD OF THE BARCLAY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

On 9th December, 1895, Surgeon-Major Gerald Bomford, on behalf of the Surgeon-General with the Government of India, representing the donors of the Barclay Memorial Fund, offered to make over to the Society a die and a sum of money to create an endowment for the award of a medal in memory of Surgeon-Major Arthur Barclay. The Surgeon-General suggested that the medal should be awarded for scientific research in India. Arthur Barclay was a member of the Asiatic Society from 1882 till his death in 1891, at the age of 39, and a valued contributor on botanical subjects to its "Journal."

The Council of the Society framed certain regulations for the award of the medal which have been amended from time to time.[1]

The following are the revised regulations for the award of the medal :—

(1) The Medal shall be awarded each alternate year at the Ordinary Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February.

[1] 27th February, 1896 ; 29th August, 1917 ; 26th September, 1927.

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(2) The Medal shall be bestowed on that person, who, in the opinion of the Council, has made the most important contribution to Medical or Biological Science with special reference to India.

(3) The Council shall, at its meeting preceding the Monthly General Meeting in November, appoint an Advisory Board consisting of five members.

(4) The Advisory Board shall be termed "The Barclay Memorial Medal Advisory Board." This shall include the Biological Secretary and the Medical Secretary. The Board shall appoint a Chairman from amongst its members who shall have a casting vote (in addition to his own vote) in the event of the number of votes being equally divided.

(5) The General Secretary shall call a meeting of the Advisory Board on the first convenient date subsequent to the first Monday of December at the same time requesting members to bring with them to the meeting detailed statement of the work or attainments of such candidates as they may wish to propose. The General Secretary shall also place before the Board for consideration detailed statements of the work or attainments of any other candidate submitted by any Fellow of the Society. The Board shall make such arrangements as may be necessary for the selection of a name to be submitted to the Council at their January meeting.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE AWARD OF THE ANNANDALE MEMORIAL MEDAL.

In April, 1924, the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal started a fund called the Annandale Memorial Fund to perpetuate the memory of Dr. N. Annandale, F.R.S., who was President of the Society in the year 1923 and died on 10th April, 1924. The Council resolved to award triennially a gold medal for anthropological work in Asia. It also resolved that, when the annual income from the fund, after payment of the cost of the medal, reached Rs. 250, this should be utilised for a biennial "Annandale Anthropological Lectureship."

The Council made the following regulations for the award of the medal :—

(1) The Medal shall be awarded every three years at the Ordinary Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in February.

(2) The Medal shall be bestowed on that person who, in the opinion of the Council, has made the most important contribution to the study of anthropology in Asia.

(3) The Council shall, at its meeting preceding the Monthly General Meeting in November, appoint an Advisory Board consisting of four members.

(4) The Advisory Board shall be termed "The Annandale Memorial Medal Advisory Board." This shall include the Anthropological Secretary, the Biological Secretary and the Medical Secretary. The Board shall appoint a Chairman from amongst its members who shall have a casting vote (in addition to his own vote) in the event of the number of votes being equally divided.

(5) The General Secretary shall call a meeting of the Advisory Board on the first convenient date subsequent to the first Monday of December, at the same time requesting members to bring

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with them to the Meeting detailed statements of the work or attainments of such candidates as they may wish to propose. The General Secretary shall also place before the Board for consideration detailed statements of the work or attainments of any other candidate submitted by any Fellow of the Society. The Board shall make such arrangements as may be necessary for the selection of a name to be submitted to the Council at its January meeting.

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE AWARD OF THE SIR WILLIAM JONES GOLD MEDAL.

In April, 1926, Dr. Upendra Nath Brahmachari, Rai Bahadur, acting President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made over to the Society 3½% Government promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 (together with the interest then accruing therefrom) for the purpose of creating an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal in memory of the Founder of the Society on the following terms:

(*a*) The medal to be called "The Sir William Jones Gold Medal" and

(*b*) The medal to be awarded alternately for the most eminent work in advancing the objects of the Society in one of the two divisions of knowledge, namely (1) Science including Medicine, and (2) Philosophy, Literature and History.

The objects of the Society are described in the language of the Founder: "The bounds of its investigations will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature."

The Council of the Society had made the following regulations for the award of the medal:

(1) The Medal shall be awarded annually at the Ordinary Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February.

(2) The Medal shall be bestowed on that person, whose work in the opinion of the Council best statisfies the conditions laid down above.

(3) The Council shall, at its meeting preceding the Monthly General Meeting in November, appoint an Advisory Board consisting of five members.

(4) The Advisory Board shall be termed "The Sir William Jones Medal Advisory Board." In those years in which the Medal is for Science and Medicine, the Advisory Board shall include (*a*) The Natural History Secretary, (*b*) The Physical Science Secretary, (*c*) The Anthropological Secretary, (*d*) The Medical Secretary. In those years in which the Medal is for Philosophy, Literature and History, it shall include (*a*) The Philological Secretary, (*b*) The Joint Philological Secretary. The Board shall appoint a Chairman from amongst its members who shall have a casting vote (in addition to his own vote) in the event of the number of votes being equally divided.

(5) The General Secretary shall call a meeting of the Advisory Board on the first convenient date subsequent to the first Monday of December, at the same time requesting members to bring with them to the meeting detailed statements of the work or attainments of such candidates as they may wish to propose. The General Secretary shall also place before the Board for consideration detailed statements of the work or attainments

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of any other candidate submitted by any Fellow of the Society. The Board shall make such arrangements as may be necessary for the selection of a name to be submitted to the Council at its January meeting.

The President announced that, in accordance with Rule 45, the Council submitted for confirmation to the meeting, the following change in the composition of the Council made at a Council Meeting since the last Ordinary Monthly Meeting:

Natural History Secretary (Biology) :—Lt.-Col. R. B. S. Sewell, *vice* Dr. S. L. Hora, *resigned.*

The appointment was confirmed.

The President announced that, in accordance with Rules 2 and 13, the Council proposed the election of Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig as an Honorary Fellow of the Society.

Dr. M. Hidayat Hosain stated the grounds on which the recommended election was desirable.

The following papers were read:—

1. H. Bruce Hannah.—*Indian Origins.*
2. W. Ivanow.—*Notes on Khorasani Kurdish.*
3. Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks.—*The Khyber Hazari.*
4. R. D. Banerji.—*The Indian Affinities of Ainu Potteries.*
5. D. N. Majumdar.—*A few Types of Ho Songs.*
6. C. J. George.—*South Indian Aphididae.*

The President announced the results of the ballot for the election of Ordinary Members and declared all candidates duly elected.

The President announced that two public lectures had been arranged to be held during the month, as follows:

1. Rev. A. C. Ridsdale on "Celestial Orbits," on the 9th.
2. Mr. O. C. Gangoly on "Moghul Painting," on the 22nd.

—◇—

DECEMBER, 1927.

An Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 5th, at 5-30 p.m.

Present.

W. A. K. Christie, Esq., B.Sc., Ph.D., M.Inst.M.M., F.A.S.B., President, in the Chair.

Members:

Banerji, Mr. R. D.
Brahmachari, Dr. U. N.
Chatterji, Mr. Patit Pabon
Das-Gupta, Mr. H. C.

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De, Mr. B.
Deb, Mr. H. K.
Deb, Kshitindra Nath
Ghose, Mr. Justice B. B.
Dikkers, Mr. F. G.
Dikshit, Mr. K. N.
Gangoly, Mr. O. C.
Guha, Dr. B. S.
Hobbs. Mr. H.
Hosain, Dr. M. Hidayat
Jain, Mr. C. L.
Kramrisch, Dr. Stella
Lindsay, Mr. J. H.
Manen, Mr. Johan van
Mitter, Mr. B. P. D.
Mookerji, Dr. S. C.
Ottens, Mr. N.
Prashad, Dr. Baini
Ray, Mr. Sasadhar
Stagg, Major M.
and others.

Visitors :

Basu, Mr. S. K.
Das, Mr. S. R.
Gupta, Mr. S. N.
Mookerji, Mr. P. N.
Sarkar, Mr. B. N.
Weigel, Dr. P.
and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The General Secretary reported receipt of eighteen presentations of books, etc., which had been placed on the table for inspection.

The following candidates were balloted for as Ordinary Members:—

(65) *Kosier St. Ljubomir*, Doctor of Political Sciences and Professor; Member of the Economical Committee; Delegate and former Chief of the State Delegation of Jugoslavia; Berlin-Charlottenburg, Niebuhrstrasse 65, Germany.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(66) *Peddie, James*, Indian Civil Service, Collector, Malda, N. Bengal.

Proposer: N. F. Barwell.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(67) *Ghosh, Kisor*, M.Sc., Solicitor, 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: M. M. Chatterji.
Seconder: Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary.

(68) *Tritton, Arthur Stanley*, M.A., D.Litt., Professor, Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.

Proposer: A. H. Harley.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(69) *Mukerjee, Susil Kumar*, F.R.C.S. (Edin.), D.O. (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), Ophthalmic Surgeon, Carmichael Medical College Hospitals; 13, Kyd Street, Calcutta.

Proposer: R. D. Banerji.
Seconder: H. P. Shastri.

(70) *Namgyal, H. H. Maharaja Sir Tashi*, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Sikkim, Gangtok, Sikkim.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

(71) *Dechhen, H. H. Maharani Kunzang*, Maharani of Sikkim, Gangtok, Sikkim.

Proposer: Johan van Manen.
Seconder: W. A. K. Christie.

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(72) *Chowdhury, Chhajuram,* C.I.E., M.L.C., 21, Belvedere Road, Calcutta.

Proposer : Chhotelal Jain.
Seconder : B. M. Barua.

The General Secretary reported the following loss of membership during the previous month by resignation of :

J. S. Gambhir (An Ordinary Member, 1919).
P. K. Telang (An Ordinary Member, 1924).
J. H. Jennaway (An Ordinary Member, 1925).

The President, in accordance with Rules 2 and 13, called for a ballot for the election as an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig, proposed for election in the last Monthly Meeting.

The following papers were read :—

1. S. R. Das.—*Precession, Nutation and Libration of the Equinoxes in Hindu Astronomy.*

2. R. D. Banerji.—*The Palæography of the Hathi Gumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions.*

The following exhibit was shown and commented upon :—

1. Johan van Manen.—A collection of Tibetan Banners.

The President announced the results of the ballots for the election of Ordinary Members and an Honorary Fellow and declared all candidates duly elected.

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OBITUARY NOTICES.

Brajalal Mukerjee.

(?—1927.)

Mr. Brajalal Mukerjee, one of our Calcutta members, who died during the year, joined the Society early in 1909. He was an unassuming, modest man whose private inclinations were directed towards the study of Hinduism and its distant roots, but whose worldly circumstances forced him to earn a living, for which he chose the career of a lawyer. In the midst of his practical occupations he found constant satisfaction in devoting his leisure to a study of the Vedas and their problems. We owe him a few contributions to our *Journal* on the subject, most of which date from shortly before his death, at the comparatively young age of under 50 years. Mr. Mukerjee was a regular frequenter of our Library, an enthusiast for all Vedic lore, a kind-hearted and affable personality, and a zealous member of the Society. We deplore his departure from amongst us, and we regret that he has not been spared until his time of leisure and retirement from business avocations, as most certainly it was in him to produce some valuable work as an outcome of his knowledge and loving devotion to the study of his ancestral faith in its older aspects.

Johan van Manen.

J. D. Nimmo.

(1861—1925.)

In Mr. Nimmo the Society lost an old member representative of the class of business men who, though not specialists in scientific research, have supported the Society since its inception and have constituted a valued element in its membership. Mr. Nimmo joined in 1889 and was a life-member, one of the veterans in our ranks. It behoves us to salute the memory of such veterans and to express our appreciation of their support of our labours. The following biographical details have been kindly furnished by our life-member, Mr. Jas. Insch.

Mr. Nimmo was born at Abercorn, West Lothian, Scotland, in 1861 and came out to India in 1883. He joined the Society six years later and held a record of nearly forty years' membership at the time of his death. From 1893 to 1906 he was Senior Resident Partner in the firm of Messrs. Duncan Brothers

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& Co., Calcutta. In 1905-06 he was Vice-President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Council. In 1906 he retired from India to become a partner of Messrs. Walter Duncan & Co., Glasgow. During 1920–25 he was Senior Partner of Messrs. Walter Duncan & Co., London and Glasgow. For some years prior to his death, which took place at Nairobi, East Africa, on the 25th April 1925, Mr. Nimmo was a Director of the National Bank of India, Ltd.

JOHAN VAN MANEN.

F. E. PARGITER.

(1852—1927.)

I met Mr. Pargiter for the first time in Calcutta in 1884 when he was Joint Magistrate of Alipore. At that time he was Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and already had a wide knowledge of Sanskrit and of Indian subjects generally. Shortly afterwards he chose the judicial side of the Indian Civil Service, not only to avoid the worry and anxiety of the executive side, but to have leisure for his favourite study, Sanskrit. After many transfers he eventually came to Calcutta as a judge at Alipore and was soon transferred to the High Court. He had a high reputation as a judicial officer and he was always careful and considerate.

In the eighties of the last century Markandeya was perhaps the only Purana which had a reasonably good edition and Mr. Pargiter undertook its translation early in his career in India. He persevered with the work for many years and had the satisfaction of seeing it finished before he left India in 1906. His translation of the Markandeya Purana is a lasting monument to his industry. His notes are always valuable and always informing, and his preface is a gem in Indological Literature. He was at first disposed to place the Chandi—a part of the Markandeya—in the twelfth century A.D. and he asked me if I approved of his idea. I showed him a note of mine on a MS. of Chandi written in 998 A.D. copied by a Buddhist monk for recitation at a Buddhist Vihara. Then he asked me to see if the date could be pushed further back. I showed him a work entitled Chandika Sataka by Bana written about 620 A.D. which has many features in common with Markandeya Chandi. His last verdict about the age of Markandeya, as given in his preface, is that it is not later than the first century A.D., but he told me that he would not hesitate to put it in the 5th century B.C. under certain circumstances.

He wrote a number of papers in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the identification of places in the ancient literature of India and they can still be read with profit. These

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papers all relate to Central India where he thought some of the Puranas were composed.

After his retirement from India he returned to his alma mater, Oxford.

He joined the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and never relaxed his study of Indian subjects. In England he deciphered several inscriptions, four of which, denounced as forgeries, he proved to be genuine. His work on the dynasties of the Kaliyuga era is a remarkable one. It pushed back the history of Indian civilization by nearly a thousand years. His theory, or rather the facts on which he founded it, did not make any impression in Europe, where most of the scholars were sceptical. Some looked upon it in a patronising spirit and others tried to damn it with faint praise. But in India it was warmly received

His last work on the reliability of Indian tradition goes deep into the Vedic period of Indian History. Pargiter never dogmatised. In matters of Vedic research he always depended on those whom he knew to be experts and built his theories on the facts they established.

He always took a personal interest in the affairs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He served it in various capacities, as Secretary, as Vice-President, as President.

The Asiatic Society always valued his services highly and deeply regrets the loss to Oriental scholarship that his death entails.

HARAPRASAD SHASTRI.

(*Read in the Ordinary Monthly Meeting, 6th June, 1927.*)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEDICAL SECTION MEETINGS, 1927.

MARCH, 1927.

A meeting of the Medical Section of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on Monday, the 14th, at 6 P.M.

PRESENT.

MAJOR R. KNOWLES, I.M.S., in the chair.

Members :

Barnardo, Lt.-Col. F.A.F.
Banerjee, Dr. M. M.
Ghosh, Dr. J. P.
Hodge, Major E. H. V.
Mitter, Mr. B. P. D.
Ottens, Mr. N.
Sen, Dr. A.
Stapleton, Miss G.

Visitors :

Ali, Dr. Nawab
Banerjee, Dr. B. N.
Bannerji, Dr. K. G.
Basu, Dr. U. P.
Campbell, Dr. H. M.
Chakravarti, Dr. B. M.
Chari, Dr. P. S. N.
Chaudhuri, Dr. A.
Das, Dr. B.
Fischer, Dr. D. Y.
Gupta, Dr. U. M.
Haque, Dr. A. E.
Harsh, Dr. A. N.
Jabba, Dr. A.
Khan, Dr. G.
Lehn, Dr. D.
Leno, Dr. A.
Mazul, Dr. A. S.
Morton, Dr. A.
Panja, Dr. D.
Panja, Dr. G.
Rajmai, Dr. S. N.
Rao, Dr. Sundar.
Salam, Dr. A.
Sen, Dr. P. N.
Sinha, Dr. S. K.
Saderst, Dr. H. R.
Trivedi, Dr. B. L.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.E., read a paper on "Difficulties in the early Diagnosis of the Typhoid group of Fevers."

After a vote of thanks to Col. Barnardo, the meeting terminated at 7-40 P.M.

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NOTICE.

The **Journal and Proceedings** of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, is a continuation of the following three periodicals published by the Society :

Asiatic Researches, I–XX, 1788–1839.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–LXXIII, 1832–1904.
Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–XL, 1865–1904.

The **Journal and Proceedings**, New Series, amalgamates in a single periodical the previously separate **Journal** and **Proceedings**. The New Series was begun in 1905.

The annual volumes are published in numbers of irregular thickness, and at irregular intervals. The contents embrace equally scientific and literary subjects.

The size of a volume is about 800 pages text with 12 plates, maps, tables, not in the text. Additional plates, maps, etc., count each as a forme of 16 pages text.

Annual subscriptions for current volumes are accepted, if paid for in advance, at the rate of Rs. 24 per volume, free of postage. Completed volumes are obtainable at a flat rate of Rs. 24, postage extra.

Single numbers are charged for at the rate of 6 annas for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and for each plate, map, table, etc., not in the text, postage extra.

Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal receive the current numbers of the **Journal and Proceedings** gratuitously, by virtue of their membership, and, if ordering back issues direct from the Society, have a right to a discount of 25% on their prices.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal publishes also :

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, since 1905.
Bibliotheca Indica, a series of Oriental Works, since 1849.
Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress, since 1914.
Catalogues of Manuscripts.
Numismatic Supplements.
Separate reprints of single articles in the **Journal and Proceedings**.
Miscellaneous publications.

The publications, information about them, and price lists giving details, are obtainable, on application, from the Society or its Agents.

A number of complete volumes or loose numbers of the older periodicals of the Society are still available for sale.

Revised prices loose numbers "Journal and Proceedings."

All previous prices as printed on the issues of back numbers of the "Journal and Proceedings" of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have been cancelled from May, 1923.

Loose numbers will in future, until further notice, be sold at the fixed rate of six annas per unit.

Units are calculated on the basis of one for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and one for each plate, table, or map not in the text, contained in any number.

All old sterling equivalents cancelled. Postage extra.

Obtainable from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, Park Street, Calcutta, or from the Society's Agents :—

Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.
M. Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris, VIe.
Buchhandlung Otto Harrassowitz, 14, Querstrasse, Leipzig.
Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., 3, Esplanade, East, Calcutta.

Residents of Europe should order from the local Agents.

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Numismatic Supplement for 1928.

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Numismatic Supplement No. XLI.

[for 1928]

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NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XLI.

ARTICLES 277–282.

Continued from "Journal and Proceedings," Vol. XXIII, New Series, No. 4.

277. SITĀRĀMI GOLD COINS OR MEDALS.

In July last, through the kindness of Mr. N. C. Mehtā, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Partābgarh, I had an opportunity of examining a lot of coins belonging to the Court of Wards, Partābgarh. Among these coins were sixteen gold coins which I wished to acquire for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. Thanks to the generosity of Rāni Jageshwar Koer, senior Rāni of Qila Partābgarh, the coins have come to the Museum cabinet as a gift from her.

These include eight coins or medals, popularly known as '*Sitārāmi*' coins in Northern India and generally preserved for worship in temples or orthodox Hindu families. I have not unfrequently seen similar coins in debased silver with an inscription in the Gurmukhi character sold in Bazars. They are highly venerated and sometimes the owners demand fanciful prices. I saw a silver piece of about two inches in diameter with a goldsmith at Bithur in Cawnpore district but he would not sell it.

The gold pieces are scarce. About twenty years ago (in January, 1905) two were purchased locally for the Museum. Coins of similar description but with a marked difference in form are found in Southern India where they pass by the name of '*Rāmatinkīs*.' Mr. J. Gibbs, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., contributed a valuable paper on these to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1884 (pages 207–214). They are circular in shape with one side concave and the other convex like the Padmatankas. Those found in Northern India, however, are usually round, though sometimes hexagonal, with flat sides. These form a distinct type and deserve a detailed notice although the subject matter is almost the same (see Plate 1.).

I will first deal with the eight recently acquired. They are:—

1. *Gold.* wt. 168.5 grs., size ·8.

   Obverse. Rāma seated with Sītā on a throne. Hanūmān seated on floor in front is shampooing Rāma's feet. Behind an attendant holding an umbrella or canopy.

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Reverse. Elephant walking to right. Around Nāgari inscription.

Rājāpata-mahārāja-Pirthī-pata.

2. *Gold.* wt. 167.0 grs., size ·8.

Obverse. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa holding bow and arrow appear in centre while Sugrīva or Hanūmān stands in front with hands folded in adoration and holding a club with its knob downwards.

Traces of Nāgari inscription around visible on the left half.

Reverse. Fish incarnation of Vishṇū in a rayed circle, Vishṇū emerging out of a fish holds in his four hands the usual attributes; mace, wheel, lotus, and sword in place of the conch.

3. *Gold.* wt. 169, size ·75.

Obverse. Fantail peacock facing right; around debased Nāgari characters not readable.

Reverse. Inside a beaded circle, Hanūmān flying with rock in right hand and club held knob upwards with left hand and resting on left shoulder.

Nāgari inscription around reads:—*Hān mān Sīkā.*

4. *Gold.* wt. 168.5, size ·8.

Obverse. Inside a double circle, a fantail peacock with a snake in front.

In exergue two letters *ra* (?) *ja.*

Reverse. Inside a beaded circle, Hanūmān flying with rock as on No. 3. Around, inside a circle, in Nāgari characters *Hāna* x *māna* xxx *sīkā* xxx.

5. *Gold.* wt. 168, size ·7. *Hexagonal.*

Obverse. Elephant walking to left. Traces of a circle and stars around.

Reverse. As above (No. 4).

6. *Gold.* wt. 166.5, size ·7.

Obverse. Kṛishṇa embracing Rādhā. An attendant with fly whisk (?) to right and scroll ornament to left.

Reverse. Fantail peacock to left. Around Nāgari letters *dha ka* probably standing for Rādhikā or Kṛishṇa and Rādhā.

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7. *Gold.* wt. 169.5, size ·75.

Obverse. As above (No. 6).

Reverse. Peacock, etc., as on the obverse of No. 4.

8. *Gold.* wt. 166.5, size ·8.

Obverse. Human face probably standing for that of a Sun in a diamond-shaped area. Around stars.

Reverse. Lion in centre. Around debased Nāgari characters, possibly reading, *Pūjan ke liye* i.e. for worship.

To these eight, I would add the two old Museum specimens which were exhibited at the Annual Meeting held at Patna in January, 1923.

They may be described as :—

9. *Gold.* wt. 168.5, size ·75.

Obverse and *Reverse.* As No. 7 above.

10. *Gold.* wt. 168.5, size ·7. *Hexagonal.*

Obverse. Fish incarnation of Vishṇū. Vishṇū holds sword in place of conch, as on the reverse of No. 2.

Reverse. Maned lion facing left.

These medals or tokens depict important events narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa. The obverse of No. 1 represents a scene at Ayōdhyā after Rāma's installation on his return from exile. Hanūmān, his trusted general, is shampooing his feet.

No. 2 shows the meeting of Hanūmān or the visit of Sugriva, the king of the tribe to which Hanūmān belonged, offering his services to Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in capturing Laṅkā and rescuing Sītā from her captivity.

Reverse of No. 3 depicts Hanūmān flying with a rock which contained an herb prescribed for curing Lakshmaṇa when he lay wounded on the battle field.

The obverse of No. 6 portrays Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in their usual posture. These must have been struck for people who offer worship to lord Kṛishṇa. These are rather rare.

No. 8 on the obverse shows a human face with stars around. This probably represents the face of the Sun symbolising Rāma who belonged to the solar race. On the reverse of this we find an inscription *Pūjan ke liye* (=for worship).

Two of the lot illustrate the fish incarnation of Vishṇū. On both of these, the artist has placed a sword instead of a conch as one of Vishṇū's attributes. This may be due to a mistake or fancy on the part of the designer.

There can be no doubt that the tokens were struck for worship and not for circulation as coins because of the singular

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state of their preservation. They have a bright appearance and look as if they were fresh from the mint.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the standard of weight and size. They weigh between 166.5 and 169.5 grains and measure from ·7 to ·8 of an inch each. On the whole, they are of inferior workmanship with no pretensions to age. None have any date or distinct legible inscription which would help us in determining their exact period. On palæographic grounds, however, I would not be over-shooting the mark if I place them to about a century old.

January, 1926. PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

278. TREASURE TROVE FIND OF 16,448 ELECTRON COINS IN BANDA DISTRICT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

A big hoard consisting of 16,448 old coins was found by one Mahādeo Chamār, a labourer, while digging a *bandhān* of the Canal Department, at Mauza Khandeha in Taḥsīl Mau of Banda District, U.P., and sent to me for examination by the Collector of the district in May 1927. These coins were buried underground inside two copper jars rivetted with copper discs by wire. Unfortunately no record is available to find out the exact depth at which the jars were unearthed. But the actual find spot lay in the ruins of an old fortress at Aunjhar, where a tank was being constructed by the Canal Department. In May 1926, about a year prior to the discovery of the coins, the Executive Engineer of Ken Canal Division, forwarded to the Museum a few minor antiquities found in the locality, which may be assigned roughly to the 11th or 12 century A.D.

In January 1928, I visited the place. It is 4 miles from village Baburi which has a canal inspection house and which is just 8 miles from Bargarh, a railway station on the G.I.P. Railway between Allahabād and Mānikpūr. Here I could clearly see the ruins of an old fortress situated in the valley of the river in the midst of charming scenery.

Although deposited inside the jars with close-fitting lids, the coins when brought to light were covered with a thick coating of verdigris, and to all appearance seemed to be made of copper. After careful cleaning and minute examination, it was clear that the metal was some alloy of copper and silver possibly with a tinge of gold. One specimen was subsequently sent for chemical analysis to the Archaeological Chemist at Dehra Dūn, who has kindly ascertained for me the exact proportion of metals contained in the alloy. Gold forms 10.53%, Silver 13.63%, and Copper 75.82% of the composition.

On grounds of technique and legend I assigned them in the first instance to the Kashmīr Series issued by Śri Pratāpa, circa 700 A.D., *Vide* I.M.C., Vol. I, p. 268. But I was not satisfied with this identification, because of the appearance

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of the letter 'Ja' intervening between 'Śri' and 'Pratāpa' on some specimens. I, therefore, sent 18 coins of the lot to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, E.C., for favour of his opinion. He very kindly examined the coins for me and favoured me with a valuable note. He is decidedly of opinion that they are the issues of Lalitāditya, Muktāpiḍa. He rejects their attribution to Pratāpāditya II or Durlabhaka by Sir Aurel Stein[1] in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1899, and supports the view of Sir Alexander Cunningham who assigned them to Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa[2] on the basis of Kalhan's Rājataraṅgiṇi, IV-134, which Sir Aurel Stein interprets in a different manner. He says "the doubtful expression occurring in the passage referred to is प्रतापादित्यतां ययौ (attained the state of being Pratāpāditya) and qualifies Lalitāditya. It cannot, therefore, be taken to refer to Lalitāditya's father, as proposed by Sir Aurel Stein, but must be understood in the sense that the name Pratāpāditya was assumed by the king Lalitāditya himself when he defeated the army of Yaśovarman of Kanauj." The complete overthrow of Yaśovarman by Lalitāditya is clear from the attitude taken up by the latter king's minister of foreign affairs, Mitraśarman, at the conclusion of peace, when he would not even tolerate the forms of diplomatic politeness usually observed in the drawing up of treaties and said it was a slight to his master if in the heading, the document was described as "The treaty of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya." The action of the minister was upheld by the king who bestowed upon him five great distinctions (*Panchmahāśaḃda*), while he completely exterminated the king Yaśovarman. Yaśovarman had thus to acknowledge the superiority of Lalitāditya. In particular, it is mentioned[3] that the whole of the Kanauj territory from the (यमुनापार) trans-Jumna tract to the bank of the Śālikā was under his domination as if it were the courtyard of his house. This leaves no doubt whatsoever that the Banda District formed part of Lalitāditya's dominions and it is no wonder that these coins struck by this Kashmīr sovereign were current in the heart of the territory of the king of Kanauj. Money must have been required for payment to camp-followers and for other state affairs and it only stands to reason that the Kashmīr king who made such extensive additions to his dominions must have naturally been anxious to introduce his own coinage, as a symbol of his sovereignty. I, therefore, unhesitatingly submit that the majority of the coins in the find are those struck by Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa.

The find contains 131 specimens with letter '*Ja*' or '*Jā*' intervening between 'Śrī' and 'Pratāpa'. I take this to be a

[1] Numismatic Chronicle, 1899.
[2] Coins of Med. India p. 40.
[3] Rājatarangini. IV, 145.

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distinct series and would assign it to *Jayāpiḍa* but for the fact that on his coins he bears the name of *Vinayāditya*. (Cunningham's Coins of Med. India, p. 45 and pl. III, 14.) I, therefore, venture to hazard a conjecture that '*Ja*' perhaps stands for *Jajja* who was a brother-in-law of *Jayāpiḍa* and who usurped the throne when the latter had moved far away (Rājatarangini IV, 410).

The appearance of the usurper's initials on a few coins only suggests his insecure position and hasty decision. On political grounds it was absolutely necessary for him to stick to the existing standard and style. On account of the absence of any other standard monetary issue in North India about the 8th century A.D., only the Kashmīr series were prevalent and any abrupt change or diversion in the design might have had an abortive effect.

Coming now to the coins themselves, I discovered no less than fifteen varieties (see plate 2) among the 448 specimens which were well-preserved and which I recommended for acquisition and distribution to various museums and educational institutions.

Var. I is the ordinary Pratāpāditya type of Kashmīr.

Obv. Crude standing figure of goddess with legend '*Śrī Pratāpa*' to right and '*Ki*'[1] to left. Between legs '*dara*'[2].

Rev. Crude seated figure with legend '*kida*' to right 45 coins.

Var. II.	*Obv.* and *Rev.* as above	with Prātāpa	3	coins.
,, III.	do.	with Pratāppa	1	,,
,, IV.	do.	with Ja Pratāpa	57	,,
,, V.	do.	with do.	54	,,
,, VI.	do.	with Jā Pratāpa	20	,,
,, VII.	do.	with a double ta	1	,,
,, VIII.	do.	with tā	42	,,
,, IX.	do.	with tā	52	,,
,, X.	do.	Large flat specimens	5	,,
,, XI.	*Obv.* as above	but on *Rev.* '*Kida*' to right	40	,,
,, XII.	do.	but on *Rev.* head of goddess indicated by *one* dot.	8	,,
,, XIII.	do.	but on *Rev.* head of goddess indicated by *3* dots.	13	,,
,, XIV.	do.	but on *Rev.* head of goddess indicated by *4* dots.	32	,,
,, XV.	do.	but on *Rev.* head of goddess indicated by *5* dots.	4	,,
Miscellaneous-mixed varieties ..		.. ..	71	,,
		Total ..	448	,,

[1] This is quite clear on 3 obv. [2] This is quite clear on 10 obv.

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The size varies between .75 and ·8 of an inch and the weight between 115 and 118 grs. The size of Var. X (large flat specimens) is ·9 and the weight ranges from 117 to 119.5 grains.

From the fact that these coins were found in Banda District, it follows that the coins were current in Bundelkhand even after the retirement of Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa. Until the discovery of more hoards or other epigraphical records throws further light on this dark period of history, I think, the attribution of the ordinary Pratāpa type to Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa and that of the type with '*Ja*' between Śrī and Pratāpa to Jajja, the usurper, will perhaps commend itself to scholars.

PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

LUCKNOW,
March, 1929.

279. SOME MORE COINS OF THE POST-MUGHAL PERIOD FROM AḤMADĀBĀD.

In 1926, 69 whole and 12 half rupees were received from the Collector of Aḥmadābād through the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for examination and report. These coins were found while removing the debris of a fallen house in the Village of Uvarsad in the North Dashkroi T'aluka of Aḥmadābād District. The coins were covered with a thick layer of verdigris and after cleaning were found to be of the Post-Mughal Period.

It seems no attempts were made to study these coins till the year 1913, when Mr. A. Master prepared an exhaustive note on this series which was published in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXII.

I do not think it necessary to enter into the details of all these coins as this subject has already been discussed fully by Mr. Master. I will simply give a list of those coins which have got new dates or marks, not found in Mr. Master's list.

This hoard consists of 25 and 56 coins struck in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II and Akbar II, respectively. I have noticed only ten sub-varieties in the attached list; 5 of the former and 5 of the latter Emperor.

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LIST OF COINS.

Serial No.	No. of coins.	Emperor.	Date.	M.M.	REMARKS.
1	2	Shāh 'Ālam II.	-41	[illegible]	..
2	1	,, ,,	122x-45	,,	..
3	1	,, ,,	..	[illegible]	½ rupee.
4	1	,, ,,	120x-35	[illegible]	This is perhaps a new m.m. not in Mr. Master's list.
5	1	,, ,,	12xx-3x	[illegible]	..
6	7	Akbar II.	122x-	[illegible]	This is the earliest coin with this m.m.
7	1	,, ,,	,,	,,	½ rupee.
8	1	,, ,,	1249	,,	,, 9 in reverse position.
9	1	,, ,,	..	[illegible]	½ rupee.
10	1	,, ,,	-10	[illegible]	..

C. R. SINGHAL.

280. RUPEES OF SHĀH 'ĀLAM II, UJHĀNI—ĀṢAFĀBĀD AND 'ĀBDULLANAGAR—PIHĀNI.

Until recently coins of the Ujhāni mint were considered to be extremely rare and, so far as I was aware of, only one specimen existed in the cabinet of our distinguished numismatist, Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (retired).

A. *Obv.* A. *Rev.* B. *Obv.* B. *Rev.*

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In May 1926, I examined a hoard of 225 silver coins found at Naokund in the Taḥsīl and district of Pīlībhīt, U.P., which fortunately yielded as many as twenty coins of Shāh 'Ālam II minted at Ujhāni—Āṣafābād in his 17th and 18th regnal year. It is a note-worthy point that the entire hoard consisted of the issues of Shāh 'Ālam II struck at Āṣafnagar, Bareli, Murādabād, Naṣrullānagar and Ujhāni—Āṣafābād.

The legend as reproduced below is quite clear and the mint name can be read almost in full without the least shadow of doubt.

Obverse.

محمد عالم
سا
به فضل حامي دين
سكه
بر هفت كشور

Reverse.

او جهاني آباد
ضرب اصف
ميمنت مانوس
جلوس ١٧

(B.) A Shāh 'Ālam II rupee of 'Abdullanagar was discovered in a lot of 87 rupees of Mughals and Durrānis unearthed at village Bithra, Police Station Neoria, District Pīlibhīt, U.P. Other coins of Shāh 'Ālam II, included in the find were struck at Ānwala, Barelī, Bisauli, Naṣrullanagar, Muhammadnagar—Tānda, Murādābād, and Muṣṭafābād. So 'Abdullanagar must be in the neighbourhood of the above places, though a town of that name is not now shown on the map of the United Provinces. But luckily, this toponym is followed by another which can be read with reasonable certainty as *Pihāni*. We are thus able to say that Abdullanagar was the Musalman *alias* of Pihāni. Pihāni is a town (*Qasba*) lying in Latitude 27°37′ north and Longitude 80°12′ east, on the unmetalled road from Sitāpūr to Shāhābād, at a distance of 16 miles north of Hardoi. Old residents still call it 'Abdullanagar at times.

The legend is reproduced below :—

Obverse.

محمد عالم
سا
فضل اله حامى دين
سا
كشور سابر ١١٧۴

زد بر هفت

Reverse.

مانوس
ميمنت
جلوس سنه ٢

عبد الله نگرپهانى

PRAYĀG DAYĀL.

December, 1927.

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281. The Chronology of the Zodiacal Coins.

The classes and varieties of numismatic records to which the collector in India can devote special attention and which he can make the object of his industrious pursuit are exceedingly numerous. But perhaps none have aroused such general and long-continued interest as the picturesque mintages exhibiting the signs of the Zodiac, which were struck in pursuance of a whim of the Emperor Jehāngīr's. These coins appear from very early times to have been used as amulets or talismans. Romantic stories about their origin and virtues have been told and can be still heard among the common people and it is clear from the pages of Tavernier that they had become the subject of a folk-tale less than 50 years after the death of the Emperor. This contemporaneous traveller also informs us that they had become very rare even in his day and "Two or three specimens in gold were," he writes, "so hard to be got that an hundred crowns have been paid for one of them," (Travels, Translation of J. Philips, 1678, part II, p. 11).

This rarity has naturally led to the multiplication of forgeries and one of the most successful collectors declared only 50 years ago that there were at least "three separate sets of imitations" of varying degrees of crudity, and even warned his readers that "among the Gold, there were at least twenty imitations to one real coin." His experience further led him to opine that several of "the specimens in Gold were struck from Silver dies" and *vice versa*. The net result of his search of many years was to force him to the conclusion that "with one or two exceptions the genuine Gold muhars were all struck at Āgra and the Silver rupees at Aḥmedābād." (Gibbs, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1878, pp. 155–6.) A very similar verdict has been pronounced in our own times by Mr. Whitehead, who says "that with the exception of a very few rare pieces from half a dozen other mints, Jehāngīr's Zodiacal Mohars issued from Āgra and his Zodiacal rupees from Aḥmadābād." (*P.M.C.*, *Introd.*, xxxv.) Strictly interpreted, these words must mean that the three Āgra rupees registered by Mr. Lane Poole (*B.M.C.*, Nos. 366, 367 and 375) are not above suspicion, as they do not belong to Aḥmadābād. Indeed, Mr. Gibbs had, so early as 1878, expressed the opinion that the last of the three,—No. 375—the Āgra Capricornus of 1029A.H–14R had been struck from Gold dies (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1878, p.160n) and he was inclined to take the same view of the Āgra Scorpio (in silver) which was in his own Cabinet.

But is there no test or criterion by which the genuine coins can be distinguished from the fakes? Mr. Gibbs frankly declared that there is none except the workmanship, the artistic perfection and correctness of the figures and the lettering, or as he puts it, "the fineness and accuracy of the engraving" (*ibid.*,

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p, 157). But the aesthetic sense is not a universal gift among mortals in general or numismatists in particular, and the acute differences of opinion among art-critics are matters of common knowledge. Mr. Lane Poole also confesses that there is often, "considerable difficulty in distinguishing the imitation from the genuine Mohars and numismatists are frequently found to differ in their opinions," (*B.M.C.*, Introd., lxxxiv).

To give a few instances. Mr. Gibbs was convinced that the Sagittarius of 1035-20 in the Cabinet des Medailles was "very poor work and its writing so stiff that it could not possibly be of the original set." (*Proc.*, *A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 56.) On the other hand, Mr. Whitehead has thought this identical Coin worthy of a full description, and would appear from his silence to discountenance any doubts as to its genuineness (*P.M.C.*, p. ciii). Again, Mr Gibbs thought that all the three Aquarius Coins in the British Museum, were "very poor" and he had no hesitation in declaring that the one showing "an old man seated pouring water over his shoulder" was not at all "genuine" (*Proc.*, *A.S.B.*, 1883, p. 6). On the other hand, all that Mr. Lane Poole has to say about this last (*B.M.C.*, No. 356) is that it is "rude work" and he seems to have regarded the other two (Nos. 355 and 357) as perfectly in order.

The following Muhrs of Āgra are all reckoned as genuine and registered without remark by Mr. Lane Poole and Mr. Nelson Wright.

I	I.M.C.	No	575,	1030	XVI. R. Gemini.
II	B.M.C.	,,	339,	1030	XVI. R. Virgo.
III	,,	,,	343,	1030	XVI. R. Libra.
IV	,,	,,	331,	1031	XVI. R. Gemini.
V	,,	,,	340,	1031	XVI. R. Virgo.
VI	I.M.C.	,,	579,	1031	XVI. R. Libra.

It must be obvious to any one possessing even an elementary knowledge of Chronology that both these conflicting sets of Hijri dates and Regnal years cannot be correct, and one of them must be erroneous. There is no doubt that the 16th year of Jehāngīr's reign began on 27-IV-1030 A.H. and it is clear that if the Regnal year and Zodiacal constellation stamped on the three first Coins are in accord, as they should be, with the Hijri year inscribed upon them, those on the second three cannot possibly tally, one with the other, and must be errors—errors so patent and glaring as to raise a fair presumption against the genuineness of the coins themselves.

A casual glance at the list of Imitations is sufficient to show that the date-equations on some of them also are manifestly impossible. Every one who knows anything of the Zodiacal series is familiar with the fact that it was inaugurated in the XIIIth Regnal year which corresponded to 1027 A.H., and

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yet the Āgra Scorpio in the B.M.C. (No. 380) exhibits the dates XII–1028. Another (No. 381) showing XVII–1033 is as evidently wrong, and the same observation applies to Nos. 391, (XVI–1029), 393, 394, and 398 (XVII–1033) and 397 (XII–1028).

In these circumstances, it was natural to suspect that there might be other mistakes which were not so easily perceptible and in the hope of discovering one sort of gauge or test which might prove helpful in the detection of *some at least of the fakes*, I was led to prepare two tables of Hijri-Julūs synchronisms for all the months of the last ten years of Jehāngīr's reign.

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to say that these tables have been compiled on the basis of the 'Lā wa Lā, Lab Lā wa Lā Lā' formula, and that the number of days assigned to each solar month is as under; 'Farwardīn 31 ; Ardībehesht 31 ; Khurdād 32 ; Tīr 31 ; Amardād 31 ; Shahrewar 31 ; Mihr 30 ; Ābān 30 ; Ādar 29 ; Dai 29 ; Bahman 30 ; Isfandārmaz 30.

It may be added that the initial days of the Regnal years have been taken from the sixth volume of Elliot and Dowson's History of India, (q. v. also *I.M.C.*, III, 357), and that for the reasons explained in the 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics' (pp. 37-8), there is at times the difference of one day and occasionally of two, in the reckoning.

Let us now see if these tables are of any use.

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Julūs year	Farwardīn Aries	Ardībehesht Taurus	Khurdād Gemini	Tīr Cancer	Amardād Leo	Shahrīwar Virgo	Mihr Libra	Ābān Scorpio	Ādar Sagittarius	Dai Capricornus	Bahman Aquarius	Isfandārmuz Pisces
XIII	23·III	24·IV	26·V	28·VI	30·VII	2·IX	3·X	4·XI	4·XII	3·I	2·II	3·III
	1027 Hijri	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1027 H	1028 H*	1028 H*	1028 H*
XIV	4·IV	6·V	7·VI	10·VII	11·VIII	13·IX	14·X	15·XI	15·XII	15·I	14·II	15·III
	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1028 H	1029 H*	1029 H*	1029 H*
XV	15·IV	17·V	18·VI	21·VII	22·VIII	24·IX	25·X	26·XI	26·XII	26·I	25·II	26·III
	1029 H	1029 H	1029 H	1029 H	1029 H	1029H	1029 H	1029 H	1029 H	1030 H*	1030 H*	1030 H*
XVI	27·IV	29·V.	1·VII	3·VIII	5·IX	6·X	8·XI	8·XII	8·I	7·II	7·III	7·IV
	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1030 H	1031 H*	1031 H*	1031H*	1031 H*
XVII	9·V	10·VI	12·VII	14·VIII	16·IX	17·X	19·XI	19·XII	20·I	19·II	19·III	19·IV
	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1031 H	1032 H*	1032 H*	1032 H*	1032 H*
XVIII	20·V	21·VI	23·VII	25·VIII	27·IX	28·X	30·XI	1·I	1·II	1·III	30·III	1·V
	1032 H	1032 H	1032 H	1032 H	1032 H	1032 H	1032 H	1033 H*	1032 H*	1033 H*	1033 H*	1033 H*
XIX	29·V	1·VII	2·VIII	5·IX	6·X	8·XI	9·XII	9·I	9·II	9·III	9·IV	9·V
	1033 H	1033 H	1033 H	1033 H	1033 H	1033 H	1033 H	1034 H*	1034 H*	1034 H*	1034 H*	1034 H*
XX	10·VI	12·VII	13·VIII	16·IX	17·X	19·XI	20·XII	21·I	21·II	21·III	20·IV	21·V
	1034 H	1034 H	1034 H	1034 H	1034 H	1034 H	1034 H	1035 H*	1035 H*	1035 H*	1035 H*	1035 H*
XXI	21·VI	23·VII	24·VIII	27·IX	28·X	30·XI	2·I	2·II	2·III	2·IV	2·V	2·VI
	1035 H	1035 H	1035 H	1035 H	1035 H	1035 H	1036 H*	1036 H*	1036 H*	1036 H*	1036 H*	1036 H*
XXII	3·VII	4·VIII	6·IX	8·X	10·XI	11·XII	12·I	12·II	13·III	12·IV	12·V	12·VI
	1036 H	1036 H	1036 H	1036 H	1036 H	1036 H	1037H*	1037 H*	1037 H*	1037 H*	1037 H*	1037 H*

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Hijri year	1 Muḥarram	1 Ṣafar	1 Rab'i I	1 Rab'i II	Jumād I	Jumād II	Rajab	Sha'abān	Ramaẓān	Shawwāl	Z'u-l-q'ada	Z'u-l-ḥijja
1027	10 Dai XIIR	10 Bahm. XII	9 Isfandār XII	9 Farw XIII	7 Ardīb XIII	6 Khurd XIII	3 Tīr XIII	2 Amar XIII	31 Amar XIII	30 Shahr XIII	28 Mihr XIII	28 Ābān XIII
1028	28 Ādar XIII	29 Dai XIII	29 Bahman XIII	29 Isfand XIII	27 Farw XIV	26 Ardī XIV	24 Khurd XIV	22 Tīr XIV	20 Amar XIV	19 Shahr XIV	17 Mihr XIV	17 Ābān XIV
1029	16 Ādar XIV	17 Dai XIV	17 Bahman XIV	17 Isfand XIV	16 Farw XV	15 Ardī XV	13 Khurd XV	11 Tīr XV	9 Amar XV	8 Shahr XV	6 Mihr XV	6 Ābān XIV
1030	5 Ādar XV	6 Dai XV	6 Bahman XV	6 Isfand XV	4 Farw XVI	3 Ardī XVI	1 Khurd XVI	31 Khurd XVI	28 Tīr XVI	27 Amar XVI	25 Shahr XVI	24 Mihr XVI
1031	24 Ābān XVI	24 Ādar XVI	24 Dai XVI	25 Bahman XVI	24 Isfan XVI	23 Farw XVII	21 Ardī XVII	20 Khurd XVII	17 Tīr XVII	16 Amar XVII	14 Shahr XVII	13 Mihr XVII
1032	12 Ābān XVII	12 Ādar XVII	12 Dai XVII	13 Bahman XVII	12 Isfan XVII	12 Farw XVIII	10 Ardī XVIII	9 Khurd XVIII	6 Tīr XVIII	5 Amard XVIII	3 Shahr XVIII	2 Mihr XVIII
1033	1 Ābān XVIII	1 Ādar XVIII	1 Dai XVIII	2 Bahman XVIII	1 Isfan XVIII	3 Farw XIX	1 Ardī XIX	31 Ardīb XIX	29 Khurd XIX	27 Tīr XIX	25 Amar XIX	21 Shahr XIX
1034	23 Mihr XIX	23 Ābān XIX	22 Ādar XIX	23 Dai XIX	23 Bahm. XIX	23 Isfand XIX	21 Farw XX	20 Ardīb XX	18 Khurd XX	16 Tīr XX	14 Amar XX	13 Shahr XX
1035	11 Mihr XIX	11 Ābān XX	10 Ādar XX	11 Dai XX	11 Bahm. XX	11 Isfand XX	1 Farw XXI	9 Ardīb XXI	7 Khurd XXI	5 Tīr XXI	3 Amar XXI	2 Shahr XXI
1036	31 Shahr XXI	30 Mihr XXI	29 Ābān XXI	29 Ādar XXI	29 Dai XXI	30 Bahman XXI	29 Isfand XXI	29 Farw XXII	27 Ardīb XXII	26 Khurd XXII	23 Tīr XXII	22 Amar XXII
1037	21 Shahr XXII	20 Mihr XXII	19 Āban	19 Ādar	19 Dai	20 Bahman	19 Isfand					

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The British Museum contains altogether four coins with the sign 'Gemini'.

No. 330 1029–XV
No. 332 1032–XVIII
No. 333 1033–XIX
No. 331 1031–XVI

It is clear that if the three first are in serial order the date expression on the fourth must be wrong. A reference to the Table leaves no doubt that this is so. The 16th year of Jehāngīr began on 27-IV-1030 A.H. and Khurdād (Gemini) XVI on 1. VII. *1030*, not 1031. Indeed, the *I.M.C.*, Gemini (No. 575) has the right dates 1030–XVI.

Now we have in this instance a good illustration of the fact that what is artistically dubious is liable to condemnation on Chronological grounds also. Mr. Lane Poole notes that the twins in this specimen are "smaller than usual, differently posed and brandishing one a mace and the other a pair of weights." No. 331 must be therefore suspect.

B.M.C., No. 340 must, for similar reasons, be placed in the doubtful class. Of the three Virgo Muhrs in that collection,

No. 338 is of 1028–XIV, and
No. 339 of 1030–XVI. But
No. 340 is also of 1031–XVI.

It is plain that if No. 339 is right, No. 340 must be wrong and *vice versa*. The table shows that Shahrīvar (Virgo) XVI began on 6.X. 1030 and ended on 7.XI. 1030 A.H. Here again, the Chronological evidence would seem to be helpful in arriving at some determination in regard to the genuineness of the piece.

The figure of Virgo on this Coin, remarks Mr. Lane Poole, is unlike either "the traditional winged woman or the typical Indian image of a squatting woman with a braid of hair down her back" which is found on the other genuine muhrs (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii).

Indeed, Mr. Gibbs was of opinion that it was not a Virgo at all, but a female Aquarius. He was sure that the figure was "carrying two *Hāndis* on the head one above the other just as the women carry them now." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 158.) The table would seem to show that there is some thing to be said for this suggestion which Mr. Gibbs was not aware of. This is that, if the figure is really an Aquarius, the coin would be chronologically unexceptionable, as the first day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVI began on 7-III-1031 A.H. and ended on 6-IV-1031 A.H. In that case, the *raison d'etre* of doubts originating in difference of design or artistic imperfections would disappear.

Let us now take No. 350. It is a Capricornus of 1028–XIV. It will be noticed that the coin immediately next in the list (No. 351) is of the same sign and regnal year, but the Hijri date is 1029. Now the table shows that Dai (Capricornus) XIV be-

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gan only on 15th Muḥarram 1029. No. 351 is therefore correct, but if so, No. 350 cannot possibly be acquitted of error.

No. 356 (1032-XVIII) is another coin which illustrates the value of the chronological test. Its rude work did not escape the vigilant eye of Mr. Lane Poole and aroused his suspicions, but he was not sure that it was a forgery. The table would appear to condemn the piece, for Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30-III-1033 A.H. i.e. 88 days after the expiration of the 1032nd year of the Flight. It may be noted that the other Aquarius, which immediately precedes it (No. 355) is of 1031-XVI and correct according to the table.

Lastly No. 359 is a Pisces of 1031-XVII. Now Isfandārmaz (Pisces) XVII began only on 19-IV-1032, i.e. 100 days after the 1031st year of the Hejira had come to an end. The coin must therefore be suspect. Here again, it may be worth while to point out that the immediately following coin of the same sign (No. 360) shows 1033–XVIII and is in order, as well as No. 358 which has the date-expression, 1028–XIII.

All this is plain sailing. But the same can hardly be said of the Gold Scorpio (No. 346a) of 1030-XVI. Mr. Lane Poole had doubts about its genuineness, but thought it possible that it was a trial piece of Jehāngīr's own time or at the worst, a contemporary imitation (p. lxxxiii). Now the Table shows that Ābān (Scorpio) XVI began on 8-XII-1030 and ended on 7-1-1031 A.H. It is quite possible that the coin was struck on one or other of last 23 days of 1030 A.H. It is true that the other Muhr of the same sign and Hijri year is of very different design. In other words, it is just on the margin and may be genuine, as it is within the four corners of chronological rectitude, but I must leave the matter there and let final judgment be pronounced by those who are more conversant with the aesthetic aspect of the matter.

Besides the Zodiacal issues of Āgra and Aḥmadābād, the following coins of Aj̇mer, Fatḥpūr, Kashmīr, Lāhore and Urdū have also been described :—

AV.	Aj̇mer	Aquarius	1032–18.	(Cabinet de France, *P.M.C.*, xxx)
AV.	Aj̇mer	Cancer	1034–20.	(Gibbs, *B.B.R.A.S.*, 1878; *P.M.C.*, xxx)
AV.	Fatḥpūr	Aries	1030–20.	(,, ,, ,, *P.M.C.*, xc.)
AR.	,,	,,	1030–	(,, ,, ,, ,, ,,)
AR.	,,	Capricornus	1028–14.	(Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1888; *P.M.C.*, xc.)
AV.	Kashmīr	Cancer	1034–20.	(Da Cunha Catalogue; *P.M.C.*, xciii).
AR	,,	Gemini	–15.	(*I.M.C.*, No. 696; White King Cat. No. 3691).

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AV. Lāhore Sagittarius 1035–20 (Cabinet de France, *P.M.C.*, cii)

AV. Urdū Aries. 1036–22 (H. N. Wright, *N.S. No. I.*)

It may be a mere coincidence, but it is not unworthy of notice that all these nine coins are said to have been struck at places which the Emperor is known to have visited at sometime or other during his reign. But it remains to ascertain from his Autobiography and other contemporary chronicles whether he was in the particular town during the month and year in which the coin itself was uttered. We have also to see if the Regnal year, Hijri date and Zodiacal Sign are in accord.

Mr. Gibbs was of opinion that the Aǰmer Aquarius 1032-XVIII in the Cabinet de France was a fake. Now this opinion receives considerable support from the Table as Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII began only on 30.III. 1033 A.H.

It may be also germane to the matter to note, for what it is worth, that Jehāñgīr was *not at Ajmere at the time.* He tells us himself that he arrived there on 9th Khurdād XVIII=19 Rajab 1032 A.H. (*Tūzuk-i-Jehāngīri*, Trans., Beveridge, II, p. 261) and left it for Kashmīr on 2 Ādar of the same Julūs year =1, Ṣafar, 1033 A.H. (*Tūzuk*-Tr. II. p. 282). *i.e.* about two months before the 1st day of Bahman (Aquarius) XVIII.

Mr. Gibbs says that Col. Guthrie had an Aries Muhr as well as an Aries Rupee of Fatḥpūr of the Hijri year 1030. Unfortunately the Julūs year is not given and it is therefore out of our power to subject the coin to the chronological test. But it may be worth while to note that—Jehāngīr *was* holding his court at Āgra in Farwardīn (Aries) XVI=27 Rab'ī II to 28th Jumād I 1030 A.H.' (*Tūzuk*, Aligarh Text, 326-8; Trans., Beveridge, II). It is possible that he may have been out in camp at Fatḥpūr for shikār or some other purpose for a few days during that month.

Mr. Rodgers published in *J.A.S.B.*, 1888 the couplet on a Capricornus rupee of Fatḥpūr of 1028-14 and the coin has been specially noticed by Mr. Whitehead also (P. M. C., p. xc). Now we know that Jehāngīr was obliged to have his camp at Fatḥpūr for several months on account of the prevalence of plague in Āgra at the time. He pitched his tents on the bank of the lake of Fatḥpūr on the 19th of Dai XIII and entered Fatḥpūr itself on the 28th of Dai XIII and stayed there upto the 31st of Farwardīn XIV (*Tūzuk*, 260–8, Tr., II, pp. 67-68). Now a reference to the table shows that 1, Dai (Capricornus) XIII corresponded to 3rd Muḥarram, 1028 and 1, Dai (Capricornus) XIV to 15. I. 1029. In other words, if the Hijri year on the coin is right, the Julūs year is wrong and if the Julūs year is correctly given, the Hijri date must be an error. In the circumstances, it is difficult to say anything confidently. It is just possible that the Julūs date has been incorrectly read,

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as ۴ and ۶ are liable to be mistaken in Persian writing. But this conjecture is not verifiable as the coin has not been figured and it is not known where the Rupee is at present.

The Gemini rupee of Kashmīr in the Indian Museum and the White King Collection has the Julūs year XV. Now we know that the Emperor *was in the valley* at the time, having entered Srīnagar on 10th Farwardīn XV and turned his face homewards on 27th Mihr of that year. (*Tūzuk*, Tr., II, 135,177.) I do not think it has been noticed that the mint-master who was responsible for striking this rupee has pressed into his service the old couplet of an ordinary Aj̇mere rupee of 1023-9. (*P. M. C.*, No. 920), changing only the name of the town as Ajmere and Kashmīr are metrically of the same value.

A Cancer Muhr of 1034-XX with the Nūr Jahān couplet was in the Da Cunha Collection and the name of the mint was read as Kashmīr. Curiously enough, Mr. Gibbs has described a coin exactly similar to it in all respects, Julūs year, Hijri date, and Zodiacal sign, but he deciphered the mint as Aj̇mere. Now we know that Jehāngīr was at this time in Kashmīr and not in Aj̇mere. He tells us that he left Aj̇mere for Kashmīr on 2 Ādar XVIIIR =1. II. 1033 A.H. He arrived there on 19th Khurdād, and stayed there till Ẕil Ḥajja 1034=24th Shahriwar-XXR (*Tūzuk* Text, p. 373, l. 4 from foot; p, 386, l. 17 and p. 393, l. 14). Mr. Gibbs's coin is figured in the B.B.R.A.S. Journal, but the illustration is unluckily an indifferent one.— Only the last three letters of the mint name (م - ی - ر) are clear and it is difficult to say what the other two are.

It is scarcely likely that two coins of such rarity and so exactly alike should have been struck at the same time in two different places, and the location of the Imperial Court at Kashmīr in Tīr XX would appear to favour the reading put forward in the Da Cunha Catalogue.

The only known Zodiacal issue of Lāhore is the Sagittarius muhr of 1035-20. All the three elements of the date will be found to be correct on a reference to the Table as I Ādar (Sagittarius) XX corresponded to 21 Ṣafar 1035 Hijri. In this instance also it is useful to note that the Emperor *was in residence* in Lāhore at the time. He arrived there on or about the 30th of Muḥarram 1035, (Muḥammad Hādi, continuation of the *Tūzuk*, 399, l. 7), stayed there upto the 16th of Isfandārmuz, and left for Kābul on the 17th (*Ibid.*, 400, l 9).

Lastly, there is the unique issue of Urdū mint of 1036–XXII in the Cabinet of Mr. Nelson Wright. The Table shows that the date-expression is perfectly correct, but as Mr. Wright says that he was not "able to ascertain where Jahāngīr actually was" at the time, it may be worth while to point out that according to the continuation of the *Tūzuk* compiled by Muḥammad Hādi, the Emperor left Lāhore for Kābul on 17 Isfandārmuz XX-1035 (Sayyad Aḥmad's 'Aligarh Text, 400, l. 9), enter-

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ed Kābul on 10-Ardibehesht XXI (*Ib.*, 408, l. 9.), left Kābul on 1 Shahrīvar XXI (*Ib.*, 410, l. 12): entered Lāhore on 7 Ābān XXI (*Ib.*, 412, l. 11); started for Kashmīr on 21 Isfandārmuz XXI (*Ib.*, 419, l. 15) and celebrated the *Nauroz of the XXnd year on the banks of the Chenāb.* (*Ib.*, 418, l. 8 from foot.) In other words, there can be no doubt that he was in Camp or Urdū on the route to Kashmīr on the first day of Farwardīn XXII.

S. H. Hodivālā.

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282. Bibliography of Indian Coins.

By C. R. Singhal.

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INTRODUCTION.

At the time of detailed examination of coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, I came across some novel and rare types of coins not noticed before. Before trying to describe them, however, one has to make himself sure as regards their novelty and rarity. This is not an easy task, as a numismatist has to turn over several journals and literary publications before he is in a position to express a definite opinion on the coins in question. I therefore felt the need of some help in this direction, and an idea occured to me that, if an up-to-date, exhaustive list of articles and notices of coins published in various journals and periodicals were printed, it would afford great facility to all numismatists who are handicapped in their work for want of books or the time to go through them.

Before actually launching into the work I consulted Rāi Sāheb Prayāg Dayāl and Mr. G. V. Āchārya, both of whom approved of this idea, and the latter promised me all help in securing the necessary books and classifying all articles on non-Muḥammadan coins. Thus encouraged, I seriously began collecting articles both on Muḥammadan and Non-Muḥammadan coins. A further impetus was given to me in my work by Para 8 of the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. H. R. Nevill at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in the year 1926 at Āgra. He said, "One of our foremost wants is a bibliography of Indian Numismatics under the various heads. It is very hard for the student to know where to look for information, or rather all the available information on a particular class of coins, etc."

These articles have been separated into two divisions, viz., Muḥammadan and Non-Muḥammadan, and in each division they have been arranged according to the dynastic order followed in the Indian Museum Catalogue. Where necessary these have again been sub-divided according to Kings, while such of them as describe coins of more than two kings have been placed under the Miscellaneous heads, e.g., Miscellaneous Mughals, Miscellaneous Muḥammadan, Miscellaneous Non-Muḥammadan, etc. Otherwise it would be confusing to numismatists if each article were separated according to the kings referred to.

The articles have been searched and collected from the following Journals, Reports and Periodicals: Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Journals and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journals of the Bihār and Orissa Research Society; Journals of the Punjāb

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Historical Society; Journals of the Anthropological Society of Bombay; Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India; Reports of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizām of Hyderābād; Indian Antiquary; Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Numismatic Chronicle; and the Indian Historical Quarterly. The articles in each group have been listed according to the alphabetical order of the names of the authors.

My thanks are due to Mr. G. V. Āchārya for classifying the list of Non-Muḥammadan coins and other help and advice ungrudgingly given from time to time. A list of abbreviations used in this work is attached herewith for ready reference. A bibliography of books and catalogues of coins is also appended for ready reference.

My greatest thanks are due to Prof: S. H. Hodivālā who has helped me with his valuable advice and has taken immense pains to revise and put the whole thing into proper order.

C. R. Singhal.

Abbreviations.

ASR.—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
IA.—Indian Antiquary.
IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly.
JAS.—Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASB.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JB&O.—Journal Bihar & Orissa Research Society.
JPHS.—Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
MASB.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
NC.—Numismatic Chronicle.
NS.—Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PASB.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
RADN.—Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizām of Hyderābād.

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1 **Bayley**, E. C. NC, I, (NS), p 72
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2 **Bird**, J. JBBRAS, I, p 293
Observations on Bactrian and Mithraic coins in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

3 **Cunningham**, A. JASB, IX, p 393
Notice of some counterfeit Bactrian coins.

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Notes on Capt. Hay's Bactrian coins.

5 ——— JASB, IX, p 867
Description of, and deductions from a consideration of, some new Bactrian coins.

6 ——— JASB, IX, p 1217
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7 ——— JASB, XI, p 130
Second notice of some new Bactrian coins.

8 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. IA, XXVII, p 225
Scytho-Bactrian coins in the British collection of Central Asian Antiquities.

9 **Prinsep**, J. JASB, II, p 405
Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins.

10 ——— JASB, IV, p 327
Further notes and drawings of Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins.

11 ——— JASB, V, p 548
New varieties of Bactrian coins.

12 ——— JASB, V, p 720
New types of Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins.

13 ——— JASB, VII, p 1047
Coins and relics from Bactria.

14 ——— JASB, VII, p 636
Additions to Bactrian Numismatics and discovery of the Bactrian Alphabet.

15 **Smith**, V. A. IA, XXXIII, p 217
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16 **Swiney**, J. JASB, VI, p 93
On the explanation of Indo-Scythic legends of Bactrian coins, through the medium of Celtic.

17 **Thomas**, E. JRAS, XX, p 99
Bactrian coins.

18 ——— JRAS, IX, (NS), p 1
Bactrian coins and Indian dates.

19 ——— NC, II, (NS), pp 179, 259
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20 **Thoms, E.** NC, IV, (NS), p 193
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21 **Vost, W.** NS, XI, (60), 1909
A find of Graeco-Bactrian silver coins.

22 **Wilson, J.** JBBRAS, III, p 126
Brief notes on certain ancient (Indo-Greek) coins.

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Note on some of the Indo-Scythic coins found by M. C. Masson in Kabul.

24 **Burgess, J.** IA, XXXII, 427
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25 **Cunningham, A.** NC, XIII, (3rd ser.), p 93
Coins of the later Indo-Scythians, Introduction and later Kushans.

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Coins of the later Indo-Scythians, Scytho-Sasanians.

27 ——— NC, XIII, (3rd ser.), p 184
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Coins of the later Indo-Scythians, Ephthalites or White Huns.

29 ——— JASB, XIV, p 430
Notice of some unpublished coins of the Indo-Scythians.

30 **Dikshit,** K. N. IA, XLVIII, p 120
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31 **Gibbs, J.** PASB, 1884, p 39
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32 **Hoernle,** A. F. R. PASB, 1879. p 122
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34 **Prinsep, J.** JASB, II, p 405
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39 **Smith,** V. A. IA, XXXIV, p 252
A coin of Menander found in Wales.

40 ——— IA, XL, 179
The form of bust on Indo-Scythian coins.

41 **Stein,** A. IA, XVII, 89
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The Zoroastrian Deity "Ardoshr" or "Ardvishur" on Indo-Scythian coins.

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Indo-Scythian coins with Hindu legends.

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45 ———— JASB, XX, p 137
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46 **Whitehead**, R. B. NS, XIV, (82), 1910
Some rare Indo-Greek and Scythian coins.

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47 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. PASB, 1895, p 82
Copper coins of Abdagases (and Kadphises II).

48 **Thomas**, E. JRAS, IV, (NS), p 503
Indo-Parthian coins.

49 ———— JRAS, X, (NS), p 139
Indo-Parthian coins.

(4) KUSHAN.

50 **Cunningham**, A. NC, IX, (3rd ser.), p 268
Coins of the Tochari, Kushans or Yue-ti.

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53 **Fleet**, J. F. JRAS, 1908, p 55
A coin of Huvishka.

54 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. PASB, 1895, p 82
Copper coins of Kadphises II (and Abdagases).

55 **Prinsep**, J. JASB, III, p 227
Notes on the coins (Kushan, Kshatrapa, Gupta, Kuninda, etc.,) found by Capt. Cautley at Behat.

56 **Rapson**, E. J. JRAS, 1897, p 319
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(5) PURI KUSHAN.

57 **Bānerji**, R. D. JB&O, V, p 82–87
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58 **Walsh**, E. H. C. JB&O, V, p 73–81
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(6) KSHAHARATA AND KSHATRAPAS.

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60 ———— JRAS, 1894, p 541
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61 **Bhāndārkar**, D. R. ASR, 1913-14, p 227
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63 **Dikshit**, K. N. IA, XLVIII, p 120
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64 **Fleet**, J. F. IA, XIV, p 325
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Coins of the Shāh Kings.

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On the Sāh, Gupta and other ancient dynasties of Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt (with lithographed page of coins).

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73 **Thomas**, E. JRAS, XII, p 1–77
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(7) Sakas.

74 **Cunningham**, A. NC, X, (3rd ser.), p 103
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(8) Gupta.

75 **Allan**, J. NS, XXIII, (137), 1914
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77 ——— ——— JB&O, V, pp 82–87
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78 **Bayley**, Sir E. C. IA, VI, p 57
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80 ——— ——— NS, XXXIX, (249), 1925
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87 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. JASB, LVIII, p 84
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101 ——————— PASB, 1887, p 182
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102 ——————— PASB, 1887, p 221
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103 **Theobald**, W. JASB, LIV, p 84
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104 **Thomas**, E. JASB, XXIV, p 483
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105 **Wright**, H. N. NS, I, (1), 1904
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(9) VALABHI.

106 **Burgess**, J. IA, I, p 195
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107 **Stevenson**, Rev. J. JBBRAS, II, p 377
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(10) PUNCH-MARKED.

108 **Bānerji**, R. D. NS, XIII, (76), 1910
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109 **Bānerji**, R. D. ASR, 1913–14, p 220
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110 **Marshall**, Sir J. ASR, 1914–15, p 26
Punch marked and other Greek and Non-Muhammadan coins from Taxila.

111 **Spooner**, D. B. ASR, 1905–06, p 150
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112 **Theobald**, W. JASB, LIX, p 181
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113 ——— JASB, LXX, p 38
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114 **Walsh**, E. H. C. JB&O, V, 1919, pp 16–72
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115 ——— JB&O, V, 1919, p 463–94
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(11) Maukharis.

116 **Burn**, R. JRAS, 1906, p 843
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(12) Tribal Coins.

117 **Bānerji**, R. D. NS, XXIII, (134), 1914
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118 **Douglas**, R. O. NS, XXXVII, (237), 1923
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119 **Mitra**, R JASB, XLIV, p 82
On a coin of Kunanda from Karnāl.

120 ——— PASB, 1875, p 85
On a coin of Kunanda (340 B.C.) found at Karnāl.

121 **Theobald**, W. JASB, LV, p 161
Some of the symbols on the coins of Kunanda.

(13) Nāgas of Narwar.

122 **Bānerji**, R. D. NS, XXXIII, (201), 1918
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123 **Cunningham**, A. JASB, XXXIV, p 115
Coins of the Nine Nāgas, and of two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwālior.

(14) Āndhra.

124 **Codrington**, O. JBBRAS, XIII, p 303
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125 **Gupte**, Y. R. IA, XL, p 173
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126 **Thomas**, E. IA, IX, p 61
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127 ———
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(15) Indo-Sassanian.

128 **Burn**, R. NS, I, (2), 1904
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129 **Cunningham, A.** NC, XIV, (3rd ser.), p 243
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130 **Fleet, J. F.** IA, XVIII, p 225
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131 **Indraji, Bhagvāniāi.** JBBRAS, XII, p 325
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132 **Mitra, Rajendralāl.** PASB, 1878, p 191
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133 **Smith, V. A.** JRAS, 1907, p 91
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134 ———— JRAS 1907, p 923
'White Hun' coin of Vyāghramukha of the Chapa (Gurjara) Dynasty of Bhinmāi.

135 **Taylor, G. P.** NS, III, (18), 1904
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136 **Thomas, E.** JRAS, XV, (N. S.), p 73
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137 **Whitehead, R. B.** NS, XXI, (122), 1913
A find of Ephthalite or White Hun coins.

(16) Hindu Kings of Kābul.

138 **Bayley, E. C.,** NC, II, (3rd ser.), p 128
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139 ———— NC, II, (3rd ser.), p. 291
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140 **Fleet, J. F.** IA, XV, p 185
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141 **Thomas, E.** JRAS, IX, p 177
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(17) Western Chedi.

142 **Wright, H. N.** NS, XVII, (101), 1912
Coins of Gangeya Deva.

(18) Chandela.

143 **Bānerji, R. D.** NS, XXII, (131), 1914
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144 **Smith, V. A.** IA, XXXVII, p 114
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(19) Kāngra.

145 **Rodgers, C. J.** JASB, XLIX, p 10
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(20) Āssām and Minor States.

146 **Allan, J.** NC, IX, (4th ser.), p 300
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147 **Bānerji, R. D.** ASR, 1913-14, p 249
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148 **Bhattasāli, N. K.** NS, XXXVII, (238), 1923
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149 **Botham. A. W.** NS, XX, (120), 1912
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150 ———— NS, XXIV, (139), 1914
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151 ———— NS, XXIV, (138), 1914
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152 **Gait, E. A.** JASB, LXIV, p 286
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153 **Goswāmi, K. G.** IHQ, II, p 614
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154 **Grierson, G. A.** PASB, 1895, p 85
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155 **Gurdon, P. R. T.** NS, IV, (29), 1904
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(21) Ārākān and Burma.

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345 **Whitehead**, R. B. NS, XIV, (83), 1910
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347 ——— NS, XVII, (102), 1912
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348 ——— JPHS, I, p 81
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350 **Wright**, H. N. NS, I, (3), 1904
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351 ——— NS, II, (11), 1904
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352 ——— NS, II, (13), 1904
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353 ——— NS, V, (31), 1905
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354 ——— NS, XXVII, (166), 1916
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356 ——— JRAS, 1900, p 769
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370 **Nevill**, H. R. NS, XVIII, (110), 1912
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373 ——————— JRAS, VI, part II, (N.S.), p 339
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375 ——————— JASB, XXXVI, p 1
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376 ——————— JASB, XLII, p 343
The initial coinage of Bengal, Part II.

377 ——————— PASB, 1872, p 199
Readings of Rare Coins.

378 **Wright**, H. N. NS, II, (13), 1904
Report on two silver coins from Mālda of Nusrat Shāh.

(3) KASHMIR.

379 **Delmerick**, J. G. JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Kashmir.

380 **Rodgers**, C. J. JASB, XLVIII, p 282
Copper coins of the Sultans of Kashmir.

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381 **Rodgers**, C. J. JASB, LIV, p 92
Square silver coins of the Sultans of Kashmir.

382 ——— JASB, LXV, p 223
Rare Kashmir coins.

(4) Bahmani.

383 **Blochmann**, H. PASB, 1872, p 118
Two coins of Ahmad Shāh II.

384 **Brown**, C. J. NS, XXII, (129), 1914
On two finds of Bahmani coins.

385 **Burn**, R. NS, VII, (49), 1907
The Bahmani kings—a report on 869 copper coins found in the Betūl Dist., C.P.

386 **Codrington**, O. JBBRAS, XVI, p 99
On copper coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.

387 ——— NC, XVIII, (3rd ser.), p 259
Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.

388 **Delmerick**, J. G. JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the kings of the Bahmani Dynasty.

389 **Gibbs**, J. NC, I, (3rd ser.), p 91
Gold and silver coins of the Bahmani dynasty.

390 ——— NC, V, (3rd ser.), p 213
On some rare and unpublished coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.

391 **Ismāil**, Mohd. NS, XXXIX, (264), 1925
Note on a gold coin of 'Alaūd-din Humāyūn Shāh Zālim Bahmani.

392 **Saboor**, M. A. NS, XXXIX, (261), 1925
Historical facts gleaned from the coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.

393 **Thānāwāllā**, F. J. NS, XI, (62), 1909
Some rare silver and copper coins of the Bahmani kings.

394 **Whittell**, H. M. NS, XXXII, (199), 1918
The Reign of 'Ālāu-d-din Bahman Shāh.

395 ——— NS, XXXVII, (234), 1923
The coins of the Bahmani kings of Gulbarga.

(5) Ādil Shāhi Dynasty of Bijāpūr.

396 **Ismāil**, Mohd. NS, XXXVI, (231), 1922
The epithet used on copper coins by Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr.

397 ——— NS, XXXIX, (254), 1925
The epithet used on copper coins by Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr.

398 ——— NS, XXXIX, (263), 1925
On the gold coins of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr.

399 **Streenivas**, T. RADN, for 1921-24, p 28
A (fourth) gold coin of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh in the Hyderābād Museum.

400 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, XV, (90), 1910
On some copper coins of the 'Ādil Shāhi Dynasty of Bijāpūr.

401 ——— NS, XV, (91), 1910
On the Bijāpūr Lāri or Lārin.

402 ——— NS, XVIII, (108), 1912
On three gold coins of the 'Ādil Shāhi Dynasty of Bijāpūr.

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(6) Nizām Shāhi Dynasty of Ahmednagar.

403 **Thānāwālā**, F. J. NS, VII, (48), 1907
Some rare copper coins of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

(7) Jaunpūr.

404 **Delmerick**, J. G. JASB, XLIV, p 126
Coins of the Kings of Jaunpūr.

405 **Gibbs**, J. NC, V, (3rd ser.), p 213
On some rare and unpublished coins of Jaunpūr.

406 **Nevill**, H. R. NS, XXVI, (158), 1915
A new copper coin of Jaunpūr.

407 **Sherring**, M. A. PASB, 1870, p 296
Coins of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpūr.

408 **Whittell**, H. M. NS, XXXVI, (228), 1922
The coinage of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpūr.

(8) Gujarāt.

409 **Dikshit**, K. N. IA, XLVIII, p 122
Numismatic notes (two silver coins of Muzaffar II).

410 **Hodivālā**, S. H. JBBRAS, II, (N. S.), p 19
The unpublished coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

411 **Horwood**, T. B. NS, XXXVII, (235), 1923
An unidentified coin of Gujarāt.

412 **Master**, A. NS, XVII, (107), 1912
Two rare coins of Mahmūd I of Gujarāt.

413 **Oliver**, E. E. JASB, LVIII, p 1
Coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarāt.

414 **Taylor**, G. P. JBBRAS, XXI, p 278
Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

415 ——— NS, VI, (46), 1905
On some genealogical coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

416 ——— NS, XXVI, (162), 1915
A silver coin of Ahmad I of Gujarāt.

(9) Mālwa.

417 **Bānerji**, R. D. ASR, 1913–14, p 256
Silver coins of Mahmūd Shāh II Khilji of Mālwa.

418 **Blochmann**, H. PASB, 1869, p 266
On a Mālwah Gold Muhur (Ghiās Shāh).

419 **Delmerick**, J. G. JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Kings of Mālwa.

420 **King**, L. W. NC, III, (4th ser.), p 356
History and Coinage of Mālwa (Part I).

421 ——— NC, IV, (4th ser.), p 62
History and Coinage of Mālwa, (Part II).

422 **Wright**, H. N. NS, XI, (63), 1909
Addenda to the Mālwa Coinage.

(10) Miscellaneous (Muhammadan).

423 **Allan**, J. NC, I, (5th ser.), p 333
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum.

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424 **Allan**, J. NC, II, (5th ser.), p 200
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum.

425 ——— NC, IV, (5th ser.), p 96
Indian coins acquired by the British Museum.

426 **Amedroz**, H. F. JRAS, 1905, p 471
On a Dirham of Khusrū Shāh of 361 A.H.

427 **Blochmann**, H. PASB, 1870, p 151
On Mr. Ferrar's Copper Coin.

428 **Bourdillon**, J. A. NS, VII, (54), 1907
A gold coin of 'Ālāu-d-din of Khwārizm.

429 **Brown**, C. J. NS, XXIV, (145), 1914
Note on some copper coins (Gujarāt, Mālwa, Sūri and Akbar) discovered in Bālāghāt, C. P.

430 **Burn**, R. NS, II, (17), 1904
A coin of Ghazni.

431 ——— NS, VII, (53), 1907
Coins of 'Ālāu-d-din of Khwārizm.

432 **Codrington**, O. JBBRAS, XV, p 339
On a hoard of coins found at Broach (Mamlūk Sultans—Bahree Dynasty, Ayyoobees, Monguls, Mudhaffaree, Jelāir, Ghyāsuddin Tughlaq, Mahmūd bin Mohd Tughlaq and Persian).

433 ——— JBBRAS, XVIII, p 30
Notes on the cabinet of coins of the B. B. R. A. S.

434 ——— NS, XX, (121), 1912
Coins or Medals from Kurnūl.

435 ——— JRAS, 1904, p 681
Notes on Musalman coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate.

436 ——— JRAS, 1905, p 547
Further notes on Musalman coins collected by Mr. G. P. Tate.

437 **Codrington**, H. W. NC, XVIII, (4th ser.), p 124
The Persian weight standard in Mediaeval India.

438 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. JASB, LIX, p 169
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins.

439 ——— JASB, LXII, p 230
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins No. III.

440 ——— JASB, LXVI, p 133
On some new or rare Muhammadan coins (No. IV).

441 ——— PASB, 1881, p 69
Coins and Antiquities from Khokhrakote near Rohtak.

442 **Ismāil**, Mohd. IA, LIII, p 264
Some copper coins of Southern India.

443 **Jackson**, R. P. NC, X, (4th ser.), p 146
Mohd. Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic and his copper coins.

444 **King**, L. W. NC, XVI, (3rd ser.), p 277
History and coinage of the Bārakzai Dynasty of Afghānistān.

445 **Oliver**, E. E. JASB, LX, p 8
The coins of the Chaghatāi Mughals.

446 **Raverty**, H. G. JASB, LXI, p 87
Some of the Muhammadan coins collected by the Afghan Boundary Commission from an historical point of view.

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447 **Rehatsek, E.** JBBRAS, X, p 163
Facsimiles of Muhammadan coins (a rupee of Indore, Alāuddin Muhammad Shāh Khalji, Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq and Dirhems with Kufic legends).

448 **Rodgers, C. J.** JASB, LXV, p 226
Coins of Nimroz.

449 ———— PASB, 1879, p 178
Coins of Khusrāū Shah and Khusrū Malik, the Ghaznavi Kings of Lahore.

450 ———— PASB, 1881, p 4
A find of coins struck by Ghazni Sultans in Lahore.

451 ———— PASB, 1884, p 75
On some coins from Candahar.

452 **Sewell, R.** IA, XXXII, p 313 ; XXXIII, p 332
Some doubtful copper coins of Southern India.

453 **Symonds, T. J.** JAS, II, p 289
On the coins of the Nawabs of the Karnātik.

454 **Thomas, E.** JRAS, X, pp 267–386
On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni.

455 ———— JRAS, XVII, p 138
Supplementary contribution to the series of the coins of the Kings of Ghazni.

456 ———— JASB, XXI, p 115
Note on Col. Stacey's Ghazni coins.

457 **Taylor, G. P.** NS, XXIV, (143), 1914
Review (The copper coins of India, Part I, Bengal and U. P., by W. H. Valentine).

(11) Akbar.

458 **Burn, R.** PASB, 1896, p 109
A new mint (Mānikpūr) of Akbar.

459 **Dikshit, K. N.** NS, XXXIII, (208), 1918
A new Jaunpūr mohar of Akbar.

460 **Hodivālā, S. H.** NS, XXXIV, (210), 1920
Abul Fazl's inventory of Akbar's mints.

461 **Lāll, Pannā.** NS, XXVI, (160), 1915
A rare coin of Akbar.

462 ———— NS, XXVI, (161), 1915
An unpublished coin of Akbar.

463 **Master, A.** NS, XVII, (106), 1912
A Chahār Tanki of Akbar.

464 ———— NS, XXIV, (141), 1914
The Gujarāt Mahmudi.

465 **Oliver, E. E.** JASB, LV, p 1
Copper coins of Akbar found in the Kāngra District.

466 **Rodgers, C. J.** IA, XIX, p 219
Rare copper coins of Akbar.

467 ———— JASB, XLIX, p 213
Copper coins of Akbar.

468 ———— JASB, LII, p 97
Rupees of the months of the Ilāhi years of Akbar.

469 ———— JASB, LIV, p 55
On some copper coins of Akbar.

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470 **Rodgers**, C. J. PASB, 1882, p 162
The rupees of the months of the Ilāhi years of Akbar. (Abstract.)

471 **Smith**, V. A. IA, XXXVIII, p 80
Mathura, a mint of Akbar for coinage.

472 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, II, (14), 1904
On the coins of Gujarāt Fabric.

473 ———— NS, IV, (26), 1904
Akbar's copper coins of Ahmadābād.

474 ———— NS, VI, (45), 1905
On the identity of the coins of Gujarāt Fabric and the Surat Mahmūdis.

475 ———— NS, XV, (93), 1910
On the half muhr, No. 172 of the British Museum Catalogue.

476 ———— NS, XVI, (100), 1911
Ilāhi synchronisms of some Hijri New Year's days.

477 ———— NS, XXIV, (144), 1914
A copper coin from the Nahrwāla Shahr Pattan mint.

478 **Whitehead**, R. B. NS, XIII, (80), 1910
Coins of Akbar struck at Jaunpūr and Ajmer mints.

479 ———— NS, XV, (94), 1910
Coins of Akbar struck at Jaunpūr and Ajmer mints.

(12) JEHĀNGIR.

480 **Beale**, T. W. PASB, 1875, p 115
A rupee of Jahāngir, A. H., 1030, from Agra.

481 **Beveridge**, H. NS, XII, (71), 1909
Salīmi coins.

482 **Bird**, J. JBBRAS, II, p 63
Notice by the Secretary on a collection of Gold Zodiac coins of Jehāngir.

483 **Blochmann**, H. PASB, 1869, pp 245, 255
On two silver coins of Jahāngir.

484 ———— PASB, 1870, p 181
Coins of Jahāngir.

485 **Gibbs**, J. JBBRAS, XIV, p 155
Notes on Zodiacal rupees and mohars of Jehāngir.

486 **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXXI, (194), 1918
The Mandū Gold Couplet.

487 **Horwood**, T. B. NS, XXXVII, (236), 1923
An unpublished copper coin of Jahāngir of Ujain.

488 **Lall**, Panna. NS, XXVI, (156), 1915
A rare rupee of Jahāngir.

489 **Prasād**, Jagat. NS, XXVI, (163), 1915
A new Muhar of Jahangir.

490 **Rodgers**, C. J. PASB, 1894, p 90
Jahāngir's Mohurs and Rupees.

491 ———— JASB, LVII, p 18
Couplets or 'Baits' on the coins of Shāh Nūr-ud-din Jahāngir the son of Akbar, collected by C. J. Rodgers.

492 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, I, (5), 1904
On the date of the Salimi coins of Jehāngir.

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493 **Taylor,** G. P. NS, V, (33), 1905
A zodiacal half rupee (Leo) of Jehāngir and three rupees with the same sign.

494 ——— NS, X, (59), 1908
A rejoinder on the date of the Salīmi coins.

495 ——— NS, XI, (70), 1909
Addendum on the date of the Salīmi coins.

496 ——— NS, XII, (72), 1909
Note on Mr. Beveridge's article on the Salīmi coins.

497 **Temple,** R. C. IA, X, p 90
Note on some coin legends.

498 **Thānāwālā,** F. J. NS, XXV, (150), 1915
A new couplet muhar of Nūru-d-din Jahāngir, Mughal Emperor of India.

499 **Wright,** H. N. NS, I, (4), 1904
A new zodiacal mohar of Jehāngir.

500 ——— NS, V, (33), 1905
Note on a variety of the (Leo) rupee of Jehāngir.

501 ——— NS, V, (34), 1905
Note on a new couplet rupee of Nūr Jahān, struck at Lāhore.

(13) Dāwar Bakhsh.

502 **Delmerick,** J. G. PASB, 1884, p 60
On a silver coin of Dāwar Bakhsh.

503 **Wright,** H. N. NS, V, (35), 1905
A rupee of Dāwar Bakhsh.

(14) Shāh Jahān.

504 **Dikshit,** K. N. NS, XXXIII, (207), 1918
Nisārs of Shāh Jahān.

505 **Hodivālā,** S. H. NS, XXVII, (168), 1916
The Gulkanda rupees of Shāh Jahān.

506 **Wright,** H. N. NS, V, (36), 1905
Two rare coins of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb.

(15) Murād Bakhsh.

507 **Wright,** H. N. NS, I, (6), 1904
The copper coinage of Murād Bakhsh, son of Shāh Jahān.

(16) Shāh Shujā.

508 **Burn,** R. NS, VI, (44), 1905
A new type of the coins of Shāh Shujā.

509 **Whitehead,** R. B. NS, XX, (116), 1912
Coins of Shāh Shujā, Son of Shāh Jāhan.

(17) Aurangzeb.

510 **Bānerji,** R. D. NS, XXXIII, (205), 1918
'Ālamgīrnagar, a new Mughal mint.

511 **Brown,** C. J. NS, XIX, (113), 1912
A square area rupee of Aurangzeb of the Shāhjahānābād mint.

512 **Dayāl,** Prayāg. NS, XXXVI, (229), 1922
A Nusratābād rupee of Aurangzeb.

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513 **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXVII, (167), 1916
The Bijāpūr rupees of 1091 A.H.

514 ———— NS, XXVIII, (175), 1917
The weights of Aurangzeb's dāms.

515 **Prasād**, Jagat. NS, XXVI, (164), 1915
A new muhar of Aurangzeb.

516 **Saboor**, M. A. NS, XXX, (190), 1918
An unpublished mint, (Nasirābād) of Aurangzeb.

517 ———— NS, XXX, (191), 1918
The Lakhnau mint on a gold coin of Aurangzeb.

518 **Streenivas**, T. RADN, for 1921-24, p 34
First issue of Ahsanābād under the name of Gulbarga.

519 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, XV, (92), 1910
On the Bijāpūr Mughal rupee of 1091 A.H.

520 **Wright**, H. N. NS, IV, (27), 1904
A new mint (Purbandar) of Aurangzeb.

521 ———— NS, V, (36), 1905
Two rare coins of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb.

(18) 'Azam Shāh.

522 **Whitehead**, R. B. NS, XXXV, (213), 1921
The official seal of Prince 'Āzam Shāh.

(19) Kām Bakhsh.

523 **Delmerick**, J. G. PASB, 1884, p 90
Notes on a Gold coin of Kām Bakhsh.

524 **Irvine**, W. NS, V, (37), 1905
Note on Kām Bakhsh.

525 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, XI, (66), 1909
On the Bijāpūr rupee of Kām Bakhsh.

(20) Shāh 'Alam I.

526 **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXVIII, (176), 1917
Some heavy rupees of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I.

527 **Irvine**, W. NS, V, (37), 1905
Note on Bahādur Shah (Shāh 'Ālam I).

528 **Taylor**, G. P. NS, XI, (67), 1909
Was there a Zafarābād rupee of Shāh 'Ālam I?

(21) 'Azīmu-Sh-Shān.

529 **Whitehead**, R. B. NS, XVII, (103), 1912
A coin of 'Āzīmu-sh-Shān.

(22) Farrukhsiyar.

530 **Irvine**, W. PASB, 1898, p 149
Mint Rules in 1126 A.H.

531 **Lall**, Panna. NS, XXXIX, (256), 1925
A gold coin of Farrukhsiyar of Farrukhābād mint.

(23) Rafi-u-d-Darajāt.

532 **Allan**, J. NS, XIII, (81), 1910
A gold muhar of Rafi-u-d-darajāt.

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(24) Shāh Jahān II.

533 **Blochmann**, H. PASB, 1876, p 139
A silver coin of Shāh Jahān II.

(25) Muhammad Shāh.

534 **Irvine**, W. PASB, 1899, p 55
Couplet on coins of Muhammad Shāh (1719–1748).

535 **Wright**, H. N. NS, XIV, (88), 1910
The Qandahār rupee of Muhammad Shāh.

(26) Ahmad Shāh.

536 **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXXI, (195), 1918
The Katak rupees of Ahmad Shāh.

537 **Wright**, H. N. NS, V, (38), 1905
A new Mughal mint (Mujāhidābad) of Ahmad Shāh.

(27) Bedār Bakht.

538 **Stubbs**, F. W. PASB, 1871, p 97
Coins of Muhammad Bedār Bakht.

(28) 'Ālamgīr II.

539 **Wright**, H. N. NS, V, (40), 1905
Two double rupees of Surat Mint ('Ālamgir II and Shāh 'Ālam II).

(29) Shāh Jahān III.

540 **Burn**, R. NS, VII, (52), 1907
A rupee of Shāh Jahān III of 'Azīmābād.

(30) Shāh 'Ālam II.

541 **Allan**, J. NS, XVII, (105), 1912
A rupee struck by George Thomas.

542 **Ayyangar**, S. R. NS, XXXIX, (253), 1925
Rupees of Shāh 'Ālam II, struck at Akarwān.

543 **Lāll**, Pannā. NS, XXIII, (133), 1914
A new coin of Shāh 'Ālam II.

544 ———— NS, XXVI, (159), 1915
A rare coin of Shāh 'Ālam II.

545 **Temple**, R. C. IA, X, p 90
Note on some coin legends.

546 **Wright**, H. N. NS, V, (40), 1905
Two double rupees of Surat mint of 'Ālamgīr II and Shāh Alam II.

547 ———— NS, XIX, (113), 1912
A rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II of Anūpnagar Shāhābād mint.

(31) Muhammad Akbar II.

548 **Whitehead**, R. B. and **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXXVI, (227), 1922
The coins of Muhammad Akbar as Claimant to the Mughal Throne.

(32) Bahādur Shāh II.

549 **Vost**, W. NS, II, (16), 1904
A rupee of Bahādur Shah II of Jhālāwar mint.

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(33) MUGHAL MISCELLANEOUS.

550 **Allan, J.** NS, XVI, (98), 1911
Some rare Mughal coins.

551 **Ayyangar, S. R.** NS, XXXIX, (259), 1925
Some Mughal gold coins.

552 **Bleazby, G. B.** NS, V, (32), 1905
Rare Mughal coins.

553 **Brown, C. J.** NS, XXII, (130), 1914
On Four rare Mughal coins.

554 ——— NS, XXV, (151), 1915
The Lakhnau mint.

555 ——— NS, XXX, (193), 1918
Some remarks on Mr. Hodivālā's articles on certain Mughal mints.

556 **Burn, R.** NS, VIII, (57), 1907
Mughal coins found in the Betūl District.

557 ——— JASB, LXXIII, p 75
The Mints of the Mughal Emperors.

558 **Dames, M. L.** NC, II, (4th ser.), p 275
Some coins of the Mughal Emperors.

559 **Dayāl, Prayāg.** NS, XXXIX, (252), 1925
Three Mughal coins.

560 **Delmerick, J. G.** JASB, XLV, p 291
Coins of the Mughal Kings.

561 **Haig, W.** JASB, LXXI, p 63
Note on a find of copper coins in Wun District, Barār.

562 **Hodivālā, S. H.** NS, XXVII, (169), 1916
The meaning of Tānki.

563 ——— NS, XXVIII, (171), 1917
The Dirham-i-Shar'ai.

564 ——— NS, XXVIII, (177), 1917
The mint name Srinagar.

565 ——— NS, XXVIII, (178), 1917
Bahādurgarh.

566 ——— NS, XXVIII, (179), 1917
'Azamnagar.

567 ——— NS, XXVIII, (180), 1917
Panjnagar.

568 ——— NS, XXVIII, (181), 1917
The Murādi Tanka.

569 ——— NS, XXVIII, (182), 1917
Fīrūzgarh.

570 ——— NS, XXXI, (196), 1918
Notes and Suggestions about some unassigned or doubtful Mughal mints.

571 ——— NS, XXXIV, (211), 1920
Notes and queries regarding Mughal mint towns.

572 ——— NS, XXXV, (216), 1921
Historical notes on the Honorific Epithets of Mughal mint towns.

573 ——— NS, XXXV, (217), 1921
The Laqab Sāhibqirān Sāni.

574 ——— NS, XXXVII, (240), 1923
Persian couplets on the Mughal and subsequent coinages.

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575 **Hodivālā**, S. H. NS, XXXVII, (241), 1923
The mint name Sitpūr (Surat).

576 ——— NS, XXXVII, (242), 1923
The mint Gobindpūr.

577 ——— NS, XXXVII, (243), 1923
The mint name Kānān (Bajānān).

578 ——— NS, XXXVII, (244), 1923
The mint Panjnagar (Bhujnagar).

579 **Irvine**, W. NS, VII, (50), 1907
Toragal or Nurgal : Which is the correct reading ?

580 ——— NS, XII, (73), 1909
Mughal mint towns.

581 ——— NS, XIV, (87), 1910
Mughal mint towns—Firoznagar.

582 **King**, L. W NC, XVI, (3rd ser.), p 155
Some novelties in Mughal coins.

583 **Lāll**, Pannā. NS, XXV, (148), 1915
Two Mughal copper coins

584 **Master**, A. NS, XXI, (124), 1913
The mint town Zain-ul-bilād.

585 ——— NS, XXII, (125), 1914
The Post-Mughal coins of Ahmadābād or a study in mint marks.

586 **Nevill**, H. R. NS, XXXII, (198), 1918
Some rare Mughal coins.

587 **Pāruck**, F. D. J. NS, XXXVII, (233), 1923
Unpublished Mughal coins.

588 **Rodgers**, C. J. JASB, LVII, p 27
Couplets on coins of Kings after the time of Jehāngir.

589 ——— JASB, LXIV, p 171
Mughal copper coins.

590 ——— JASB, LXV, p 220
Rare Mughal coins.

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The Mughal mint of Gokulgarh.

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(1) Native States.

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637 **Campbell**, W. E. M. NS, XXII, (128), 1914
Nepalese war medals.

638 **Codrington**, O. JBBRAS, XVII, p 49
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639 ———— NC, XV, (3rd ser.), p 59
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640 **Cunningham**, A. NC, VI, 1843-44, p 1
The ancient coinage of Kashmir.

641 **Hoernle**, A. F. R. JASB, LXVI, p 261
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642 **Irvine**, W. PASB, 1898, p 133
Patiyālah coins, origin of the legend thereon.

643 **Rapson**, E. J. NS, VI, (42), 1905
A hoard of Rajput coins found in the Garhwāl District.

644 **Rodgers**, C. J. JASB, XLVIII, p 277
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645 ———— JASB, LIV, p 60
Some coins of Ranjit Deva, King of Jammū, 100 years ago.

646 ———— PASB, 1897, p 84
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The coins of the Durrānis.

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A new Muhar of Taimār Shāh Durrāni.

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Coins of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli or Ahmad Shāh Durrāni.

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Old coins in the Bahāwalpūr State Toshākhāna.

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(3) Governors of Sind.

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(4) Oudh.

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660 **Wilson**, H. H. NC, V, 1842–43, p 129
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A coronation medal of Ghāziu-d-din Haidar, first King of Oudh.

(5) Ma'abar Coins.

662 **Desikāchāri**, T. IA, XXXI, p 231
Unpublished Ma'abar coins.

663 **Hultzsch**, E. JRAS, 1909, p 667
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665 **Rodgers**, C. J. JASB, LXIV, p 49
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(6) Sassanian.

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Note on a hoard of 543 Sassanian coins in possession of Col. H. Hyde, R. E.

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On the weight of Sassanian coins.

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The Drachme of the Sassanain Queen Boran.

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On a gold coin of the Sassanian King Shāpūr the Great.

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* This paper is mentioned in the Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft, XXXI (1908), Perser, E, Wilhelm ,Part I, p. 33, No. III; but the name of the author is not given.

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* Also cross reference from here to Bloch's account of the Jasodal find of Bengal coins (JASB, Proceedings, 1898, pp. 164–173).

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Some Shahnameh Legends and their Chinese Parallels.

By SIR J. C. COYAJEE.

Through a considerable portion of the Shahnameh there is a mingling of the heroic sagas of Iran and of Sakistan or Seistan, and Firdausi has given an important place in his epic to the mythology of the Sakas. Indeed, but for the special *milieu* in which Firdausi lived and the particular locality in and influence under which his work was done, the heroic legends of Seistan might have been lost to the world almost entirely. That loss would have been great, for the Saka myths of Rustam and his family possess marked characteristic features of their own and occupy an important place in the world's cycle of legends.

It is proposed here to demonstrate that there is a close parallelism between the Saka legends preserved for us in the Shahnameh and a number of Chinese legends. On which side the indebtedness was greater it is not possible to say at present, and indeed not until a systematic survey of Chinese legends has been carried out by experts, and their parallelisms with the legends of Seistan and Iran have been fully disclosed. Looking to the cultural superiority of China it might seem probable to some that Chinese influences were the predominating ones. And yet, the Saka race which dominated Central Asia for centuries and which made a broad and deep mark on the great empires of China, Persia and India must have been possessed of a great and virile individuality; and as it contributed so largely to the store-house of Persian legends it might conceivably have also enriched the mythology of China. Laufer has shown in his study of the Diamond that the Chinese folk-lore was very susceptible to the foreign influence and that there were times when a stream of foreign folk-lore poured into the valleys of China. Indeed, he has emphasised the fact that Chinese culture and beliefs were the result of the contributions of numerous tribes among whom the Saka race would naturally be prominent by its importance and influence. (See also Krause *Geschichte Ostasiens* I 35; Hirth, *History of Ancient China*, p. 70). Again "both the Emperor of China and his restless vassal Kings at different times formed marriage alliances, with the nomad princes (Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 5) and such intercourse would favour the exchange of ideas and legends. With its intermediate geographical position between China and Persia the Saka race was very favourably situated either for giving currency to its legends in both these countries or for transmitting the legends of either one of the two empires to the other.

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In any case we shall find that it is chiefly the Saka legends of the Shahnameh for which we discover parallels in China. The subject of this paper is well worthy of a close study by eminent Sinologists and possesses a great historical value. Here we can give only a few striking examples of the parallelism indicated above.

However, even such a beginning as has been made here will it is hoped, be of some assistance to the student of the Shahnameh in appreciating how its author envisaged the problems before him and what sort of material he had to assimilate and combine. The parallelisms will show for instance how loyally the poet followed his material even when he was not in sympathy with it. Thus when closing the episode of Akwan Dev the poet lets us know explicity and definitely his aversion to incorporating such legends of marvels in what he regarded as a sober historical work. In fact he tries to apologise for the inclusion of the tale and to interpret it away[1]:

خرد کو بدین گفتها بگرود
مگر نیک معنیش می نشنود
تو مردیو را مردم بد شناس
کسی کو ندارد ز یزدان سپاس

Yet, though Firdausi felt such marvels to be out of place in his book, and though he was aware that they excited scepticism and perhaps ridicule at the court of Ghazni he loyally incorporated them in his work. He has had his reward, since his work became of high value not only to students of poetry and of history but to workers in Sociology. Again, many of us when reading the Shahnameh have wished that its author had endowed Rustam with a less overwhelming might, and thus had rendered his fights less unequal, for then his opponents too could have had a chance. As a work of art the Shahnameh would no doubt have benefited by a more even balancing of the opposed forces. But when we come to study the legends from a comparative point of view we shall soon find that Firdausi could not possibly have done anything of the sort. For Rustam has, really speaking, two aspects in the Shahnameh. On the one hand, he represents the Saka race in its entire history with its wars with China, with the Kushans and with the Scythian races. In his other aspect, Rustam was a demi-god venerated under different names far beyond the bounds of Seistan.

1. "Why should the wise man who listens to these verses not follow the meaning? By devils are only meant bad men who are ungrateful to God."

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With these remarks we shall now proceed to draw attention to the more striking among the legends as regards which there is a parallelism between the Iranian and Chinese accounts.

I. The Legend of Sohrab.

The story of Rustam and Sohrab is well-known to us from the Shahnameh. It was and is equally well-known in China as the story of the fight of Li Ching and his son No-cha. In this instance there is more than a mere parallelism between the accounts, since the Chinese version helps us to fill in a number of hiatuses in the Iranian story, and informs us that the legend had formerly a religious colouring which it has lost in the Shahnameh—having become there an ordinary romance of love and war. Those who desire an outline of the Chinese legend might be referred to Pere Dore's *Superstitions en Chine*, Part II, Vol. 9, pp. 553–555 and 569–581, or to Werner's *Myths and Legends of Chinese*, pp. 315–319. The first noteworthy point in our comparison is that while Firdausi makes Sohrab the child of Rustam by an amour in the land of Samangan, the Chinese myth strikes a religious note from the first by making No-cha the *avatar* of a sage called "the intelligent pearl." Possibly this name might throw light on the etymology of the name of Sohrab. Proceeding further, we find that both versions agree in making the infant hero extraordinarily precocious. According to Firdausi, when Sohrab was a month old he was as big as a child of one year, and that when he reached the age of ten years no one in the land could engage him in fight. In the Chinese account No-cha was already six feet in height when he had attained the age of seven. Another striking analogy between the narratives to be noticed is in the matter of the bracelet of the younger hero. In the Shahnameh, Rustam had given the jewel which adorned his own arm to his wife to be worn as a bracelet by his son. The Chinese account of the matter is the more striking, in that the young warrior is born with the miraculous bracelet which was entitled "the horizon of the Heaven and Earth," and it was a miraculous weapon which was successfully used by its owner for the destruction of one formidable foe after another in various battles. This is a great improvement on the story in the Shahnameh in which the bracelet serves no useful purpose except that of a belated and tragic recognition. But we have to remember that Firdausi was writing for a race with more common sense and with less belief in supernatural machinery.

As might be expected, the Chinese version has not failed to reproduce the fine love-episode of Sohrab and the warrior-maid Gurdafrid. In the Shahnameh Sohrab besieges a border-fortress and captures the commandant Hajir, upon which the

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latter's brave daughter sallies out to avenge her father. The Chinese story has also developed this episode. No-cha defeats the warrior Teng Chiu-kung and smashes his left arm, upon which the latter's daughter comes upon the scene to avenge her father (Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 147), and performs great exploits.

The fight between the father and the son is common to the Chinese and Persian accounts, and there is the further similarity that just as Rustam takes the field on behalf of King Kawoos, so his Chinese counterpart on behalf of the tyrant Chou (Werner, p. 305). Li-ching (the Chinese counterpart of Rustam) is worsted and compelled to flee. In both accounts the father resorts to supernatural help. In the Shahnameh he resorts to prayers which increase his strength materially, while in the Chinese tale he is saved by the intervention of a Taoist saint carrying a magic weapon.

The two versions are thus very similar, though the Chinese legend is the better knit and combined. It provides an ethical defence for the unfilial conduct of No-cha in fighting his father. Again, the Chinese legend was bound to end happily since No-cha (unlike Sohrab) is an immortal. Finally while we find that in the Shahnameh, Feramurz (the other son of Rustam) plays no part in the episode (though in the Barzo-nameh he intervenes affectively in the fight of Rustam with the son of Sohrab), in the Chinese version. Mucha (the counterpart of Feramurz) tries to succour his father when the latter was pursued by No-cha (Sohrab). However, No-cha worsted his brother easily by striking him with a brick of gold which the former was carrying in a panther-skin. (Incidentally, panther-skin and the brick remind us of the خشت and the ببر بیان of which we hear so often in the Shahnameh.)

After this crowning combat with his son, Li-ching (Rustam) is raised by the Chinese accounts to the *acme* of his fame and power and was made "Generalissimo of the twenty-six Celestial Officers, Grand Marshal of the Skies and Guardian of the Gate of Heaven." (Werner, p. 319.) Thus we see that with the Chinese (and also perhaps with the Sacæ) Li-ching (or Rustam) was no mere earthly hero but was a demi-God, and the battle between him and Sohrab was a war of giants. In the Shahnameh, Rustam is portrayed with a huge mace, while in Buddhist temples he holds in his hand the model of a pagoda (Cf. Werner, p. 305.) Can it be that the old Saka legend was transformed under the influence of Buddhism into a religious story with ethical bearings ?

I have often wondered whether some lines in the Sohrab episode show that Firdausi was dimly aware of the Chinese parallel, counterpart or source, of the story he was narrating. Thus, when Sohrab asks for information from Hajir as to who

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the great warrior (Rustam) was, he is answered that he was a Chinese hero.[1]

بدو گفت کز چین یکی نیکخواه
بنوی بیامد بنزدیک شاه
گمانم که ان چنیی ان پهلواست
که هر گونه ساز و سلاحش نواست

It is a very remarkable thing in every one of the legends with Chinese parallels which Firdausi narrates he takes care to include a line or two referring pointedly to China.

In any case, as the result of our study we find that there is no justification for the regretful self-laudation in which Firdausi indulged (or is supposed to have indulged in the *Yusuf and Zuleikha* ascribed to him). There the poet is made to regret that he had vainly wasted half his life in spreading the fame of Rustam, who had so far only been a Seistani chief, throughout the world.[2]

که یک نیمه از عمر خود گم کنم
جهانی پر از نام رستم کنم
که رستم سری بود در سیستان
من اوردم اورا درین داستان

There is no ground whatever for these remarks, inasmuch as Rustam—under another name—was worshipped beyond the boundaries of Persia or Seistan, and for centuries before Firdausi was born.

2. The Legend of Akwan Dev.

If the episode of Sohrab is reminiscent at every step of its Chinese counterpart, the legend of Akwan Dev is almost avowedly borrowed from a Chinese source. In a word, Akwan Dev is no other than the Chinese "spirit of the wind." (Cf. Pere Doré, *op. cit.*, Part II, Vol. 10, pp. 699–707.)

The episode of Akwan Dev in the Shahnameh is a very short one and is easily summarised. A monstrous stag or buck appears in King Kaikhosru's stud of horses and begins to destroy the horses. The stag or buck is of a yellow colour

[1] He said: "Recently a friendly warrior has arrived from China to help the King. I believe this warrior, whose arms and accoutrements are unfamiliar to me, is that Chinese hero."

[2] "I have wasted half my own life in making Rustam famous throughout the world. Rustam was but a petty chief of Seistan; and it is I who have introduced him into this Heldensaga."

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generally but has panther-like spots or streaks on it. As usual, in any case of danger, Rustam is sent for to deal with it; but he finds on approaching the marvellous stag that sword and arrows are of no avail against it since it can change itself into the wind at pleasure. The tired and baffled hero falls asleep, and Akwan—for it was he who had assumed the strange shape—litts up Rustam bodily into the air whence he drops the hero into the sea. The hero saves himself by swimming and then deals with the demon when he comes upon the latter unexpectedly. I now proceed to show the similarities of this story to the Chinese legends about the god of the wind.

(*a*) First, as to the appearance and characteristics of Akwan: Fei Lien, the Chinese demon of the wind, is said to have the body of the stag, and is about the size of a leopard. He is able to make the wind blow whenever he wishes it. It possesses also a serpent's tail. As regards colour he wears a *yellow cloak* when he assumes the shape of an old man, and it is *yellow* and white when it changes into a sack which exhales wind. (Cf. Dore, *op. cit.*, Part Vol. 10, p. 700; Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.) All these characteristics are carefully emphasized by Firdausi in describing Akwan Dev. He speaks twice of the yellow or golden colour and the spots or lines on its body.[1]

همان رنگ خورشید دارد درست
سپهرش بزراب گوئی بشمت
یکی بر کشیده خط از یال اوی
ز مشک سیه تا بدنبال اوی
درخشنده زرین یکی باره بود
بچرم اندرون زشت بیتاره بود

Nor does the serpentine trait remain unnoticed.[2]

برون امد از پوست مانند مار
کز و هر کسی خواستی زینهار

It is an interesting matter and well worth noting that while in Chinese myths the wind demon has the body of a stag, in India Vayu (the wind-god) rides on the back of an antelope.

---

1 "That buck has exactly the colour of the Sun, as if the sky had painted it with liquid gold. There are long stripes on his body stretching from his black mane to his tail. He was like a shining horse but his body was covered with foul spots."

2 "He came out of his sheath or skin like a serpent which terrifies every one."

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Hence the "Gor" in the Shahnameh, the stag of the Chinese legends and the antelope of Indian mythology all symbolise the wind—very likely because no other animal can represent better the speed and the abrupt movements of the wind.

(*b*) In the second place, whenever Akwan Dev is hard-pressed he changes into the wind. Further, it is obvious that it was only a strong wind that could raise an "elephant-bodied hero" like Rustam and hurl him down from thence on land and sea. There could thus be no question of the identity of Akwan with the wind demon. But, as if to emphasize the identity further, in this short episode of three or four pages Firdausi refers in one way or another to "the wind" repeatedly. [1]

(1) چهارم بدیدش گرازان به دشت
چو باد شمالی بر و بر گذشت

(2) چو باد از خم خام رستم بجست
بخائید رستم همی پشت دست

(3) جز اکوان دیو این نشاید بدن
نباید بر باد تیغی زدن

(4) چو اکوانش از دور خفته بدید
یکی باد شد تا بدو در رسید

Indeed, in the 3rd line Firdausi asserts the identity of Akwan and the wind.

(*c*) But, further, in this case Firdausi is aware fully that he is narrating a Chinese legend and he quotes from a Chinese philosopher the psychological traits of the demon beginning: [2]

چنین داد پاسخ که دانای چین
یکی داستانی ز دست اندرین

At the end of the story the poet goes further and informs us that the true name of the demon was not Akwan but Kwan or

---

[1] (*a*) "On the fourth day he was seen raging over the plain, and he passed Rustam with the quickness of the North *wind*."
(*b*) "He escaped like the *wind* from the leathern lass of Rustam and the latter bit his hands with vexation."
(*c*) "This must be Akwan Dev. It is in vain to try to smite the *wind* with the sword."
(*d*) "When Akwan saw from afar that Rustam was asleep, he became a *wind* and approached the hero."

[2] He replied that "the Chinese philosophers have written an episode on this topic."

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Kuan and that it had been so written in Pehlevi; but since in Persian letters compounds could not be formed at the beginning of words, it was necessary to write the name as Akwan :[1]

کوان خوان و اکوان دیوش مخواه

ابـــر پهلـــوانی بگـــردان زبـــان

Now the name Kwan or Kuan thus emphasized by Firdausi reminds us of Chinese names of gods like Kuan Ti or Kuan Yu (the god of war) and Kuan Yin (goddess of mercy). Akwan might also be a reminiscence of the Chinese expression "Kwei Wang" or "Kui Ong" which means the "Spectre King" (Cf. De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 806).

While, however, Akwan Dev is fully identified with the wind-god, there are also old Chinese stories of "were-stags" and "were-bucks" which offer great resemblances to the Akwan episode. Thus "a were-buck most celebrated in China's history" created as much consternation by its appearance in the time of the renowned founder of the Wei dynasty as Akwan had caused at the court of Kai-Khusrow. The warriors of the Wei Court were also at a loss how to seize the were-buck as the latter ran into a crowd of goats and assumed their shape through its magical powers. (De Groot, Vol. IV, p. 211.)

Our suggestion (that Akwan represents the wind-demon) is corroborated when we find that Rustam is not the only Saka hero to whom the feat of overcoming the wind-demon is attributed. Indeed, there was something like a tradition in Rustam's family of fighting the storm-god or wind-spirit. For in Din Kard (Book IX, chapter 15, section 2) we read of Rustam's great ancestor Kereshasp that "the mighty wind was appeased by him and brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures." Nor is the exploit confined to the Saka heroes. For a purely Iranian hero, Kai Khusro, is said to have transformed the wind into the shape of a camel and to have ridden him. (Din Kard, Book IX, chap. 23; S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 224-225.) Consequently, in representing Rustam as subduing the wind in the shape of Akwan Dev we are following the precedents and ideas of the legends both of Sakastan and of Iran.

If the episodes of Sohrab and of Akwan find complete analogues in Chinese mythology, there are legends of the Shahnameh of which particular features point to Chinese parallels or origins. We shall now proceed to consider a few such legends.

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[1] "If you speak in the Pehlevi accents you should call him Kuan and not Akwan."

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3. The Combat of Rustam and Ispendiar.

It is well-known that when Rustam was dangerously wounded by Ispendiar in this combat, he had recourse to the miraculous bird Simurgh who took him in one night to a wonderful and immense tree on the shores of the Chinese Sea. The bird instructed Rustam to cut out a specially shaped branch of that great tree and to shape an arrow out of it which, when discharged, was sure to enter the eyes of Ispendiar and to destroy him. In course of one night, through the instrumentality of this wonderful bird, Rustam was both cured of his grievous wounds and armed for success.

Now this story contains a number of features which have striking parallels in Chinese mythology:

(*a*) There is a great number of Chinese legends all dealing with the idea of miraculous trees growing on the shores of the Chinese Sea. The curious reader will find, if he refers to the fourth volume of De Groot's, *Religious System of China*, pp. 294–324, that thirty pages of that great work are occupied by a few selected narratives about such wonder working trees. To put it briefly, there are many trees growing on the shores of the Eastern Sea or in the isles of that sea which possess wonderful qualities especially those of conferring life, strength, health, longevity and even immortality. I shall quote only two stories from out of a large number which resemble the one of Rustam's experience with the tree called "Kaz" in the Shahnameh. Thus, the Japanese hero Sentaro, being on the point of death, summoned to his aid an immortal saint; the saint procured for the hero a *crane* which, *in one night* both carried him across the ocean to the life-giving trees and brought him back (Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, pp. 116-117). The analogies of this story to that of Rustam, who was also carried to this tree and back in one night, are obvious. De Groot also tells of a man about to die from want and exhaustion who ate of the vitalizing plant with the result that he found himself much more youthful than before (De Groot, Vol. 4, p. 314). It was just such a rejuvenation that the old and wounded Rustam required; and it very well might be that in the older version of the story Rustam was cured by eating of the fruit of the "Kaz" tree. This is the more likely, since there was the cult of the Cassia tree in China and the use of Cassia was supposed to give life (Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-42, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 539 et seq.). Very likely the word "Kaz" in the Shahnameh is reminiscent of "Cassia." I venture to suggest that there is a conflict of mythologies in the present legend of the epic. The original legend of the Sacae very likely was that Rustam was cured of his wounds by resorting to the "Kaz" tree. But there were also the Persian legends according to which wounds were cured

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by being touched with feathers of the mystical bird (Cf. Bahram Yasht). The narrative in the Shahnameh combined these two methods of cure and thus made itself acceptable to both races.

(*b*) The association of the bird Simurgh with the "Kaz" tree in the Shahnameh is paralleled fully in Chinese mythology. There, the crane is associated with these trees (De Groot, IV, 289). We have already seen how it was a crane which carried the hero Sentaro to and from such trees. The Chinese also believe that cranes are the souls of these old trees and inhabit them. Some of these trees are indeed said to be 10,000 feet high. This reminds us forcibly of Firdausi's description.[1]

کری دید بر خاک سر بر هوا

نشسته بر و مرغ فرمان روا

(*c*) Something might also be said about the peculiar shape of the branch which Rustam was instructed to select for his purpose. De Groot informs us that the bizarre forms which parts of plants assume promoted in China the belief in the animation of such plants. Rustam's instructions were to select the longest and the straightest branch to form his arrow out of.[2]

بدو گفت شاخی گزین راست تر

سرش برتر و بنش بر کاست تر

Obviously, while aware of the plant-animism of China, the mythologists of Sakistan had drawn the further logical conclusion that arrows made out of the wood of trees would be the more dangerous and effective—being sure to hit the most vital part of the enemy's body.

The forked arrow which Rustam manufactured out of the "Kaz" wood reminds us that to this day in China forked arrow-like pieces of wood are cut out of certain trees to make what we would call "planchettes" out of. The instructions given to-day in Amoy districts to those who would make these "divining pencils" are very similar to those once given to Rustam by the Simurgh, but are only much more detailed. "A natural fork ought to be cut out from the south-eastern side of the tree, where this has always been exposed to the rising and culminating Sun;" the fork must also be cut out on an auspicious day (De Groot, Vol. VI, pp. 1295-96).

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[1] Rustam saw a "Kaz" tree which was very lofty and on it was sitting the majestic bird.

[2] The Simurgh advised Rustam to select a perfectly straight branch of which the top should be very high while the lower end should be nearest the ground.

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(*d*) Firdausi speaks of a special cult of the "Kaz" tree.[1]

چنان چون بود مردم کز پرست *

He speaks of a set of people who worship or practise the cult of the "Kaz" tree. This will not surprise any one who knows what a large place is occupied in the old Chinese literature and belief by myths about the Cassia, the fir, the pine and other rejuvenating trees Indeed, authors on the subject talk of the "Cassia-cult" (D. A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 141) and "tree-cult" just as Firdausi spoke of "the worship of the Kaz."

I venture to conclude that the episode of Ispendiar and Rustam contains a very large number of parallels or allusions to the ancient plant-mythology of China.

4. The Diw-i-Safid.

There is still another legend of Rustam which strongly reminds us of old Chinese myths. When Rustam slays the White Demon he pulls out the liver of the Demon and by means of it cures King Kawoos and his followers of their blindness.[2]

ز پهلوش بیرون کشیدم جگر
چه فرمان دهد شاه فیروز گر
کنون خونش اور تو در چشم من
همان نیز در چشم این انجمن
مگر باز بینیم دیدار تو
که بادا جهان افرین یار تو

The Shahnameh does not inform us why the liver of the Demon should be useful in restoring any one's sight—even if the blindness had been brought on by magical spells. For that piece of information we have to resort to Taoist texts where we learn of the ancient Chinese belief that each of the six viscera contains a soul or a part of the human soul (called the "Shen"). Now, we are informed that "the *shen* of the liver passes under the name of Lung-yen or Dragon's smoke, and its cognomen is Han-ming *i.e.*, who holds the Light in his jaws" (*De Groot, op.*

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[1] "Such as is the practice of the people who observe the cult of the Kaz."

[2] (Said Rustam) "I have cut his liver out of his body; now what are the victorious King's orders?" (Kawoos replied) "Pour some of its blood into my eyes as well as into the eyes of my followers, so that we can see you; and may God befriend you."

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cit., Vol. IV, p. 72). This pronouncement fully explains to us the *rationale* of Rustam's procedure. Since the liver of the White Demon "holds the Light," its application to the eyes of King Kawoos naturally had the result of restoring the eye-sight of the King. Thus, in a number of cases, Chinese myths help us to understand Iranian myths.

5. The Legends of the Births of Zal and Rustam.

In the Shahnameh we are told that Zal, the father of Rustam, was born with white hair on his body. This feature of the child so displeased his father Sam that the infant was exposed and saved only through the kindness of the bird Simurgh which brought him up. A very similar Chinese legend is that relating to Hau-ki (see, Legge, *The Shih King*, p. 397). Hau-Ki "the first born son came forth like a lamb" (This might have a reference to white woolly hair). As his father "was dissatisfied with what had taken place" he exposed his child to secure his death. He was placed in a narrow lane. But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care. He was placed in a forest, where he was met with by the wood-cutters. He was placed on the cold ice; and a bird screened and supported him with his wings. It is true that we have tales about the exposure of Romulus and others; but the Chinese and the Sakistani legends are nearest each other in referring to the woolly character of the child's hair and in attributing the infant's safety to the intelligent activity of a bird.

Indeed, there is a story of the birth of a well-known historical figure of China which combines the marvellous and characteristic features associated in the Shahnameh with the births both of Zal and his son Rustam. The reader is well aware, no doubt, that what is called the Caesarian operation was necessary before the birth of Rustam, and that Zal was born with white hair on his head. Now, the Chinese account of the birth of the sage Lao Tze the reputed founder of Taoism, informs us that "his mother carried him in her womb for seventy-two years, so that when he was at length cut out of it his hair was already white." Indeed, the name Lao Tze means "Old Boy" and the Saka hero, Zal, according to Firdausi, might well have borne that name. These analogies, I need scarcely add, are most striking and significant (Cf. D. A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 299).

6. Combat of Rustam and the White Elephant.

In the Shahnameh, Rustam performs his first great exploit when he was still a child by engaging the White Elephant and destroying him. It is of considerable significance in view of this story to find in Chinese mythology a great combat

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between the White Elephant and his allies on the one hand and the "Red Child Devil" and his confederates on the other. In the end the White Elephant and his allies were worsted (Cf. Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84). It is somewhat surprising, at first sight, to find the Buddhist mythology drawing so largely on the exploits of a warrior like Rustam for edifying narratives. But then we have to reckon with the ingenuity of Buddhist narrators who could work wonders with the most unpromising material. Further, it was only just that the followers of the great Sakya prophet should avail themselves of the tales of the great Saka soldier.

It is to be noted that while in subduing Akwan Dev, Rustam is conquering the spirit of the wind, in the combat with the White Elephant the hero is triumphing over the demon of the waters. Because, as Father Doré points out, "this Elephant is the subtle and metamorphosed spirit of the water" (Doré, Part II, Vol. 10, p. 796). It is thus that we trace the central idea of the Sakastan and Chinese legends which exhibit their heroes combating the elemental forces of nature. We cannot, of course, say in which of the two regions such legends originated. It may be that the Saka imagination was appealed to by the story of a fight between a great Elephant and a child and that they incorporated it into the life of their national hero. Or it may be that the legend originated among the Sakas, and was adopted by the Chinese Buddhists "to point a moral and to adorn a tale."

7. The Exploits of Kereshasp.

The legends of Kereshasp and of Rustam bear a great resemblance to those Chinese myths which describe the career of Yi the Divine Archer. "To take one example, the hero Kereshasp is said to have slain the gigantic bird Kamak" which overshadowed the earth and kept off the rains till the rivers dried up (S.B.E., Vol. XXIII, p. 296 note 2). The "Divine Archer" Yi performed the same feat by killing the extraordinary birds which were blowing out fire and were thus causing droughts. (Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.) Then, again, the Persian legend describes Kereshasp as slaying the serpent Srobovar "which was swallowing horses and swallowing men" (S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, p. 12). Just so, the Divine Archer "Yi" slew "near the Tungting lake a serpent a thousand feet long who devoured human beings" (Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 181). Lastly, Kereshasp slew the huge wolf Kapod (S.B.E., Vol. XXIII, p. 295) and thereby greatly distinguished himself. This exploit also finds a parallel in the slaying of "the Great Fox" by the archer Yi. (Granet, *Danses et Legendes de la Chine Anciennes*, p. 513 note.)

It is curious, besides, that both Kereshasp and the archer Yi are represented as having a bad as well as a good side; and not

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only the glorious, but the inglorious sides of the Chinese and the Persian heroes are similar. Yi is often called "the Bad Archer" because, (*a*) he was "a great eater"; (*b*) because he offered the fat of the animals killed by him in the chase to the deity—an offering not aggreeable to the latter; and (*c*) also because he espoused the river goddess Fou-fei, who was of a dissolute character (Granet, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-513 and p. 525 note 5). These charges are the same as those which were brought against the hero of Sakastan. (*a*) In the Shahnameh, the heroes of the race of Rustam are represented habitually as "great eaters"; (*b*) Kereshasp's soul is represented to be "in a troubled condition" (S.B.E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 198), and he is represented as having grievously offended the god of fire. Just how this offence was given, we are not informed in the Iranian legend. But in the case of the "Divine Archer" we know that his offering was not acceptable to the deity of fire. (*c*) Finally, Kereshasp was undone, because the "pairika Knathaiti clave unto him," just as the marriage with the fairy Fou-fei did harm to the great Chinese archer. We can only conclude by emphasising the extraordinary resemblance between the careers of the Divine Archer and of Kereshasp.

Before we pass on from the subject of Kereshasp, we have to point out that the Chinese legends attribute to that hero's grand-son Sohrab a well-known exploit of his great ancestor. Various Yashts and Pehlevi texts inform us how Kereshasp fought the sea-monster, Gandarewa, for a long time, and at last seized the latter by his feet and flayed off the skin of the aquatic hero who had terrorised the world from his habitation in the sea Vouru-Kasha (West, Pahlavi Texts II, pp. 369 *et seq.*). This exploit is attributed by Chinese legends to No-Cha (who corresponds to Sohrab, as we have seen). We read that in the regions of the West there was a lake in which lived a dragon who was the King of the waters (this is just what the avesta texts say of Gandarewa). No-Cha overthrew him and trampling him under foot tore off the clothes of the monster. But No-Cha then found out that the body of the sea-monster was covered with scales. It was only when No-Cha tore off these scales that he reduced the dragon to submission (Doré, *op. cit.*, Part II, Vol. 7, pp. 236-237). The Chinese legend is obviously *an interesting variant of the Gandarewa Saga*, but it attributes the exploit not to Kereshasp but to his grandson.

It is not only in the case of Shahnameh legends that we discover Chinese parallels. The Kereshasp-nameh, which is supposed to narrate the exploits of one of Rustam's ancestors and forms therefore a part of the saga of the Saka race, also displays such analogues. Thus, in that work we find Kereshasp going on a long voyage and discovering a great many curious races of men—headless people, people with long arms and legs, people with elephantine ears, etc. Almost all these races meet

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with their parallels in the old Chinese work entitled the *Shan Hai Ching* or "Hill and River Classics." In the latter work too we have the same species and varieties of giants, headless people, armless people, long-armed and long-legged people, the one-eyed people, etc., (Cf. Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 386–390).

It is noteworthy that in the great majority of cases the Shahnameh legends that possess Chinese analogues are those belonging to the Sakistan Saga. This was only to be expected since the Saka race in its migrations as well as through its long stay in the regions of Central Asia came into contact with China. Indeed, the Sakas themselves believed that they were in a way related to the Chinese; the best proof of this is that their legends make their representative hero Rustam, a grandson of Sin-dukht ("the Chinese girl") However, there are just a few legends of the purely Iranian Saga which were obviously exchanged with or influenced by Chinese myths. We now proceed to consider a couple of specimens of this variety.

8. The Legend of Queen Sodabeh.

The resemblances between the careers of Sodabeh, queen of King Kawoos, and of the Chinese princess Ta Chi deserve to be emphasized here. Readers of Shahnameh are aware that Sodabeh was a daughter of the King of Hama-waran and was married to King Kawoos of Persia. Later, she fell in love with her step-son Siyawash, and when her love was rejected she tried to slander him in order to bring about his ruin. She further tried to bring about the destruction of Siyawash by attributing to him the parentage of two monstrous children born of a witch. Though Siyawash cleared himself of this aspersion he was persecuted by the step-mother into exile and destruction. To avenge these wrongs of Siyawash, Rustam killed Sodabeh.

Compare with this career of the wicked queen of Kawoos that of the infamous Ta Chi, the favourite concubine of the Chinese King Chou. She conceived a passion for the virtuous prince Po I-Kao and had resort to all sorts of ruses to catch him in her net; but his conduct was throughout irreproachable. Vexed by his indifference, she tried slander in order to bring about his ruin. But her calumnies did not at first have the result she expected. Chou, after enquiry, was convinced of the innocence of Po. So far, the parallel with the Shahnameh narrative is exact. The only difference is that Ta Chi has Po put to death within the palace (Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193). The Chinese narrative does bring in here the episode of the monstrous children, but it is introduced in relation to another prince persecuted by the queen. When Tai Sui, the son of King Chou, was born, he looked like a lump of formless flesh. The infamous Ta Chi thereupon informed the over-credulous king that a monster had been born in the palace and the child was

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ordered to be cast outside the city. He was saved by a hermit and when he grew up he avenged his mother. (Werner, pp. 195-196.)

It is clear that in the Shahnameh Firdausi has combined in Sodabeh's persecution of Siyawash, the infamous treatment dealt out by the merciless Ta Chi to several of her victims. To one more important analogy attention remains to be drawn. In Persia great honours were paid annually to the memory of Siyawash (and perhaps these honours formed the precedent for the annual processions in honour of Hasan and Husain in post-Islamic Persia). In China, too, the youthful victims of Ta Chi received great honours after their death. Po was canonized while Tai Sui has been worshipped since A.D. 1068 (Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 and 196; also Cf. Pere Doré, *op. cit.*, Part II, Vol. 10, pp. 822–832).

I have yet to account for my iucluding the story of queen Sodabeh among the legends of the Saka tribe. The reason is that, as the Shahnameh says, Sodabeh was the daughter of the prince of Hamawaran. Now, we know the long association of the Saka race with Hamawaran. Marquart tells us how the Saka Haumwargah were distinguished from the Saka Tigrachaudah who lived beyond the Oxus. He concludes that the Hamawaran Sakas lived for centuries between Baktria and Kandahar. (J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 140, 242, 142, 86) It is consequently most likely that Sodabeh was a princess of the Saka race.

In view of this strong probability, the conjecture of Justi that the name Sodabeh is really an Arabic one (Su'da) and has been expanded on the model of the name Rodabeh appears not to be based on any strong foundation. (See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 312) If Sodabeh being a daughter of the prince of Hamawaran was a Saka princess, one need not be surprised at the resemblance which her name bears to that of another Saka princess—Rodabeh. Indeed, in these two names might have been preserved to posterity a certain type of female name of the Saka race. Again, Firdausi's account that King Kawoos married a prince of Hamawaran is much more likely to correspond with facts than the version quoted from Masudi and Yaqut that he sought for a wife in far off Yemen; and it is on the authority of these latter historians that Justi bases his conjecture. But is it at all likely that Masudi and Yaqut had access to any more correct accounts of the very remote age of Kawoos than Firdausi had ?

In concluding this section of one subject I am quite willing to admit that the *motif* or topic of step-mother hating or loving her step-son is a fairly common one. But there are two important peculiarities of the legends of Sodebeh and of Ta Chi which mark them out from other stories and indicate that in this case there was either a common source for the legends or imita-

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tion or borrowing. These features are the monstrous birth and the cult of the persecuted stepson.

9. The Cypress of Kishmar.

On another interesting point there is such a striking resemblance between a well-known Shahnameh legend, Old Chinese beliefs and the present day beliefs of the descendants of the Sakas (the people of Seistan) that I cannot leave the matter unrecorded. The Shahnameh states that the Prophet Zoroaster planted a marvellous cypress tree which possessed a heavenly character, great virtues and an enormous size.[1]

درخت بهشتیش دانی همی
کجا سر و کشمرش خوانی همی
چرا کش نخوانی نهال بهشت
که چون سرو کشمر بگیتی که کشت

In any case there existed a great cypress tree connected with the name of Zoroaster, which existed far into the 9th Century of our Era until cut down in A.D. 846 by the command of the Caliph Mutawakkal.

Nor were the ancient Chinese without a cult of Cypress of their own. Thus De Groot quotes the Chinese authority Koh Hung to the following effect:—

"Among the big trees that grow in the mountains there are some that can speak; but it is not the trees themselves that possess this faculty. Their tsing is named 'clouds Yang' (that is y a n g of the heavens, s h e n), and he who calls out this name becomes happy ..... The deepest roots of cypresses a thousand years old have the shape of puppets in a sitting posture, seven inches high. When incisions are made therein, they lose blood, which, when smeared on one's foot-soles, enables him to walk over water without sinking. And he on whose nose it is smeared will, on stepping into the water, see this open before him, so that by that expedient he can abide at the bottom of the deep. Smear it on your body, and this will become invisible, to return to the visible state when it is wiped off. Moreover, such a puppet cures diseases. To this end, scrape off a little from it, inside its belly, and swallow as much of this powder as can lie on the point of a knife. And external swelling pain of the abdomen is cured immediately on such

[1] "The tree which you call the cypress of Kishmar is indeed the celestial tree. It deserves to be called the celestial tree, for who else has planted such a tree?"

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spots of the belly as are rubbed by the hand with the same quantity of scrapings from the corresponding part of the mannikin. Should your left leg be bad, you must scrape a little from the left leg of the puppet, or spurt at it. Again, some scrapings mixed into a torch with other ingredients of great power, can light the soil all around in the dark, and, then, if there is gold in the soil, or jade, or any other precious things, the light will turn blue and bend downward, so that you have only to dig on the spot thus indicated to find them. And if you pound a puppet, and swallow ten pounds of the powder, you will live a thousand years." (De Groot, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p 287.)

Such were the wonderful things believed about the cypress by the Chinese votaries of the cult of the cypress.

Still more noteworthy are the traces of the old cult to be found in the land of the Sakas—among the Seistanis of to-day. I might be permitted to quote from the excellent memoir on Seistan by Mr. G. P. Tate.

"There are three other remains of well ascertained Zoroastrian antiquity. These are the cypress trees about 2 miles north of the modern village of Darg in the Hokat and about sixteen miles below the town of Juwein. According to tradition they are planted in the "days of Naushirwan." The cypress is a slow-growing tree—and for these to have attained their present size they must have been planted certainly not later than that period (some 1,500 years almost ago); and very probably at a much earlier date. Turning again to the life and teachings of Zoroaster, we see that a peculiar significance was attached to this species of the vegetable kingdom.....

"The cypresses of Darg in Seistan were carefully measured by me. I also at first mistook them for plane trees, but the dull and the dark green colour of the foliage assured me of a mistake long before I reached them. The taller of the two trees is not a perfect specimen. Its crown has been broken off; nevertheless it was found to be 64 feet in height. At a height of six feet above the ground its girth was found to be 17 feet. It was in good leaf. From the roots of this tree another had sprung up which does not attain to quite half of the stature of the parent tree. At six feet above ground the sapling gave a measurement of 12 feet. About two hundred yards to the east stands the butt end of a much larger specimen. This imperfect tree at 5 feet above ground measured about 23 feet in girth, and its height is only 25 feet. It is a much older tree than the others. The latter stand on the banks of an old irrigation channel and as their roots conform to the spoil banks and bed of the latter the channel must have endured for innumerable centuries and the tree must have been originally planted where it now stands.

The villagers of Darg told me that this variety of cypress may be propagated by means of cuttings, and if so it is by

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no means impossible that *both the cypresses of Darg in Seistan and of Sangun in Sarhad may have been in this way propagated from the famous tree of Kishmar*, and may have both been planted to commemorate some event of importance in Sarhad and in Seistan, connected with the spread of the doctrines of Zoroaster. A smaller and less perfect cypress exists in Seistan to the west of the Pariun, which I was told was once a cutting from the trees of Darg. *These trees are undoubtedly regarded with respect if not veneration by the Seistanis* who also hold the kora-gaz variety of the tamarisk family in a similar light. A grove of these trees exist round a shrine (now of a Muhammadan Saint). They are both numerous and of large size. It is said that when any calamity is about to befall the country, one of these trees always falls, and the country folk bring offerings to the shrine in order to avert or minimize the threatened disasters. The shrine and grove is situated in the Kala-i-Kah district." (Tate, *Seistan*, pp. 188–190.)

But the cult of the Cypress of Kishmar is a highly complex one. If it reminds us, on the one hand of the myths about the Cypress which were current in China, Sakastan and in the North-Eastern parts of Persia, in its other aspects it has surprising affinities with a very important legend of far-off Egypt. We read in the Shahnameh that King Gushtasp built a great hall round the Cypress of Kishmar, and that on every leaf of the Cypress of Kishmar was to be found the name of that King with an exhortation to him to uphold the faith. Finally we have in the account the statement that in that hall or temple Zoroaster imprisoned the Devil. Now *it is a remarkable thing that every detail of this description of the hall or temple at Kishmar corresponds to the descriptions of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis in Egypt.*

We shall best study this very interesting topic by taking each detailed feature of the hall at Kishmar and by identifying it with a corresponding feature of the temple at Heliopolis.

(1) The hall at Kishmar was built *around* the Cypress planted by Zoroaster; so the Shahnameh informs us. Now, in Egypt, "the central sanctuary of every home had a holy tree;" and at the temple of Heliopolis, the place of this central tree was taken by the famous Persea tree. (Cf. W. Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 37).

(2) On each leaf of the Cypress of Kishmar was inscribed the name of King Gushtasp and an exhortation to him. Exactly corresponding to this the supreme god Amen registered the names of the kings of Egypt on "the holy tree Persea" in the temple at Heliopolis (Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 37). Sometimes the Egyptians went farther and their gods placed the king himself in the celestial tree (*Ibid.*, p. 53).

(3) The Devil was imprisoned by Zoroaster in the hall at Kishmar. It was very remarkable that the gigantic serpent

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Apepi or Apophis was represented in Egypt either as killed at the foot of the Persea tree or as imprisoned in chains in that place (Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106). This Apophis or Apepi was the great enemy of the sun-god.

(4) On the walls of the hall at Kishmar, King Gushtasp is said (in the Shahnameh) to have placed sculptured reliefs of older Persian Kings. No authority need be quoted to show that the Egyptian temples and sanctuaries contained statues and reliefs of kings.

That the Hall at Kishmar should be, according to the description we possess of it, a sort of replica of the temple at Heliopolis is in itself a historical curiosity. We must now advert to an important corollary which is sure to be drawn from this resemblance.

I am not one of those who hold that Zoroaster lived about the sixth century before the Christian Era. Nevertheless, I must admit that, the resemblance between the temples at Kishmar and at Heliopolis affords some corroboration to the theory of Floigl which identifies Hystaspes, the father of Darius with King Gushtasp (Cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, p. 217). It is well-known that Darius had reconquered Egypt and that he had lived there for some time. "He conversed with the priests and studied their theology and writings." (E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egypt*, p. 228.) He not only repaired the temple of Ptah at Memphis; he himself built a large temple to Amen of which the ruins exist in our days. Having thus studied and practised Egyptian temple architecture, would it be strange, if on his return to Persia he built a temple to his own deity on the lines of the well-known temples of Egypt? It is also evident that of all the cults of Egypt, the cult of the Sun would appeal most to Darius, owing to the veneration in which the Sun was held by the Persians. The temple of the Sun at Heliopolis would appeal to him most as it was the model on which other temples to the Sun were built in Egypt and also because it contained no image or cultus statue. (Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 42–43.) If so, what was more natural than that he should take the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis as a model for one of the temples which he might have built in Persia on his return from Egypt? Would it not be a very natural way of celebrating his Egyptian triumphs in Persia? I do not think that the above argument is a conclusive one; but it certainly gives some support to the hypothesis of Floigl.

Leaving aside the highly complicated subject of the date of Zoroaster, *we can conclude that the description of the hall at Kishmar in the Shahnameh is a reminiscence of the conquest of Egypt by Darius.* We have satisfactory evidence that the contact of Persians with Egypt, which followed on that conquest had an influence even on the architecture of the palaces of Darius the oldest of the palaces at Persepolis (Cf. Sarre, *Die Kunst des*

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Alten Persien, p. 12). To go a little further, the famous figure at Pasargadœ which some have supposed to be a representation of the Cyrus, and others to be that of some sacred genius, has an Egyptian head dress (Sarré, *op. cit.*, p. 6). Cavaignac has argued recently that soon after the conquest of Egypt the Persians modified their own calendar in the light of the Egyptian calendar. We are thus realising gradually the great influence exerted by Egypt on its Persian conquerors. In the light of this we need not wonder if Darius built a temple in Persia on the Egyptian plan and with Egyptian symbolism.

I am aware of the existence in Tibet of a tree or trees situated in the gold-roofed temple at Kumbum of which the leaves are supposed to be written over with certain Tibetan characters. Since the days when Huc and Gabet wrote on the subject in the middle of the last century, quite a number of travellers have referred to it. About twenty years ago the matter received full discussion in W. Filchner's important work "*Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet.*" But the parallel which I have instituted between the temples at Heliopolis and Kishmar shows some features not to be found in these other accounts. These additional features and the strong probability of a historical connection between them distinguish the two cases compared by me from others.

9. The Legend of Haft-wād.

While narrating the events of the reign of Ardashir, the first Sassanian monarch, Firdausi gives us a curious story about his antagonist Haft-wād who ruled in Kirman. The poet accounts for the rise of Haft-wād to power by a wondrous tale. He was once a poor man whose small income was eked out by the industry of his daughters who had taken to spinning and weaving. One day, we are told, one of these girls while eating an apple found a worm in it. She took the worm as a mascot and placed it on the spinning wheel. The result was highly satisfactory, as she found she could spin much more on that day than ever before. In fact this worm brought good luck to the whole family of Haft-wād by causing all family enterprises to prosper until Haft-wād rose to be a king. Naturally he started a cult of the worm and cherished and sacrificed to it. By its aid he brought his opponent Ardashir to the brink of disaster. Nor did the tide of fortune turn until Ardashir succeeded in entering Kirman and killing the worm by a stratagem. The story has puzzled the students of the Shahnameh. But here again the explanation is to be found in Chinese mythology. The Chinese have always believed in the virtues of the mascot called the "Golden Caterpillar." The belief is by no means extinct in our days, and De Groot tells us that he collected the notions prevailing on the subject in China

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not only from ancient works but at the present day "from the lips of women and matrons in Amoy and the surrounding districts" :—"A Golden Caterpillar is a true Jack-of-all-trades. It can spin, weave and sew, plough, sow and reap, in a word, it turns its hand to work of whatever kind with a most wonderful display of dexterity. In the house where it is kept, women merely have to stretch a few warp threads on a loom to find the whole web finished to perfection before the next morning dawns." (I need hardly emphasize the close analogy of this to the narrative of Haft-wād) De Groot goes on to say that "if its master is a farmer, he has to thrust his spade into the ground only once or twice, to find in no less than no time the whole field ploughed, sown and harrowed. Thus the man or woman, who has a caterpillar at command, soon becomes wealthy." (De Groot, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 857-858.) It was thus we find that Haft-wād grew rich; but he also cherished the worm, fed it on delicacies, started a cult for it and virtually offered sacrifices to it; and his enemy Ardashir too had to pretend to pray and sacrifice to the worm in order to compass the destruction of the latter. This part of the belief is well-known to the Chinese of to-day and we read further in the work cited that "the owner must feed and regale the insect carefully." Indeed, in China human sacrifices are often offered to the Golden Caterpillar, for "superstition enforces also an implicit belief in the general tale that the insect from time to time demands a human victim to prey on, and is formally allowed by its keeper to attack one." In fact, the worship of the Golden Caterpillar is an acknowledged branch of sorcery in China, and its practice was probably attributed at once to account for the sudden rise of Haft-wād and to assert the moral superiority of Ardashir over his rival. Before, however, the story could have been so utilised in Persia for political objects, it must have been introduced from China and must have become fairly well-known in Persia.

The method by which the caterpillar or worm is to be found is stated very similarly in the Chinese and Persian accounts. The daughter of Haft-wād finds it while she is cutting a fruit. Chinese accounts of such finds are equally strange. We are told of a China-man who found a round pebble. He ground and polished it, thus discovering that it consisted of two layers, one fitting upon the other. Grinding it off to the size of a fist, he split it up, and out came an insect resembling a grub "which was indeed the Golden Caterpillar." (De Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 857.)

This legend of Haft-wād is a good example from which we can illustrate the value of our study of the parallelism between legends. The older commentators on the Shahnameh were puzzled how to account for the curious story and made many wild guesses with the object of explaining it. Thus, the

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great Noldeke advanced the suggestion that the story of Haft-wād was a form of the old myth of Apollo and the Hydra or of Vritra. M. Mohl also believed it to be the adaptation of that myth with an allusion to the introduction of the silk-worm into Persia. Justi, in his *Namenbuch* (p. 125) adopts these suggestions. But as Darmesteter well remarks the main difficulty is to show why such myths should find a place in the history of Ardeshir (*Etudes Iraniennes*, p. 81). But that ingenious author himself goes still farther afield in assuming that the worm in our legend is an allusion to the dragon Azi Dahaka. The suggestion of Liebrecht on the subject has so far been the least misleading. He compares the legend of Haft-wād to the Scandinavian myth of Ragnar and Thora. In that story Count Herraudr has given his beautiful daughter Thora a serpent which he has found in a vulture's egg. Thora is pleased with a serpent and keeps it in a fine box. The serpent, however, keeps on growing until it fills the box and later still in his terror at such an alarming development the Count offers the hand of the beautiful Thora to anyone who succeeds in killing the serpent. Ragnar kills the animal and receives the reward. Darmesteter is dissatisfied with this explanation of the legend of Haft-wād, and so are we. The Scandinavian legend has only one feature in common with the Persian story—*viz.*, the remarkable growth in the size of the insect. The two stories have no other feature in common, nor can it be explained why such a story should be incorporated in the history of Ardeshir. On the other hand, the Chinese legend which is brought forward here is similar in every respect to the Persian story and *we have accounted for its introduction; the motive was to accuse Haft-wād of sorcery as well as to account for his sudden rise to power.*

But it might well be asked how came the legend which was and is current on the Chinese Coast to become so well-known in the south of Persia—in Persis which was the home of Ardashir and in Kerman which was the capital of Haft-wād? In answer to this question we might refer to the age-long maritime intercourse between the coasts of China and those of the Persian Gulf. In a magnificent article in the Journal Asiatique (April–June, 1924) M. Gabriel Ferrand proves that for many centuries the ports of the Persian Gulf sent out ships which navigated the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Sea. That article tries to trace the history of Siraf and other ports of the Gulf for centuries. It is true that three centuries after the Arab conquest these ports entered on their decline. But they had flourished for many centuries. It is due to such maritime activity of Persia that the Chinese believed many articles coming to them from Indo-China, Ceylon, India, Arabia and even Africa to be the products of Persia (Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 241). Such a close maritime intercourse might lead to the propagation of some Chinese legends into Persia. And in this connection, it is inter-

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esting to find in Firdausi that Haft-wād who ruled later in Kerman, came originally from a port called Kajaran on the Persian Gulf,[1]

* ز شهر کجاران بدریای پارس

So also we read in the historian Istakhri that the maritime province of Ardashir-Khurreh (which was much patronised by King Ardashir) contained ports which were prominent in trade and navigation (Ferrand, *op. cit*, p. 252). The riddle of a Chinese legend figuring in the history of the war of Ardashir and Haft-wād is thus solved—a riddle which had been propounded by Darmesteter.

10. The Search for the "Fungus of Immortality."

The account given in the Shahnameh of the mission of Barzoe the physician for the bush or fungus of immortality is also very similar to those of the attempt made by the Emperor Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty (who died in the year 87 B.C.) to obtain the Fruit of Life. Even before the age of Wu Ti, other Chinese emperors had sent similar missions to discover the "fungus of immortality." These analogies between the accounts of the Persian and of the various Chinese missions deserve to be traced in some detail. Just as the Persian King Noshirwan sent Barzoe on the quest of the fungus, so one of the emperors of China despatched a sage on the same mission. Hsu Fu, for such was the name of the agent, succeeded so far that he saw newly harvested crops of the "fungus of immortality." Like Barzoe, the Chinese agent, too was well-provided with money, but he found that a very exorbitant price had been set upon the fungus of immortality. "The god then informed the emperor's messenger that the offerings he brought were not sufficient to be regarded as payment for this magic plant" (Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, pp. 114–116). The result was that "not a leaf could be obtained to bring back to China." Indeed both Barzoe and Hsu Ti were lucky in being able to return from the quest to their respective native lands, for a sage of the court of the Chinese emperor Wu Ti who started on a similar mission "never returned to the earth." (D. A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–148) It is interesting to find that both the Shahnameh and the "Herodotus of China" have identical ideas about the way in which the fungus of immortality was to be utilised if and when it was secured. We should have supposed *prima facie* that the fungus was to be eaten or its juice was to be injected in order to renew youth. That was not, however, the correct procedure. "The Herodotus of China" has recorded that once upon a time leaves of the fungus were carried

[1] (Haft-wād came from) "the city of Kajaran on the Persian Gulf."

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by the ravens to the main land from one of the islands, and dropped on the faces of warriors slain in battle. The warriors immediately came to life, although they had lain dead for three days." (De Groot, Vol. IV, p. 307, and D. A. Mackenzie, p. 113). In the Shahnameh Barzoe follows exactly the same procedure:[1]

گیاها ز خشک و ز تر بر گزید
ز پژمرده و هر چه رخشنده دید
ز هر گونهٔ سود ازان خشک و تر
همی بر پراگند بر مرده بر
یکی مرده زنده نگشت از گیا
همانا که سست آمد آن کیمیا

Here we may take leave, for the time being, of these very interesting and striking parallelism between Chinese and Saka legends. For a more detailed and reliable study of this important topic we must await the leisure of such a master of the Sino-Iranian lore as Laufer or de Saussure, whose studies of the mutual influence of Iranian and Chinese civilisation have opened out new fields for Archæologists. Indeed, the present essay might well form a chapter of one of Laufer's works. It is for such scholars to determine finally the age when the Saka and Chinese legend cycles influenced each other. If, however, a conjecture might be permitted to a mere amateur, I would suggest that the chief period during which such influence was exercised was during the Chou dynasty which ruled China from 1122 B.C. to, 1249 B.C. and which very likely was partly or wholly of Scythic origin (Cf. D. A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 290). The rule of such a dynasty would form a favourable epoch for the dominance of Saka influence in China; and it is significant that several of our legends like those of Li-Ching, No-Cha, Ta-Chi, etc., are to be definitely placed about the time of the Chou dynasty. We have it on very good authority that Wu-Wang, the founder of the Chou dynasty assembled the tribes on the frontier of the West of China in order to gain the throne. As Prof. Hirth argues, this implies that "his ascendency was actually brought about by a foreign army" (Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, p. 70). Non-Chinese tribes thus played a great part in the establishment of Chou dynasty (Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–70) and the influence of such tribes might have been important in the field of the history and legends of the empire.

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[1] "He selected vegetables of all kinds green and dry, juicy and withered. He then laid and rubbed these vegetables on the dead men, but not one of the dead awoke to life. Had then the marvellous vegetation failed to accomplish its object?"

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As a literary and historical curiosity I bring together here the lines referring to China which for some reason Firdausi has introduced into many of the Shahnameh legends which we have shown to possess Chinese analogues. Thus we read in the legend of Rustam and Sohrab we have [1]—

بدو گفت کز چین یکی نیکخواه
بنوی بیامد بنزدیک شاه

In the legend of Akwan we note [2]—

چنین داد پاسخ که دانای چین
یکی داستانی ز دست اندرین

So also in the legend of Ispendiar [3]—

همی خوان تو بر کردگار افرین
وز ایدر برو سوی دریای چین

And in the story of Haft-wād [4]—

ز دریای چین تا بکرمان رسید
همه روی دریا سپه گسترید

It is also to be remarked that these references to China were in no way made necessary by the plot or context of the respective legends. All this might well give rise to a well-grounded conjecture that in the earlier versions of the stories which the poet had before him there were such further and more detailed references to China that the poet felt bound to follow suit and to introduce the above lines.

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1 (Said Hajir) "From China an ally has recently arrived to help the king."

2 "He answered that a Chinese sage has written an episode on this topic."

3 (The Simurgh advised Rustam to) "pray to God and to proceed to the shores of the Sea of China" (to cut the arrow from the Kaz tree).

4 "Haft-wād's power stretched from the Sea of China to Karman and his troops occupied the shores of these seas."

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Bahram Yasht: Analogues and Origins.

By Sir J. C. Coyajee.

The Parsis are particularly fond of reciting the Bahram Yasht; and the more one studies that Yasht the stronger becomes the conviction that this preference is well grounded and is guided by a sound instinct; for that Yasht contains an unusually large number of mystical, poetic, and beautiful legends and much symbolism of the same description. These legends and that symbolism are very ancient, since very luckily indeed, the ethicising process has not gone very far in the case of this Yasht. For that and other reasons, the Yasht forms a rich storehouse of old legends and usages and lends itself particularly well to the purposes of a comparative, study of religious legends. In particular, as I am attempting to show here, the legends and symbolism of China approaches very close to those of the Yasht. Indeed, it would not be difficult to write an instructive and useful commentary on the Yasht with the help of the material available in Chinese works or in works on the Chinese religions. The parallelism will be closest where we touch on the bird and tree symbolism in the Yasht; but other portions of the Yasht will also be the better interpreted and understood after such a comparative study. We shall begin our task by examining the very interesting bird and tree symbolism from the Bahram Yasht—supplementing it suitably from other Yashts and from the Pehlevi texts. Other portions of the Yasht will be taken up later; and we shall wind up by considering whether any light is thrown by our study on the important question of the geographical region in which the leading ideas and symbolism of the Yasht originated. Be it noted, however, that the question treated is not one of language but of the basic cultural and religious ideas and of the geographical position and surroundings of the region in which a hymnology of the character of that Yasht could have its origins.

1. The Cult of the Crane ("Sien-Ho").

The first bird of the Chinese Mythology to which we shall turn is the Sien-Ho or Crane. Pere Doré has given a useful resumé of the old Chinese beliefs regarding the Crane in his encyclopædic work *Recherches sur les Superstitions En Chine* (Part I, Vol. 2, pp. 468-469). It is only a short sketch of the legends about the bird, but it casts a great deal of useful light on the Yasht. Let us begin with one of the most perplex-

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ing paragraphs in the Yasht and interpret it in the light of the cult of the Crane. In verse 39 of the Yasht we read that the bird called Varengana "carries the chariot of the lords; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones; the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi 'Usa.'" The paragraph is at first sight unmeaning, for how can a mere bird carry the cars of sovereigns? Let us, however, turn to the following story of the Sien-Ho in a Chinese work, and that verse of the Yasht will have found its interpretation: "The barbarians invaded the territory of the Marquis of Wei I-Kong in 660 B.C. The Marquis gave them battle in the marsh of Yug. He loved to honour the cranes and took with him some of these birds perched on his war chariot. The soldiers who were not well disposed towards him, while putting on their armour, before battle, said jestingly. 'Forward our crane officers! Without you how can we engage in battle?'" Such sceptical and irreverent soldiers were signally defeated, as indeed they deserved to. But the moral and implication of the story is that but for such blasphemy the cranes would have carried the leader's chariot victoriously through the battle. In the light of such beliefs the true meaning of the Yasht verse 39 is clear. We now know the old legend that the mysterious crane could carry the chariots of sovereigns through battles and it is on that ground partly that I shall argue later that "Varengana is to be taken as the equivalent of Persian word 'Kulang' (crane)."

Verse 39 goes on to say that upon the wings of that bird is carried the "male horse, the burden-bearing camel, the boat in the river." Read by itself all this is meaningless. However, in Chinese mythology the crane (Sien-Ho) is represented as the most rapid means of transportation by sea or land. Thus the hero Sentaro was carried by a crane to the islands of the blest and back in one night (Donald A. Mackenzie; *Myths of China and Japan,* pp. 116-117); and in the pictures of the eight famous immortals of China crossing the Sea we find the crane flying with their boat (Werner; *Myths and Legends of China,* p. 302). In another great battle the hero Niu-wo figures triumphantly riding on a crane (Doré; Part 2, Vol. II, p. 1049). So also the famous "white Crane Youth" rides the sacred crane in his great battles. No doubt the origin of this idea about the crane as a sort of genius of locomotion was to be found in the immense extent of the annual migration of the crane which covers countries stretching from India in the South up to the Arctic regions.

The Varengana is also represented in Bahram Yasht verse 36 as a bringer of good luck—one who bears a feather of that bird is "a fortunate man." Further, "it maintains him in his glory." This accords very well with the Chinese legends which make the crane the companion of the gods of honour as well as of good fortune (Doré; *op. cit.*, Part I, Vol. 2, fig. 217).

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In some images the angel of good fortune is seen walking with the crane by his side; while in others a banner is borne over him and a picture of the crane is drawn on the banner (*Ibid.*, Part II, Vol. II, p. 946-947).

But if the crane or Sien-Ho corresponds to the bird Varengana in s. 14 of the Yasht, it corresponds also to the bird Saena (Merg-sin) in section 15. And here I would emphasise the *close similarity of the names* of the bird Saen or Sin of Persian and of the "Sien-Ho" of Chinese legends. In China the crane got its name Sien-Ho from its supposed close association with the "Sien" or hermits who have secured total immunity from death by consuming life-conferring vegetable products. "The crane is celebrated throughout China for living hundreds, nay, thousands of years. Authors describe it as a bird accompanying especially the Sien who obtained bodily immortality and serving them for vehicles (De Groot; Vol. IV, pp. 232-233 and 295). Indeed, the association between these majestic birds and the holy saints was so close that sometimes the saint was transformed into the bird and at other times the bird was changed into the saint. These and such other notions account for the legends of the wisdom of the Simurgh to be met with in the Shahnameh, the Dabistan and in the mystic poems of Attar and other Sufis. Very probably they also account for one of the most famous saints and apostles of Zoroastrianism being given (or assuming) the name of "Saeno."

We note that in Bahram Yasht verse 41, the bird Mereg-Sin is said to cover the mountain tops "as clouds cover them." Here also we have a reference to the crossing of mountains by large flocks of cranes in their annual migrations. The range of Paropamisos was called locally "Aparasen" in Awesta age since it was so high that the cranes could not cross them (Cf. Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, p. 75). That phenomenon—the crossing of mountains by cranes—also appealed to the imagination of the Chinese and was embodied in their poetic legends. Thus one of the lofty mountains of China was called "the Mountain of the song of the cranes" (Doré; Part II, Vol. 10, p. 789). We have also the account of a battle fought in the heroic age for the possession of a mountain where the crane by his great powers of flight nearly succeeded in achieving success (Doré; Part II, Vol. 9, p. 653). If the Bahram Yasht rises to poetic heights in describing the flight of the Saena over the mountains, the romantic genius of China could not be said to have lagged very far behind.

In the later Persian legends as narrated in the Shahnameh and the Dabistan, the mystical birds Varengana and Mereg-sin are identified and treated as one. While in the Yasht verse 35 it is the feathers of the Varengana with which the body is to be rubbed to cure the wounds inflicted by an enemy, in the Shahnameh that virtue is attributed to the feathers

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of the Simurgh. "When Rudabah's flank was opened to bring forth Rustam, her wound was healed by rubbing it with the Simurgh's feather; Rustam, wounded to death by Isfendiyar, was cured in the same manner."

We shall later consider the interesting legends about various trees like the pine, the fir and the cypress which were believed by the Chinese to be life-conferring and health-restoring plants (Cf. De Groot; *Religious System of China*, Vol. IV, pp. 294–324). Now, since the cranes were observed to visit old firs there was formed a very ancient association between the cranes and the trees and these birds were supposed to be the souls of these old trees (*Ibid.*, p. 289). Being identified with the spirit of such long-lived trees, the crane (the Sien-Ho) became in its turn the bird of immortality (Doré; Part I, Vol. 2, p. 468-9 and fig. 217). Hence, even down to our own days the crane is to the Chinese a transcendent symbol of immortality. As such an emblem it is painted even on the hearses of the dead to symbolise the transition to immortality. Indeed, it personifies generally the genius of immortality in China (Doré; *Ibid.*, and De Groot; Vol. IV, p. 359).

It is when we find such an ancient and great cult of the Sien-Ho or crane as the symbol of immortality that we can understand how the western Iranians living not very far from China came to believe that its feathers would cure wounds, confer vitality and repel charms (*Bahram Yasht*, s. 35).

It might be noted that the cult of the Crane which was at one time so important in old Iran and China cannot be said to be dead even in our own days. "In certain districts of India, in Japan and among the Kalmuks they are held in reverence." (Cf. Evans, "*Birds*", p. 254—*Cambridge Natural History*). Their wonderful dances and their mighty and seasonal flights have been noticed not only in the religious poetry of China and Persia but by poets like Virgil in the West and like Attar and Rumi in the East. Their long and mysterious flights have been taken by the Sufi poets as worthy types of the soul's flights towards and in the world of spirit; and this mystic poetry has found in the flight of the cranes following their leader a suitable parallel for the seekers after truth following their spiritual guide.

In the Awesta the Varengana is said to carry heroes and their chariots (*Bahram Yasht*, verses 39 and 40). So also in the Shahnameh it carries Rustam in one night to the "Kaz" tree on the Chinese sea. Such beliefs too are not yet dead in parts of Asia. Thus "in 1740 the Tartars of Krasnojarsk and the Assamians assured J. G. Gmelin that when autumn came each Crane took a Corncrake on its back and transported it to a warmer land; while the well known belief of the Egyptian peasant that Cranes and Storks bring a living load was not long since gravely promulgated in this country as a truth" (Newton

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and Gadow; *Dictionary of Birds*, p. 550. Gmelin; *Reise durch Sibirien*, Vol. III, pp. 393-394). It is an old belief that the lesser birds get themselves conveyed by Storks and Cranes on their migrations.

2. The Cult of the Phoenix.

Somewhat less important for the study of Bahram Yasht, but still quite useful in the task of interpretation is the Chinese cult of the Phoenix. Thus in the Yasht verse 21 we read about a mystic bird that "he *grazes* the hidden way of the mountains, he *grazes* the tops of the mountains, he *grazes* the depths of the vales, he *grazes* the summits of the trees, listening to the voices of the birds." All this is very poetical, but its full meaning and poetic significance is brought out only by a comparison with the cult of the phoenix. In Chinese mythology the phoenix bathes in limpid fountain, *passes* over the Kuen Lun mountains and in the evening it retires in the rocky grottoes of Tan. It is *only rarely that it touches the ground* and when it does the other birds at once come to pay it homage (Doré; Part I. Vol. 2, p. 444). We can now see why in the verse quoted from the Yasht, the mystic bird only grazes or passes over *the mountains and depths of vales*. For according to Chinese classics the Phoenix is too dignified a bird to touch the ground except momentarily and then only to accept the homage of other birds. So also in Awesta the bird "*grazes the summits of trees*" for there is only one tree, according to the Chinese mythology on which the Phoenix condescends to alight (Doré; *op. cit.*, Part I, Vol. 2, p. 444). The bird does not walk or tread the ground, it either flies or dances as it has only one foot (Groot, II, 575). Interpretation thus assisted brings out the full poetic effect of the Awesta text.

Then again in the Yasht verse 36 "the feathers of that bird brings him the homage of men." This passage is indeed the predecessor of the famous cult of the Homai which was widely spread in mediaeval and modern Persia. According to that cult, the shadow of the bird sufficed to exalt the man on whom it fell to kingship. A very similar belief was held in ancient times in China, and instances are quoted in which the Phoenix built its nest on the roofs of the palaces of various emperors of China. (Doré; Part I, Vol. 2, p. 442).

So high is the spiritual value of the feathers of the Phoenix that one of them was habitually carried about by such a prince of spiritualism as Chang Kuo—one of the eight famous immortals (Werner, p. 295). Well might our Yasht say that such a feather brings to its bearer the homage of men—homage which is, as we see, not only terrestrial but spiritual. It is to be noticed that there were only a dozen of such feathers in the tail of the Phoenix—a number corresponding to the months of the

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year. When we obtain the further information from the Chinese writers that this divine bird is the product of the fire and the "sien" (*Ibid.*, p. 444) then we see the rational of the place it occupies in the Bahram Yasht.

There is another verse of our Yasht (verse 19) which the Phoenix legend might help to elucidate. That verse describes the bird as "formidable in its lower parts and aggressively armed in its upper regions." This is paralleled again in the Chinese account of the Phoenix which endows it with the back of the tortoise, the neck of the serpent and the head of a fowl (Doré; Part I, Vol. 2, p. 444). Thus the Phoenix is endowed in its upper and lower parts with formidable means of attack and defence both according to the Chinese and the Persian legends.

(3) The Cult of the Raven.

The description of the Varaghna bird (the raven) which we have in verse 19 of the Bahram Yasht corresponds both to the Chinese cults of the Raven and of the Bird of the Morning. In China "the Sun is symbolised by the figure of a raven in a circle" (Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 176, Granet, *Danse et Legendes de la Chine Ancienne*, pp. 372, 375 and 377). The red raven ("le Corbeau Rouge") was the symbol of the Chou race and dynasty. "The Chou ruled by the efficacy of fire," for when their ancestor was marching to gain a throne a flame came down from on high to consume the sacrifice offered by him and the flame then changed itself into a red crow (Granet, p. 387). Consequently the red crow was, like the Phoenix, the symbol both of the Sun and of the sacred fire. Thus the raven was an age-long symbol of the fire and the Sun in Asia, and hence we can understand its place in the Yasht. There was another reason too for the raven's presence in legends; for it was believed to be a "spectre bird" in China, and De Groot quotes from the "commentator of the Classic of Birds" to the effect that its knowledge is great enough to give it an insight into good and bad fortune." Hence from ancient times the Chinese look upon even the crows as "spectres able to foreknow things." (De Groot, Vol. V, p. 638.)

But the Varaghna is not only reminiscent of the raven of the Chinese myths but also of "the bird of dawn." The Varaghna according to our Yasht "flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more." According to the Chinese accounts too, the bird of dawn has a sonorous voice and majestic bearing. In verse 20 of the Bahram Yasht the Varaghna flies about joyously in early morning wishing the disappearance of the night and the appearance of the morning. In this respect also the analogy of the Varaghna to the Chinese bird of the morning is very clear.

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Before we pass on to another subject, it might be permitted to revert to verse 36 of the Yasht. It is there said that "if a man holds a bone of that strong bird....no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man." We are not told in the Awesta, however, how the bone is to be used to secure such immunity. But here Chinese mythology comes to our assistance and helps again in the task of interpretation. For we read in Chinese accounts that the emperor Houang-ti encountering a sea-monster subdued him by hitting him with a bone of the "thunder-bird" with such force that the noise of the blows was heard 500 li's away and served to inspire the whole empire with a respectful fear of the hero (Granet, 509-510). Incidentally, an attempt has been made by A. Gruenwedel to identify the "thunder-bird" with the Indian bird "Garuḍa" (Werner, 200).

II. The plant symbolism of the Yasht.

We now pass from legends about the marvellous bird Saena to those about the tree on which it rests; and here we shall be supplementing the information given by the Bahram Yasht by that afforded by the Rashn Yasht (verse 17) and by the Minokhirad, LXII, 37. In these accounts we are informed that the resting place of the Saena is a tree "that stands in the middle of the Vouru-Kasha, that is called *the tree of good remedies, the tree of powerful remedies. the tree of all remedies.*" To this description of the tree the Mino-Khirad adds that the bird rests on the tree which is Jad-besh (opposed to harm) of all seeds."

For the tree rendered so famous alike in the Awesta and in the Pehlevi texts it is not difficult to find close parallels from Chinese mythology. Thus we are told that "the bird of dawn" which "having eaten the active principle of the Sun, has assumed the form of a three-footed bird, which perches on the fu-sang tree (a tree said to grow at the place where the sun rises) *in the middle of the Eastern Sea*" (Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187). Here we have a complete parallel to the Awesta account of the tree standing in the middle of the Vouru Kasha on which is the resting place of a marvellous bird.

However, we have still to find an analogue for the "tree of powerful remedies, the tree of all remedies" of the Rashnu Yasht. Nor shall we be disappointed, for there is a great cycle of stories about the "Sien" trees growing on the shores and in the islands of the Chinese Sea where the holy men (the "Sien") derive the medicine which confers immortality on them (De Groot, Vol. IV, pp. 294-308, Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, pp. 113-119). On some of these trees is found the crane (the "Sien-ho"). Indeed, these cranes

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are to be regarded as the souls of these trees; and further, the souls of old firs are represented sometimes as cranes which may be transformed men (De Groot, IV, 289). Moreover, there is the closest association between the life-lengthening trees, the cranes and the holy men. The holy men are "Sien," the trees are also "sien" trees and the crane is the "Sien-ho."

These trees of the Eastern Ocean *which can give immortality* correspond very well with the white Hom or Gokard—"the healing and the undefiled, growing at the source of the water of ardevisura; *every one who eats it becomes immortal*" (Bundahish, Chap. XXVII, verse 4). From that tree, the Bundahesh adds further, immortality is prepared (Bundahish, Chap. XVII, verse 1), just as the Chinese "siens" prepared the means of attaining immortality from the trees on the Eastern Ocean or grown in the islands thereof.

That brings us to verse 57 of the Bahram Yasht which is the one place in the Yasht celebrating the virtues of Haoma. The first thing that strikes us is that the virtues of the Haoma as celebrated in the Bahram Yasht are different from those narrated in the Haoma Yasht. In the former it is supposed to "save one's head" and to be "a protector to my body." In fact as Lommel has pointed out the sprig of Homa is to be used only as an amulet in the Bahram Yasht (*Lommel, Die Yashts des Awesta*, p. 134) and is to be carried on the head to protect life in battle. In other words, it prolongs the life of its worshipper. On the other hand, in the Haoma Yasht the functions of Haoma are to exalt intelligence and powers of thought to grant wisdom and wealth and to promote matrimony and the birth of worthy progeny. To the Haoma juice of the Bahram Yasht corresponds that dew of immortality from the lunar trees which was given by the goddess to illustrious heroes like Shen-I to prolong their lives (D. A. Mackenzie, *op cit.*, p. 144). As the author just quoted observes "the moon-water which nourishes plants and trees, and the dew of immortality in the jade cup, appear to be identical with the Indian Soma and the Nectar of the classic gods"—and it might have been added to the life prolonging Haoma of the Bahram Yasht.

III. Parallels to some other sections of the Bahram Yasht.

The parallelism is the greatest as between the Chinese and Persian legends as regards the tree and bird symbolism. But there are interesting resemblances as regards other legends also. Let us take section 17 of the Bahram Yasht of which the importance has been hitherto overlooked. It is to be emphasised that this section contains rules governing the sacrificial rites in the cases of the angel Bahram; Verse 55 commands that only the dry variety of woods are to feed the fire of Bahram;

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Verse 51 informs us of the classes of persons who cannot participate in the sacrifices to the angel. But the most important rule is no doubt that laid down by verse 50 which states the description of cattle which can be offered up to that angel. We are told in that verse that the cattle sacrificed should be of white colour or of black or yellow colour (Cf. Harlez and Darmesteter) but that the cattle should be of one colour only or of the same sort. These rules remind us of the similar sacrificial regulations observed by the ancient Chinese. Thus in the case of sacrifices to the spirit of waters a pure white horse was preferred or a bay one with a black mane (Granet, 476-7).

(1) The Yasht emphasises in verses 7 and 9 the *yellow ears and horns* of the bull and the *yellow ears and caparison* of the horse—both the bull and the horse being "incarnations" of Bahram. That description points to the old Chinese colour symbolism. "In the Buddhist paradise the pure beings have faces bright and *yellowish*, yellow being the sacred colour of the Buddhist, as it is the colour of the chief dragon of China" (D. A. Mackenzie, p. 126). The emperor Hwang Ti (yellow God) was one of the most famous of the legendary emperors (Mackenzie, p. 277). "Yellow is like red reputed to be a vital colour. Lightning is yellow; the flames of wood are yellow—while the embers are red (D. A. Mackenzie, p. 162).

Why again it might be asked does the Bahram Yasht emphasise the colour of the *ears* of the two animals (the horse and the bull) in verses 7 and 9? We would look in vain for the explanation elsewhere in the Awesta. But the Chinese mythology can help us by proving that the ears were a particularly important part of the animals offered for sacrifice and the bull and the horse were pre-eminently sacrificial animals (Granet, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–143). As Granet observes "the animal sacrificed was not killed at once. A beginning was made by offering to the gods a little of the blood and hair and *this hair was taken from the ears*" (*Ibid.*, pp. 137-138). The same authority goes on to say that the blood drawn from the ears was necessary to sanctify both the field of battle and the place of triumph (*Ibid.*, pp. 142-3). We thus account for the importance attached to the ears as well as to the hair on the ears and their colour in sacrifices offered to Mars in the Chinese systems. Nor according to our Yasht is the importance of these factors any the less in the cult of the Persian Mars.

The yellow or golden colour is however sometimes sacred by itself, and in another branch of Chinese mythology, the king of cattle (corresponding to Drawasp in the Awesta) is opposed by a great general riding a horse with golden eyes (Doré, Part II, Vol. 11, p. 1048). Golden eyes as well as golden ears thus mark out a horse as sacred.

(2) In verse 29 of the Yasht we find the mention of the

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powerful Kara fish which is to be found in the Rangha and which has a wonderful eye-sight. A fuller description of the fish is to be found in Bundahish, Chap. XVIII, verses 5 and 6; (*S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 66) where we have described for us further characteristics of the fish. It is a great fish which can snap in its jaws any animal; it is also said to be very "serpent-like." Very comparable with this is the "Divine Crocodile" or "first crocodile" of the Chinese which resides in the gulf or rather abyss of Tsouei-tchang. This fish has extraordinary power of illumination for when it either enters the abyss or emerges therefrom it produces flashes of light. (Granet, p. 509.) With such powers of illumination and with its human head and eyes, the Chinese alligator too is very keen sighted. The serpentine shape and the powerful jaws of the fish as described in Bundahish certainly suggest a fish of the crocodile type.

In the Bundahish (Ch. XVIII, verse 2) we are also told that the great opponent of the beneficent Kara fish is a lizard formed by the evil spirit, and the task of the ten Kara fishes is to keep away that lizard (*S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 65). It is noteworthy, in this connection, that according to a great number of Chinese religious classics the lizard is the spirit of marshes. The spirit of the marshes is called Mien and it possesses the form of a great lizard. The same spirit is to be found in dried up beds of rivers. It is said to be as high as the spoke of a car's wheel and to be as long as the pole of the car (Cf. *De Harlez, Le Livre des Esprits et des Immortels*, pp. 80-81). As in the Awesta and in the Bundahish the Kara fish is the representative inhabitant of fresh flowing waters; while the saurian which infests unhealthy marshes and drying up rivers might well be said to have been formed by the evil spirit.

(3) No Awesta scholar has yet explained the object or significance of the sentence in verse 44 of the Yasht: "Do thou throw four feathers in the way" of an advancing enemy about to engage in action. Several translators (e.g., Darmesteter, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 243, note 2) have seen that the reference must be to "an arrow feathered with four Varengaña's feathers." And this conjecture is supported by lines in the Shahnameh like نهادہ بر او چار پر عقاب

[*On that arrow were four feathers of the Eagle.*]

It was certainly an arrow with four feathers on it to be thrown at the foe before battle is joined. The reference to Varenjana is a pure conjecture on the part of Darmesteter, for that bird has not been mentioned in a number of preceding verses in the Yasht and the bird mentioned any where near verse 44 is not the Varenjana (which appears in verse 35) but the Saena which figures in verse 41. Nor does the Yasht say anything about fitting the feathers of either of these birds

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into the arrows. For the feathers of the Varenjana are used only for rubbing the body with for curing wounds or to "bring homage of men." A good commentary on Varengana's functions is to be found in Dinkard, Bk. IX, Chap. 23, verse 3, where the Kayan glory stands by the king's side "to rub his bosom" (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 227). The feathers of the Varenjana have a similar anointing function in the case of kings and princes as well as a healing function. There is no warrant for assuming with Darmesteter that the Varenjana's feathers which were so precious were to be used to assist the flight of arrows.

What then is the sense of emphasising the throwing of a single arrow at a foe at the beginning of a fight in which thousands of arrows will be soon discharged on both sides? Here again we can obtain useful light from ancient Chinese usages and legends. Arrows were thrown both for sacrificial and ceremonial purposes. When a male child was born four arrows were thrown—one at each cardinal point. Not only were these arrows thrown but others were *offered* to the gods residing in particular directions like the East (Granet, p. 380, note 5; p. 448, note 3 and p. 233, note 2). The arrows thrown in certain directions were "arrows of expulsion" (i e., thrown to get rid of evil influences), those which were offered were "arrows of oblation." The throwing of an arrow was also a necessary ceremonial for breaking up of an old friendship or alliance and was a necessary part of the ceremony of declaring hostilities. It is in the light of these ancient usages which might have extended far beyond the boundaries of China that verse 44 of our Yasht has to be read and interpreted. That Yasht tells us that victory would incline to the side of the party which was faithful to its plighted word and oath and has thus pleased Rashnu and Mithra (verse 47). It is certainly consistent with such strict notions of rectitude, formally to throw an arrow and thus break off all lien and alliance with the opponent before engaging him in battle. Or it may be that the arrows which was thrown in the way of the enemy was "as arrow of expulsion" of evil influences. It is well worth adding here that, according to the *Dinkard*, in Sessanide times a stick which had been blessed was fired as the first arrow, at the beginning of battles, (Cf. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*, p. 151).

(4) It is true that the series of "incarnations" of Bahram to be found in this Yasht has no complete parallel in Chinese mythology. But some of the animals mentioned in the Yasht do form part of the Cortege of Tcheng Hoang—the protector of cities against attacks and a god who was annually worshipped by every city in China with the object of securing victory and peace (Doré, *op. cit.*, part II, Vol. 11, pp. 875-892). In fact Tcheng Hoang is a kind of Urban Mars and is considered

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to be the guardian of the fortifications, ramparts and trenches of all towns in China. His annual fête and procession are of a military character with soldiers marching with banners and drums. But the most characterstic parts of the procession consists of two "satellites" of the urban Mars—the first with a bull's head and the other wearing a horse's head. The reader will remember that the bull and the horse form the first of the "incarnations" of Bahram in his Yasht.

As regards Tcheng Hoang he receives high honours in China and has been entitled "the king who protects the state" as well as "the king who defends, protects and pacifies the state." His sacrifice is obligatory on all—on kings, princes, magistrates, principalities and indeed on the whole realm. And yet it is significant that he was not known to the oldest legendary system of China. However, his functions have been extended with the progress of time so that Tcheng Hoang has become also a scrutiniser of consciences who reports the good deeds of men to the Lord of Heaven as well as their crimes to the judge of the nether regions; (Cf. de Harlez, *Le Livre des Esprits et des Immortels* in the *Transactions Memoirs of the Academic Royale de Belgique*, Vol. 51, pp. 65-70). This reminds us that in verse 47 of the Bahram Yasht that angel is seen to be collaborating with Mithra and Rashnu (the Rhadamanthus of old Iran) in judging the conduct of people.

IV. Problem of the origins of the Bahram Yasht.

I have argued in another article that in the exchange of heroic legends between old Persia and China the intervening race of Sakas bore an important part, and indeed, that very likely both countries might have adopted some of the Saka legends. That the Sakas played a similar part in the matter of religious legends seems also probable. In particular, it is interesting to note the close connection of many general ideals and even details of Bahram Yasht with the history and sociology of this virile pastoral race. In fact, the atmosphere of the Yasht which we are studying appears to be and will be shown to be peculiarly adapted to the religious and social requirements of such a race. This appears to be the best explanation of the wonderful parallelism of the bird and tree symbolisms of Persia and China.

(1) The connection is closest in the case of the bird symbolism. Indeed we should have been unable to interpret passages about Mereg Sin and about the bird mentioned in verse 35 of the Yasht unless we had read the accounts of Zal and Rustam, those great representatives of the Saka race, in the Shahnameh; the explanation of verse 35 of the Yasht "with that feather thou shalt rub thy own body" is to be found in the Sakaean history: "when Rudabah's flank was opened to bring forth Rustam, her wound was healed by rub-

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bing it with a Simurgh's feather; Rustam, wounded to death by Isfendyar, was cured in the same manner." This is the best comment and indeed the only comment made to explain section 14 of the Yasht (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 240, note 2). The Mereg Saena presided over the fortunes of Zal and Rustam from their rise down to their fall. That bird was indeed the guardian angel—perhaps the totem of the Saka race. The negative argument is also strong; for the mystic bird never appears and is never heard of in the history of any purely Persian dynasty or heroic family. Indeed, by itself this might prove that the Bahram Yasht was composed at a time when and at a place where Saka notions and legends were dominant.

(2) Not only the history but the geography of the Sakas is reminiscent of the Bahram Yasht and of the great bird Saena mentioned in it. We read in the selections Zad-Sparam VII, 7 and also in Bund XII, 9 of the Aparsen mountain in Sagastan (*S.B.E.*, V, p. 175). In a learned disquisition on this topic Marquart shows that "Aparsen" means the mountain which the saena bird itself cannot traverse. He bases his conclusion on the dictum of Hiouen-Thsang that "the falcons themselves cannot fly over the range" and to this the mountain owes its name; he then adds that by "falcon" is here meant the Saena merga (Untersuchungen, p. 75) there is the name Para-Uparisaina in Sagastan which is the name of the valleys of Gandhara south of the Uparisaina mountains (Marquart, Untersuchungen, p. 76). It is when we have regard to these geographical Sagastan names that we can hit on the true meaning of Bahram Yasht verse 41 where the bird Saena is compared to clouds passing over and covering mountains.

I submit further that the present name of one of the mountains of Seistan—viz. Khoja Amrān—is also to be derived indirectly from the same bird Saena. The Saena became, in later mythology, the Sinamru (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XIII, p. 173, note 1); and it was called Amru for shortness. The world Amrān which is a part of the present name of the mountain is only the plural of the word Amru. The honorific title "Khoja" (lord) was prefixed to the bird on account of its sacred character. For centuries after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Zoroastrian faith and belief lingered on in Seistan; and even now in that region the sites of the old fire temples are honoured by adding the "Shah" after their name. Thus the site of the old fire temple at Karkuyeh is still respectfully called Karkushah (G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, pp. 206-211). Similarly, in the name "Khoja Amrān" the first word is an honorific prefix and, I submit, the whole name forms an additional proof of the dominance of the cult of the Mereg Sin in Seistan. My suggestion is strengthened by the fact that in older times some mountains in Seistan were named after the crane bird—as Apara-saena and Para-aparasaena.

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It was only in a region where the cult of the Saena was so strongly marked that it was possible to compare even the angel of war with that bird. The land of Sagastan stretching from Bactria to Gandhara (Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 242) was in the direct route of the great migration of the Saena cranes, and its inhabitants must have had unusual opportunities of admiring the flight of huge flocks of these birds over the Paropamisos range when they must have appeared to cover the mountains.

(4) If indeed the Yasht had been composed or its main ideas had been put together in Iran proper we could not doubt that its shape and its contents would have been very different. We cannot doubt that there would have appeared in it that magnificient march-past of the great warrior kings and heroes of Iran with which we are so familiar in other Yashtṣas. Old Iran was very rich in martial kings and heroes and it was very proud of them. Even in hymns addressed to peaceful goddesses like Ashi and Aban the warriors take the first places and almost crowd out the other personages. In a hymn to Mars written in Iran proper we would naturally expect to see a culmination of the process and to have another little Shahnameh (as in Zamyad Yasht) to enrich our knowledge of history.[1] But what do we find instead of that glorious military spectacle? The names of only two or three of the best known Persian kings are brought into a couple of verses (verses 39 and 40), as by a side wind and casually. This is exactly the extent of knowledge of Iranian history which we would expect in the Sakas after they had been "Iranicised" and had settled down. From that race, at an early historical period, we could not in reason expect a glowing sense of pride in the history and traditions of old Iran. Their position was very peculiar and sometimes a doubtful one as regards Iranian race and culture. Indeed, while the Sakas south of the Paropamisus were accepted as allies of Iran, the position of their northern Kinsmen living in Saukavastan was regarded as a very anomalous one. They

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[1] It is significant also that the Bahram Yasht does not contain certain beliefs which we have reason to believe were held in Persia proper about the angel Bahram. Tacitus has preserved for us one of these latter beliefs. We are told that "At stated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inspired the dreams of the priests and in a vision, gave his orders, 'That a set of horses, ready for the chase, should be stationed near the temple. The hunters, accordingly, are drawn out, well equipped with quivers and a store of arrows.' Thus caparisoned, they stretch at full speed through the woods, and, at the close of day, return to the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods." (Tacitus, Annals, Book XII, S.13.)

This can refer only and obviously to the warrior angel of Persia - Bahram.

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were regarded as allied to the Turanians; their king Agrirath was called the brother of Afrasyab, and the princes of their pastoral tribes were called Gopatshah (Bundehesh, Ch. XXIX, 5 *S.B.E.*, Vol. 37, p. 117). Some manuscripts of the Dinkard Book (IX Ch. 16 verse 14) indeed treat these Northern men of Saukvastan as foreigners. Even Firdausi while he treats the men of Sagistan as the strongest props of the Iranian throne often represents the "Saksâr" as fighting for Afrasyab. Dr. West thus concludes his discourse about the king of the people of Saukavastan: "all these forms of name imply that he was a king or master of oxen, and the Mino Khirad describes him as a Mazda--worshipping minotaur, on the sea-shore, probably the Caspian or the river Oxus" (*S.B.E.*, Vol. 37, p. 202, note 5). Marquart indeed would place the northern boundary of Sakas (Saka Tigrachaudah) even further north on the Jaxartes (Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, p. 140). In his account of the inscription of Darius from Hamadan, Dr. Herzfeld considers that the Sakas inhabited regions to the North of the Caspian, the Aral and Jazartes plains as well (Cf. *Mem. Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, No 34, p. 6-7).

(5) So we find that the men of Sagastan were eminently a pastoral race. And in the Bahram Yasht we have strong evidence that the Yasht was written in a pastoral *milieu*. It is only in such surroundings that in a hymnology to the god of war a passage could be introduced in the praise of the ox--a passage which has otherwise nothing to do with the subject of the Yasht and which interrupts the prayers to Bahram and the general description of his functions. This is verse 61 of the Yasht. The commentators have been so struck by the anomaly of such passages occurring in the Bahram Yasht that they have assumed them to be fragmentary additions (Lommel, *op. cit.*, p 135).

Historical place names like Parshad Gau and Dazgar Gau to be found in old Seistan are other proofs of the pastoral character of Sagastan (Farvardin Yasht verses 96 and 127). The name Parshad Gau, it deserves to be noted, lingered long in Seistan and has not quite disappeared in our own times. The name of Parshad Gau who according to the Dinkard lived in Sagastan and to whom Zoroasta preached his religion is believed to survive in the name Post-i-Gau given to the very ancient ruins of a town in Seistan which is reputed to date from the time of Rustam (Tate, *Seistan* pp. 187-188).

The name of the great apostle Seno is another great link between the legends in this Yasht and the land of Sagistan; for the name of the great family was no doubt derived from the bird cult of the Yasht. Indeed even if we had not learnt from the "wonders of Sagastan" that Seno was of that land, we could have made sure of that apostles' connection with Ṣakastan. For, apart from his bearing the name Saeno so well

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known in Sagastan, there is indirect evidence of his connection with that land. It is remarkable that in three separate places the names of Parshad Gau of Sagastan and of Saeno are mentioned together in our religious works. This happens twice in Farvardin Yasht (verses 96-97 and 126-127). The third occasion on which this juxtaposition occurs is even more significant. In Dinkard Book IX Ch. 24 verse 17 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. 37, p. 230) the juxtaposition seems deliberate—Seno being placed next to Parshad Gauo in defiance of all chronological considerations. In fact, in order to place him next to Parshad Gauo his name is placed before those of Vistasp, Frashostar and Gamasp. We must be sure that there existed some strong reason for this repeated juxtaposition even at the obvious sacrifice of chronological considerations. The reason might well have been that Saeno was of the same country as Parshad Gau and that he helped to propagate the faith in Sagastan.

(6) In another paper on "Astronomy and Astrology in Bahram Yasht" I have tried to show that in the first eleven sections of the Bahram Yasht there has been formulated a Zodiacal scheme and that the names of the bull, the horse, etc. are names of star groups and of Zodiacal signs. I have tried to demonstrate the equivalence of the scheme of "incarnations" in the early part of the Bahram Yasht and of our present day Zodiacal scheme as follows :—

Bahram Yasht	*Our present scheme*
The wind	Libra
The bull	Taurus
The horse	Sagittarius
The Camel	Leo
The boar	virgo
The boy	Gemini
The raven	scorpio
The ram	Aries
The buck	capricornus
The warrior	aquarius
The kara fish	pisces.

We see that the scheme in the Bahram Yasht omits the Lion of our Zodiac and substitutes for it the Camel. That was most probably because the scheme in the Yasht was formed in a region where the Lion was not to be found. For it is the same idea of sovereignty that is sought to be expressed by the Lion and the Camel as Zodiacal symbols. Generally the Lion is accepted as the symbol of royalty; but so is the Camel in Bahram Yasht verse 13 where we read of the camel as standing in the pose of an autocratic ruler.

The inference from this substitution of the camel for lion is that the scheme of the Yasht was formed not in Persia proper (where the lion is well-known) but somewhere farther north

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towards Central Asia. The scheme in the Yasht must have been formulated in a region where Persian influences were predominant but where Chinese influences were not absent. It was also a region where the two humped camel was to be found in abundance, since the Yasht gives a detailed description of its habits. Such a region could obviously be found only in the part of Central Asia where the Sakas had settled. The Saka country stretched from Bactria to Gandhar as Marquart has shown. These Sakas had been Iranicised and yet they were near enough to China to have exchange of legends and myths.

(7). I would draw attention to a curious tradition surviving until our own days in Seistan which reminds us strongly of certain injunctions in the Bahram Yasht. In verse 55 the complaint is made that certain people transgress the rules of worship by bringing to the sacred fire "the plant that is called Haperesi, the wood that is called Nemetka." The commentators are agreed that Nemetka (from "nam" moisture) is some sort of wood with much moisture in it and which would not burn well. Such an injunction would be particularly appropriate in the case of a country like Sagastan which contains marshy tracts; since the wood growing in such places would be "Nemetka" and unfit to be used to keep up the sacred fire. Curiously enough the old injunction has survived in Seistan to our own times. Thus Tate in his work on Seistan (p. 244) records a tradition preserved orally in an old family of that country about the kind of wood used in keeping up the fire in the old and historical fire temple of the city of Trakun in Seistan—"The wood of the Tagaz, the variety of the tamarisk which grows and thrives only in the waterless tracts, was alone used for maintaining the sacred fire. Tagaz fuel burns well giving a clear flame with a minimum of smoke and burns into a clean ash which can easily be removed. Other kinds of tamarisk wood, on the other hand have a marked tendency to smoulder, and give forth a great deal of smoke." It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that the only living tradition corresponding to the injunction in the Bahram Yasht which we have quoted above survives in Seistan.[1]

(8) But the importance of this verse in indicating the region in which the Yasht originated is even greater than would be *prima facie* supposed. Let us turn to the "Vyambura" Daevas mentioned in the verse and examine their identity.

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[1] It is also noteworthy that in another way too the great fire temple of Seistan—that of Karkuyeh was picturesquely reminiscent of the Bahram Yasht. For as Makrizi says "the edifice was surmounted by two domes each topped off by a curving horn." This reminds us of Bahram Yasht, verses 7 and 23, where the bull and the ram—two incarnations of the angel are described as equipped with horns.

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Commentators like Darmesteter leave this proper name unexplained and hence it becomes us to walk warily here. As it happens fortunately however in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht III, 17 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. V, p. 221) we meet the name slightly changed in Pehlevi—" Bambo." The Yasht is describing the march of Vahram the Varjavand from India to conquer Persia. Assisted by the men of Sagastan, Hirat and Khurasan he marches to " Bambo." Dr. West has very judiciously identified the place Bambo with Bamm and Bampur region on the way to Kirman (*S.B.E.*, V, p. 222, note). It might be added in support of West's supposition that a prince marching from India *via* Afghanistan to conquer Persia would have to advance by way of Bamm or Bampur to Kirman.

Now the inhabitants of Bamm or " Bampur " (the Vyamburas of Bahram Yasht, verse 55) would be well known to Sagastan people as being close neighbours. Certainly they were backward in civilisation in the age of the Yasht—they are so even now—and just as the backward inhabitants of Mazenderan and Varen in the north were called Daevas by their more civilised neighbours so the comparatively backward people of Bamm or Bampur (Vyamburas) were also looked downed upon by the men of Sagastan. It was to be expected that the Saka inhabitants of Seistan were at feud with the Semi-Balochi inhabitants of the region of Bamm and Bampur. The hostility shown in the Bahram Yasht to the Vyamburas was obviously not dispelled with time, and even so late as the 18th century Seistan experienced raids from the Biloch tribes of Bamm and Bampur (see Tate, *Seistan* pp. 93–94). During that century there has been a " great influx of the Biloche tribes into Seistan." The epithet " Daeva " applied by the Yasht to the men of " Bampur " (Vyambura) is to some extent justified by the marauding habits of the Baloch tribes; and the bloodshed caused by their turbulence is referred to in the Yasht where the Vyambura are said to " make the blood flow and to spill it like water " (verse 54). Geographical names like " Duzdab " (the river infested by robbers) which are still to be met with in the region to which the Yashta refers as " Vyambura " remind us of the description of skulking marauders described in verse 56: the daevas " bow their backs, bend their waists, arrange all their limbs, they think they will smite."

I have shown in this paper the close analogy between a number of legends in the Bahram Yasht and old Chinese legends. I have further suggested the probability of the basic ideas of that Yasht having originated in old Sagastan. It is not irrelevant to this line of thought to point out the survival in modern Seistan of a very old Chinese legend. The men of Seistan account for the destruction of their ancient city of Sar-o-Tar by narrating a story which has close affinities with a famous Chinese myth. " All of a sudden, 1072 years ago, for no as-

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signed reason an animal of the size of a fox made its appearance in the country. This animal had a tail, many yards in length, and wherever it went the crops were destroyed and the inhabitants lost their lives. The evil spirit who was responsible for this destruction of property took up its abode in Sar-o-Tar, and for forty years that place was rendered uninhabitable" (Tate, *Seistan* p. 232).

Now in China the fox is regarded as a demoniac animal and the vehicle of evil spirits. It can transform itself into a human being in order to torment mankind; it is also credited with the power of producing fire by striking the earth with its tail. Those who wish to study specimens of the extensive fox-myths of China can consult the works of De Groot or De Harlez's *le Livre des Esprits et des Immortels.* But what is more, there was the famous "male fox with nine tails" which had extraordinary powers of wasting lands and which was at last killed by the "Divine Archer" called Yi (Granet; *Danses et Legendes*, pp. 342 and 378). The analogy of this wide-wasting fox of nine tails with the long-tailed fox which devasted Seistan from Sar-o-Tar is obvious. I would add that in an earlier paper on "Some Shahnameh Legends and their Chinese Parallels," I have shown the close resemblance between the exploits of Kereshasp the great hero of Sagastan and of the "Divine Archer" of Chinese legends. Among other similarities in the careers of the two heroes if might be mentioned that the destruction of the wolf Kapod by Kereshasp was an exploit very analogous to the achievement of the "Divine Archer" in killing the fox with nine tails. It is interesting in connection with the comparison to find legends of the maleficent and devastating fox still surviving in Seistan—the land of Kereshasp. It is a living instance of the connection of the old legends of China with those of Sagastan and Iran which has been my thesis in several papers which I have published.

No student of the religious legends of Sagastan can but help pay tribute to the work of Mr. Tate in the valuable memoir on Seistan. If his work is carried on further by archæologists it might help to solve important problems in the religious history of Iran.

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Astronomy and Astrology in the Bahram Yasht.

By Sir J. C. Coyajee.

In the present thesis an attempt will be made to interpret the Bahram Yasht in the light of Astronomy as well as of Astrology. As the result of the analysis and the interpretation of the Yasht with the help of astronomical and astrological concepts, it will appear that the first half of the Yasht contains a complete Zodiacal scheme of which the individual elements are expressed in terms suitable for and appropriate to the followers of the cult of Bahram (or Mars). In the second place, we shall find that the marvellous gifts attributed by the Yasht to Bahram are also in strict accordance with the dicta of astrological authorities. In the third place, additional arguments will be brought forward in favour of the view which I have already expounded before the Asiatic Society of Bengal to the effect that the "radiated figure" in a well-known sculpture on the Tak-i-Bostan is that of Bahram.

The Method of Study Adopted.

No doubt in the eyes of the vast majority of the *savants* to whom this discourse is submitted Astrology is a science of blunders—not of wonders, and is to be condemned at sight. But when interpreting ancient documents we have to pay due regard to views which were widely spread in former days and were regarded as true and fundamental by the ancients. It is particularly important to apply this method to a Yasht like Bahram Yasht which yet retains to a great extent its original astronomical aspect and has not been "ethicised" like so many other Yashts. It is submitted that, on account of this process, the method proposed to be adopted here is hardly likely to succeed with the other Yashts, but its application will be most fruitful in the case of Bahram Yasht. That in ancient Persia, Astrology was applied to the task of interpreting the Yashts is obvious from a passage in Bundehesh VII, 4 where we read that "Tishtar was converted into three forms, the form of a ram and the form of a horse and the form of a bull... As the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms." Here we have the old priesthood emphasizing the necessity of using astrological concepts in interpreting the Yashts—an example and warrant for our procedure. Nor are other indications wanting of the interest taken in the astrological aspects of the planet Mars. Thus, in the Epistles of Manuschihar, Ch. 2, s. 9, we

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read that Mars in the direction of Padramgosh sends much good (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 334).

For facility of reference on the part of the reader, some text-book of astrology had to be fixed upon which was well-known, which carried high authority, which was of ancient date and of which good translations existed; all these desiderata are satisfied by the famous work of the astrologer Varah Mihira—the Brihajjatakam. There are two translations of this work easily accessible. At the same time, this work has been singled out only for facility of reference, and any other text-book of astrology will impart that information of a rather elementary character which has been utilised here. What is required here is the application of only the elementary concepts of astrology, and no profound knowledge of that subject is either required of the reader or claimed by the writer.

Antiquity, and Locality of Formation of the Scheme in the Yasht.

There is every indication both of antiquity and of distinctive character in the Zodiacal scheme of the Bahram Yasht. To start with, the sign cancer is not *specifically* mentioned, and the absence of this name is evidence of the antiquity of the scheme. As we shall see the name "Libra did not exist in the Egyptian Zodiac and its place was occupied by the claws of the scorpion." (Fosbrooke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, Vol. 1, p. 222.) Even in Virgil's days the space filled by it was regarded as "so much waste land" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 28, p. 994). Again, while a great many constellations are common to the Babylonian Zodiac and the Zodiacal scheme of the Yasht, there are two or three names of constellations which the latter scheme shares with the Chinese Zodiac. Thus, the raven or eagle, and the pig or boar, are common to the Chinese Zodiac and the Bahram Yasht.

It is obvious from the antiquity of the scheme of the yasht, and from the mingling therein of the Chinese and Babylonian names of constellations, that the prosecution by expert astronomers of the inquiry inaugurated in this paper must prove of great value to the history of Astronomy. It might easily throw important light on the old controversy as regards the origin of constellations and about our respective obligations to the Chinese, the Indians and the Babylonians as regards the naming of constellations (Cf. Dr. Thibaut's article in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, band III, heft 9, pp. 14-15). Much has been written as to whether the Chinese borrowed their asterisms from the Arabs or the Arabs from the Chinese. Bentley observes in his great work on Hindu Astronomy that "he mentioned the circumstance to a learned Mahomedan, in the hope of getting some information, and his reply was, "that

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neither the Chinese borrowed from the Arabs, nor the Arabs from the Chinese; but that they both had borrowed from one and the same source which was from the people of a country to the North of Persia, and to the West or North-west of China." Now, it will appear from our present study that this was the very region in which the Zodiacal scheme of the Bahram Yasht was constructed.

Then there is the problem as to the locality in which the early observations of stars and constellations were made. There is a belief that "from 32 to 41 degrees northern were the certain limit of the station of the first founders of solar Zodiacal astronomy"; some authorities "think the region lay between the sources of the Oxus and India" (Proctor, *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy*, p. 361). For, the position from which the observations were made "must have counted for something in determining the association between a star-group and a known object" *e.g.*, a lion or a camel (*Ibid.*, p. 340). From this point of view, too, the study of the names of star-groups in the Bahram Yasht by experts is bound to be very fruitful. Fortunately, the Yasht itself furnishes us with valuable data regarding the approximate locality in which its Zodiacal scheme was formed. The most important factors in deciding this question are the presence of the camel and the absence of the lion. It is to be emphasized that S. 4 of Bahram Yasht uses the phrase "large humps" in describing the camel and thus invites attention to the fact that it was a Bactrian camel that was intended to be described. The Yasht, indeed, goes on still further to specialise the matter and adds that it is a "burden-bearing camel" or a tame camel that was being described, and thus distinguishes it from the wild camel which still flourishes in Central Asia. The writer of the Yasht was fully aware of the details of the life history of the camel—its being covered with the scars obtained in its fights, its keen and eerie powers of sight and locomotion and the phenomena of its rutting season. Such knowledge could only have been obtained in Central Asia. Indeed the best commentary on this section of Bahram Yasht is constituted by some passages in Sven Hedin's *Travels in Central Asia.*

The absence of the lion from the scheme in the Yasht is also very significant. The lion was not a denizen of northern Persia, let alone Central Asia. Agassiz asserts "that the species has always kept within its original boundaries." (Andrew Murray, *Geographical Distribution of Mammals*, p. 94.) Thus this factor also points to some region in Central Asia as the place of the composition of the Zodiacal scheme under review.

Lastly, we have to consider the fact that in our scheme are included some names of constellations which indicate, if not a borrowing from Chinese sources, some common influences. The reference to the "Mereg-Sin" (the Chinese bird) in the Yasht is an admission of some obligation to Chinese symbolism.

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One of the names of the constellations in the Yasht is the Vareghna which has been translated as the Raven. Now it is significant that in China the Raven is regarded as a spectre-bird (De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, pp. 634–640). Again, in China "the sun is symbolized by the figure of a raven in a circle" (Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, p. 176). The same bird as described in S. 7 of the Bahram Yasht is reminiscent of the bird of Dawn as described in ancient Chinese classics (See Werner, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187).

We might then conclude that the Zodiacal scheme of the Bahram Yasht is a very ancient one and was composed in some region of Central Asia which was near enough to China to permit of an exchange of astral symbolism.

Parallelism of the Scheme of the Yasht and our Present-day Zodiacal Scheme.

Before proceeding further, let us give the names which our Yasht assigns to the Zodiacal figures. We shall give the names of these figures and opposite each of them the section of the Yasht in which it is described or introduced in it.

1.	The wind	.. ..	Bahram Yasht	S. 1
2.	The bull	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 2
3.	The horse	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 3
4.	The camel	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 4
5.	The boar	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 5
6.	The boy	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 6
7	The raven	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 7
8.	The ram	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 8
9.	The goat	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 9
10.	The warrior	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 10
11.	The Kara fish	.. ..	,, ,,	S. 11

It is obvious that one of the constellations has been left out. The reasons for not mentioning explicitly the constellation Cancer in the Bahram Yasht will be given later.

In order to demonstrate the correspondence of the scheme of star-groups in the Yasht with the Zodiacal scheme prevalent in our own days, we shall have to classify the constellations into groups and it is here that the ideas of astrology will be so helpful to us. We have to take account of the age-long division of the constellations into the well-known triplicities of fire, air, earth and water; for the two classifications correspond fairly well. Among these groups we must naturally place the fiery triplicity at the top, since the nature of Mars is fiery. For the same reason the watery triplicity is placed at the bottom, since the "Neecha" or "depression sign" of Mars is in the watery constellation Cancer (Brihajjatakam, Ch. 1, Verse 13) and because they are all "cadent" houses. These triplicities were well-known in the Sassanide age and even to much earlier ages. For we find in the Rashnu Yasht a classification of constellations

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according to those "that have the seed of water in them" (the watery triplicity) and those that have the seed of earth in them (Earthy triplicity). Thus we are warranted by the beliefs of the age of the Avesta in classifying the constellations on the well-known lines of the Triplicities.

Again, in each triplicity the signs are arranged or graded in the order of their congeniality to Mars. Thus Aries is put on the same side as Capricornus, because Mars is the "lord of Aries" while Capricornus is the "Exaltation sign of Mars" (*Ibid.*, Ch. 1, Verse 13). Pisces is put on the same side, as Mars is exalted in a part of it (*Ibid.*). Arranging the constellations according to these simple astrological principles we get the following scheme of the Zodiac as regarded by the followers of the cult of Bahram or Mars:—

Aries (Ram, s. 8)	Leo (Camel, s. 4)	Sagittarius (Horse, s. 3)	Fiery Triplicity
Capricornus (Buck, s. 9)	Virgo (Boar, s. 5)	Taurus (Bull, s. 2)	Earthy Triplicity
Aquarius (Hero. s. 10)	Gemini (The boy, s. 6)	Libra (The wind, s. 1)	Airy Triplicity
Pisces (Kara fish, s. 11)	Scorpio (Raven, s. 7)	Cancer	Watery Triplicity

In this scheme in each square we have put first the name of a constellation of the Zodiac; under it is given the name of the constellation as given in the scheme of the Bahram Yasht together with the section of the Yasht in which it is mentioned.

Identification of the Individual Zodiacal Constellations.

Coming to identify the star-groups, as named in the Yasht, with those of the prevalent denomination we first note that in the Yasht we start with "the Wind", and we propose to identify it with the sign Libra. Now we know that the sign Libra remained unnamed even as late as the days of Virgil. As thus there was a gap in the Zodiacal scheme, what could be more natural than that this unnamed and unclaimed portion of the windy triplicity should have been described after the triplicity itself and have been called "the Wind" in the Yasht? It was quite natural that in the absence of a specific name for this constellation the generic name of the triplicity to which it belonged was made to do duty.

We can also explain in great measure why the Yasht began its enumeration of signs with Libra. The reason was that while in the watery triplicity Mars was in its "cadent houses", and

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in particular when it was in the sign Cancer the planet was in its depression sign. While its passing out of Cancer into Libra was, from the point of view of the cult of Mars, an auspicious incident in so far as it had left its house of depression.

(2) It need hardly be said that "the bull" mentioned in s. 2 of the Bahram Yasht is identical with the sign Taurus. This sign appears under the same name in almost every system of Zodiacal signs.

(3) We have very good grounds indeed for identifying "horse" mentioned in Bahram Yasht s. 3 with the constellation Sagittarius. Even in the Western system of Astronomy, Sagittarius is, according to some, the Centaur Chiron who is half horse and half man "(Brennand's, *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 17, quoting from the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*). The Pehlavi writers called Sagittarius the "Nim-asp" (or half horse; Cf. Bundahesh 11, 2) which corresponds very closely with the idea of a Centaur. Thus we have traced the identity of Sagittarius and Centaur, half-man and half-horse.

(4) We now come to the sign Leo to which corresponds the sign of the Camel in the Bahram Yasht. The Lion was not to be found in Central Asia where the Yasht was written. In other countries where the Lion was not a native other substitutes had to be found for him on the Zodiac. The Egyptian image of the Sphinx is supposed to have originated when "the solstice was at the point dividing the two constellations Leo and Virgo (Brennand, *op. cit.*, p. 13). In Central Asia, the camel with its body covered with scars of fights and with its keen and eerie powers of sight and locomotion would serve as a better representative of Mars than even the lion itself. We regard the lion as the royal animal; and in the same spirit the Bahram Yasht speaks of the camel as "standing like a king." The ideals of a dignified and kingly bearing and great fighting strength which other nations found in the lion were combined in Central Asia in the camel. It is the idea of royalty which is implied by the sign of Leo, and attributes of royalty are expressly ascribed to the camel by the Yasht.

(5) At first sight the Virgo of our modern Zodiac appears to be far removed from the Boar put in its place by the Bahram Yasht. But even that seeming gulf is spanned by comparative mythology. We discover that even in the celestial regions the beast is never far from beauty. In the Babylonian Zodiac the Virgo represented Ishtar which is identified with Venus (Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 370 and 459). This brings us to the "widely-spread nature myth" according to which the goddess (known as Venus or Ishtar) mourns for her admirer Tammuz, Adonis or Attis. The death of this admirer was always due to Mars who assumed the form of a boar to slay the former (Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 8 and 220). Consequently, to the worshippers of Mars (or Bahram),

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the constellation of the Virgo is pre-eminently that of the Boar.

(6) The identification of Gemini with "the boy of fifteen" in Bahram Yasht is based on the fact that in the Babylonian Zodiac Gemini was represented by two boys placed feet to feet (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 994). We read in the same work that even in Rome "in the third month and sign, the building of the first city and the fratricidal brothers—Romulus and Remus of the Roman Legend—were brought to mind." The only difference between our Zodiacal system and that of the Yasht is that the latter refers to one boy instead of two.

(7) The Scorpio of our own Zodiac was placed there as a symbol of darkness, because of the "definitive decline of the Sun's power after the autumnal equinox" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 994). Exactly the same idea of darkness and the decline of the Sun's power is well represented by the Raven in our Yasht. One can scarcely dispute the right of the Raven to represent the autumnal darkness. The appropriateness of the Raven as a symbol of autumn will be better appreciated when it is remembered that, in Astrology, Mars indicated the season of Summer (Brihajjatakam, Ch. 11-12), and hence the sign of Scorpio or Raven expressed a decline in the power of Mars as well.

(8) The "wild beautiful ram" of the next section of the Yasht is of course the same as our sign of Aris. Astrologically it is the "exaltation sign" of Mars and thus specially identified with it. We read in Jastrow's work on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria why Mars (called Nergal by the Babylonians) came to be designated as the sheep or ram. The Babylonians regarded the Sun as the overseer or shepherd of the planets which were his sheep. Mars, however, was considered the sheep or ram *par excellence*, perhaps because of the intensity of his light (pp 459-460). We note that in the Yasht the ram's horns are specially described, since among the Zodiacal constellations, Aries corresponds to the head, according to Astrology.

(9) It is not difficult to identify the "fighting buck" mentioned in the 9th section of our Yasht with Capricornus. Indeed, in the Hindu representation of the Zodiac, Capricornus is endowed with the head of a buck (Brennand, *op. cit.*, p. 14, plate 11), and its figure is very similar in the ancient Egyptian Zodiac (*Ibid.*, plate 1). We note also the prevalence of the buck in Central Asia where the scheme of the Yasht was formed.

(10) Aquarius was represented, in the symbolism of Babylon, by the god Ramman (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 994), who was the thunder-god and storm-god. As the god of thunder he fulfilled well the conception of Aquarius. At the same time, as presiding over the battle of the elements he came to be conceived as the god of war to whom Assyrian vic-

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tories were ascribed (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161). The description of the martial figure given in the tenth section of the Bahram Yasht is quite in accord with this idea; only, as befits a Martian concept of the god of war, the water jar is removed from his hands and a sword is substituted for it.

(11) Coming to the sign of Pisces we find that in our Yasht, section 11, Bahram is not specifically mentioned as appearing in the form of a fish. This is so probably for the reason that Mars, as the fiery planet, could not appropriately be made to appear in the guise of an aquatic being. But it is very significant that exactly in the eleventh section, where we would expect the sign Pisces to be described, we have a description of the Kara fish "that lives beneath the water." Nor, perhaps, is the resemblance of the name of the kara fish to the Indian name for Pisces—Makara—without significance.

(12) Having thus found that the Bahram Yasht deals with eleven out of the twelve signs of our Zodiac, we come to account for the significant omission of the twelfth sign that of the Cancer. Here, again, it is Astrology that comes to our assistance, for according to it Cancer is the "neecha" or depression sign of Mars, and, accordingly, the worshipper of Bahram might well avert his eyes from that cadent sign. We have to remember that the Bahram Yasht envisages the progress of that planet Mars not merely from the technically astronomical or astrological aspect, but also from the point of view of the worship of the planet with the object of obtaining some boon. With such an object it would not be advisable to worship the planet while it is in its "depression" sign. If the reader would consult the rules for planetary worship, say, the exposition of such rules on Sabaean lines by Prof. de Goeje before the sixth International Congress of Orientalists, he will find it stated that it is best to offer prayers to each planet at his period of exaltation; the positions of planetary depression are to be avoided by the devotee. Hence in the Bahram Yasht it was to be expected that the aspect of the planet in its "depression" would be passed over and not expressly mentioned. Consequently in the Martian liturgy before us we find no mention of Cancer. This position is in no way inconsistent with the much later astrological dictum to be met with in the "Epistle of Manush-Chithra" that "the Padramgosh position of Mars is a favourable one" The position is stated to be only *conditionally* favourable—if Mars is at the end of *and about to leave Cancer*, and if the Sun and the Moon are in the latter part of Aquarius, and Saturn is in the first part of Aries. As the Astrological text books inform us, the depression in Cancer lasts only for 28 degrees out of 30. (See notes to Brihajjatakam, Ch. 1, 13.) Hence the proposition laid down by the Pehlevi astrologers is in no way inconsistent with the general position that Mars has a generally unfavourable aspect when it is in Cancer.

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The boons conferred by Bahram.

(*Bahram Yasht, Sec. 11–14.*)

Having occupied exactly the first half of its length in a presentation of the Zodiacal Scheme, our Yasht in the next three sections recounts the various boons which Bahram can confer. Here again Astrology confirms the dicta of the Yasht and helps us to interpret them. In fact, the Bahram Yasht is the one Yasht which has retained its former astrological and astronomical features so well that we can apply this method of interpretation to it with confidence and advantage. The boons which Bahram grants in the Yasht are exactly those which astrology endows Mars with the capacity to confer. Thus the Bahram Yasht in its verses 12, 29, 31 and 33 states that the angel Bahram can confer the gift of a brilliant eye sight—such eye sight as the horse, the vulture, the Kara fish or the camel possesses. That reminds us that, according to astrology, Mars rules the eyes (Cf. the Jyotish Kalpa Brikkha) and as a corollary of this position he can endow one whom he favours with bright eye sight. Hence in Bahram Yasht, section 11, he endows Zoroaster with such eye-sight. But, contrariwise, if Mars is unfavourable, he can deprive one of the powers of sight. Hence, among the Sabaeans who held the astrological religion, Mars was called الملك الاعمى, *i.e.*, the king of the blind. Chwolsohn in his great work (*Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, Vol. 11, pp. 24 and 188) was at a loss to account for the expression; but Prof. de Goeje commenting on the same expression showed that if Mars had the power of improving eye sight, he was also in a position to take away the powers of sight if he was in an unfavourable position.

Then again, Bahram endows Zoroaster with "the strength of the arms." So also works on Astrology tell us that a person born with Mars in the signs Gemini or Virgo will have a great capacity for fighting (Cf. Aiyar's Edition of Brihajjatakam, p 174). In Astrology, Gemini governs lungs and arms, and an auspicious Mars can strengthen these limbs. The other gifts said to have been conferred on Zoroaster in the Bahram Yasht could also be shown to be corollaries of astrological dicta.

Identity of the "figure with the halo" in a Tak-i-Bostan Sculpture.

In a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal I have argued that the figure with the nimbus of Sun-rays on the well-known sculpture on the Tak-i-Bostan was to be identified with the angel Bahram. The argument in that essay proceeded on archæological and historical grounds; but I am now in a position to corroborate my thesis on astrological grounds. The first point on which Astrology can throw light is the expression "delicate heeled" or "thin-heeled" in the Bahram Yasht,

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Verse 17. In a foot-note to my above-mentioned essay I drew attention to the analogy between these delicate or weak feet thus ascribed no Mars and Bahram and the legends of the vulnerable feet of great warriors like Achilles, Krishna and Gandarewa. The problem of this curious combination of great strength with week feet can be solved, as I am going to show, by Astrology. For, among the Zodiacal constellations Aries forms the head and Pisces the feet as our table shows, (Cf. Brihajjatakam, Ch. 1, verse 4 and verse 13). Now the depression sign of Mars is in the watery triplicity, and hence Mars is weak in Pisces or the feet.

The designer of the figure with the nimbus on the Tak-i-Bostan was well-versed both in Avesta and in Astrology, as was only to be expected from a member of the priestly order in the Sassanide age. The whole figure in question is so figured as to fulfil the astrological symbolism of Mars or Bahram Thus Mars has his "exaltation" in the fiery triplicity, and his "depression" in the watery triplicity. Corresponding to this the figure has fiery rays emerging from his head while his feet are small and rest on the water-flower Both the small feet and the lotus indicate a reference to the watery triplicity containing Pisces and Cancer which are the "cadent" houses of Mars. But, further, when the garden of the Tak-i-Bostan was better kept than it is now—as it was under the Sassanides—the scene must have been very realistic with the lotus at the feet of the figure appearing to float on the water overflowing from the pond at the feet of the sculpture, and the fishes floating on the pond forming a live representation of the constellation Pisces in the heavens.

Many other features of the figure with the nimbus can be explained with the help of our astrological data. Thus the figure appears more youthful and shorter than the other two figures of the sculpture. This reminds us of the dictum of Astrology that "Mars is not of a tall figure" (Brihajjatakam, 11, 4), and "has a youthful body" (*Ibid.*, 11, 9). He has "also a narrow middle" (*Ibid.*) as we see in the figure we are considering.

A pertinent question might be asked here—why did the iconoclast of a later age smash only the region of the eyes of the figure before us in the whole sculpture? An answer can be suggested in the light of our study. The Yasht in Verse 17 emphasises "the shining clear eyes" possessed by Bahram. As we have seen also this feature of Mars was emphasized by all astrological descriptions. Presumably, the sculptor, in order to make the figure correspond to this description had endowed the former with specially prominent and expressive eyes. But, in the opinion of the ignorant iconoclast this constituted a special crime, and he concentrated his malice on that distinguishing feature of the figure.

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Application of our method to other Yashts.

The above line of study is most fruitful when applied to Bahram Yasht, since in other Yashts the ethicising process has gone so far and has so much become the dominating *motif* that the astronomical and astrological elements have been reduced to a position of less importance. The later belief that "planets belong to Ahriman" (*Minokhirad*, VIII, 19 and *Bundehesh*, 111, 25; V. 1), might have helped that process (*S.B.E.*, XXIII p. 176, note 2). But there are still traces in several Yashts of the old astrological beliefs. Thus, in the Rashnu Yasht we have references to the astrological triplicities when stars are classified among those that have the seed of water, earth, etc. in them. A few reminiscences of the old astrological beliefs are to be found in the Rām Yasht also. In that Yasht, Vayu reminds us again of Libra (see above pp. 227 and 228) and of the influence of planets being in Libra. Thus, in verses 39–41, the maids desiring good husbands are said to pray to Vayu, and their request is granted. Now on referring to manuals of Astrology, we find the following description of the effects of Mars being in Libra (which is the positive house of Venus), "Occasionally, marriage is very much delayed . . . The native is passionate and quick and may suffer through his affections." This is indeed a very exact description of the aspirants to matrimony mentioned in the Ram Yasht. It might be added that according to works on Astrology, Jupiter in Libra is also fortunate for marriage.

We have already noted how the old Pehlevi commentators on Tir Yasht applied astrological notions to the interpretation of that Yasht. Thus we are told in Bundehesh VII, 4 that "Tishtar was converted into three forms, the form of a ram and the form of a horse and the form of a bull . . . . . as the astrologers say that every constellation has three froms." The age and region in which the Tir Yasht was composed had developed further the idea of the worship of certain constellations in order to ward off the effects of the maleficent aspects of different planets. In particular, the constellation Haptoiringha was invoked to defeat the maleficent aspect of Mars. As Tishtra was an ally of Haptoiringha there are analogies between it and the Bahram Yasht, since to the constellation or star which helps to defeat the maleficent aspects of Mars is ascribed some of the qualities of the same planet when it is a beneficent aspect.

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Persian as spoken in Birjand.

By W. IVANOW.

The present paper dealing with rustic Persian as it is spoken in the valley of Birjand, and generally in Southern Khorasan, is based on my notes that were made there in 1912–1913. Unfortunately, these notes remained for many years unaccessible to me, and therefore could not be published in my former works on the linguistic research of Khorasan.[1] The purpose of this monograph is to give a fairly representative collection of specimens of local rustic songs which may, to some extent, give an idea not only of the language used by the peasants, but also of the life and general conditions in that arid and isolated corner of Persia.

In my preceding paper of a similar character, dealing with the language and songs of the district of Sabzawar, in Northern Khorasan,[2] the specimens have been provided with paraphrases in Literary Persian. This was done in order to avoid the most difficult task of translating them into English, a language which is so little suited to render faithfully the narrow and primitive outlook of the patriarchal and pastoral inhabitants of the desert, with their ideas so different from those of the Western peoples. These Persian paraphrases, although useful for a philologist, require rather a very good knowledge of colloquial Persian, and may remain not clear to the average Persian student.

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[1] Of these publications the "*Notes on The Ethnology of Khorasan*," Geographical Journal, 1926, pp. 143–158, may serve as a general introduction concerning the ethnical and linguistical features of the province. Some information concerning early Khorasani may be found in the "*Tabaqat of Ansari in the old language of Herat*," JRAS, 1923, pp. 1–34 and 337–382. The "*Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan*," JASB, xxi, 1925, pp. 233–313, and "*Some Poems in the Sabzawari Dialect*," JRAS, 1927, pp. 1–41, deal with the Northern form of Khorasani. The dialect of the Kurdish tribes in Khorasan is dealt with in the "*Notes on Khorasani Kurdish*," JASB, xxiii, 1927, pp. 167–236. It may be added that several specimens of the rustic quatrains from the district of Turshiz were published by me in the "*Several Specimens of Persian Popular Poetry*," Zapiski of the Oriental section of the Russian Imperial Archeological Society, vol. xxiii, 1915, pp. 33–60; the quatrains in question are Nos. 23–49. An incantation in Sabzawari was published by me in the "*Muhammadan child-killing demons*," Man, vol. xxvi, 1926, pp. 195–199. On Gypsies in Khorasan see my papers: "*On the Language of the Gypsies of Qainat*," JASB, x, 1914, pp. 439–455, and "*Further Notes on Gypsies in Persia*, JASB, xvi, 1920, pp. 281–291.

[2] JASB, vol. xxi, 1925, pp. 233–313 (appeared only in November, 1926).

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Therefore I decided in this paper to add an English version, except in cases where the contents of the songs were exceeding Western ideas of decency. These translations,—the reader must be warned,—do not pretend to render the rhythm, the artistic taste and the general tone of these songs of the desert adequately. They may be called a sort of linguistic scaffolding, giving a closer insight to the philological structure of the poems, not to their poetical merits. The principal attention of this paper is concentrated on purely philological matters. I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks, who lent me her valuable assistance in rendering these literal translations less disagreeable to an English ear.

Another difficult question is the arrangement of the specimens, especially of the quatrains which constitute the great majority in this collection (230). I try here to arrange quatrains according to the place of their origin, under the villages in which they were recorded. In each such small collection they are arranged in alphabetical order, according to their initial letters.

The villages have been grouped into four series. The first includes those which are situated in the Birjand valley itself. The second—the villages of the Bāghrān range, the hills forming the Southern "wall" of the valley. The third—those on the North, and, fourth, those villages, chiefly along the roads leading to Western Persia, which use the same form of language.

I. The Birjand valley.

1. *Birjand* itself, the present capital of the district, a town with a population from three to five thousand, having a small bazar. The bulk of the population are local Persians, mostly peasants, with a proportion of petty craftsmen and traders. (Specimens Nos. 31–41, some heard from a Gypsy woman. Only those songs were included under this heading which appeared as really rustic, not the bazar productions; add also No. 15).

2. *Māhīābād*, apparently a modern village, of some 30–40 families, situated below *Zīrūch*, a small hamlet about 10 miles S.W. of Birjand. (Nos. 42–55).

3. *Ma'ṣūmābād*, a village of about 40–50 families, situated on the right bank of the dry river-bed, about 12 miles W. of Birjand. The village may be comparatively old; the inhabitants are mostly camelmen. (Nos. 56–66; cf. also 1, 2, 3).

4. *Shāhzīla*, or *Shāhdhila*, formerly an important place, now a small hamlet on the steep right bank of the dry river-bed between *Tughāb* and *Khūsp*, and about six miles from the latter. The inhabitants are also mostly camelmen. (Nos. 67–71).

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II. Villages in the Bāghrān range.

5. *Mazār-i-Kūhī* (or *Kāhī* ?, pronounced *Mäzori Kohi*), a small hamlet near a famous local *mazār*,[1] not far from *Chinisht* (or *Chinishk*, or *Känisht*, apparently an old place). (Nos. 72–75).

6. *Gul*, a fairly large village of 40–50 families, on the Southern slope of the *Bāghrān* range, some 15–20 miles due S. of Birjand, across the hills. Apparently an old place; ruins of an ancient fort, *Qal'a-i-Gīshād*; a *mazār* in the village, undated. (Nos. 76–83; cf. also 4, 257, 258).

7. *Farīz*, another comparatively large village, within three miles West of the preceding one. (Nos. 84–107; cf. also 253).

8. *Ḥāḍirābād* (or *Khaḍirābād* ?), a small hamlet in the hills on the road from Birjand to *Gul*. Apparently a new settlement. (Nos. 108–111).

9. *Yosht* (*Yāsht?*), a small hill hamlet on the cliffs near the crest of the range, about 12 miles from Birjand. (Nos. 112–115).

10. *Normanj* (*Nārmanj?*), a village of about 40–50 families, on the steep slopes of the *Bāghrān* range, overlooking *Zīrūch*, *Māhīābād* and *Qal'a-i-Naw*. It is situated about 8 or 10 miles S.W. of Birjand. The population consists of Sayyids, apparently old settlers, who own the stream which irrigates their fields. As in all these hill villages, the inhabitants live not only on the crops of their fields, but also on the produce of their gardens which they sell in Birjand. (Nos. 116–174; cf. also 6–11, 19, 20, 21, 26, 29, 30, 254, 255, 259, 263–268).

11. *Riqāt* (or *Riqād-i-Bālā*, pronounced *Riqot*), a small hamlet in a gorge, about 15 families. It is situated at the Western end of the *Bāghrān* range. (Nos. 175–179; cf. also 5, 12, 13, 17, 18).

12. *Gūbagū*, a small impoverished hamlet with about 10–12 families, up the gorge from *Riqot*, not far from *Kūh-i-Rīch*, an imposing isolated rock (shown on the maps as 8362 feet high), forming the extreme Westward point of the *Bāghrān* range. The village *Rīch* at the foot of the enormous overhanging cliff, has numerous gardens, but is inhabited only during the season of harvesting fruits In all other seasons

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[1] The Bāghrān range has a special reputation of sanctity, and the mazars are numerous here. They are either the usual graves of local saints (in Gul, Khūsp, Mazār-i-Kūhī, etc.), or belong to the "*qadamgāh*" type, i.e. foot-imprint on a stone (as in Rīch, a big slab with a natural triangular depression, about two yards long, which only a vivid imagination may take for a foot-imprint, of a giant. It is surrounded by flags and numerous *banä*, or wild pistachio, trees, all covered with thousands of votive rags tied to their branches). Near Chinisht there is a crevice in the hill forming a deep cave, which contains mumified corpses of about a dozen "martyrs" who probably perished suddenly, and were preserved due to the dry cool air of the place.

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it is abandoned on account of continual danger from falling stones. (Nos. 180–184; cf. also 28, 256).

III. Villages in the hills North of the valley of Birjand.

13. *Tabas*, a fortified village with about 30 families, all Sunnites, about 65 miles E. of Birjand, not far from the Afghan frontier. The notes from this village (strictly speaking not belonging to the hills that form the Birjand valley) are given here as a specimen of the language spoken in Sunnikhana, which borders the valley of Birjand on the East. (Nos. 185–190).

14. *Zirk*, a small hill village in a gorge of the *Furg* range about 40 miles E. of Birjand. (Nos. 191–194; cf. also 14, 21).

15. *Sedeh*, a large old village of over 50 families, on the high road from Birjand and Sistan to Mashhad, about 40 miles N. of Birjand. Its inhabitants are mostly Isma'ilites, of the branch which recognise the Indian Agha Khan as the incarnation of the Deity, and pay taxes to him.[1] (Nos. 195–205; cf. also 250–252).

16. *Chāhak* (pr. *Chohak*), a hamlet with about 20–25 families, on the caravan road from Birjand to Qāin, about 35 miles N.W. from the former. (Nos. 206–218; cf. also 16, 27).

17. *Gurāng* (*Gurong*), a small village with 10-15 families, about 30 miles N.W. of Birjand, on the road to *Khūr*, *Tūn* and *Ṭabas*, at the foot of the range of the same name. (Nos. 219-225).

IV. Villages belonging to different districts connected with the valley of Birjand.

18. *Bushrūya*, a small town between *Bājistān*, *Tūn* and *Ṭabas*,[2] famous for its woollen homespuns (*barrak*). This place was not visited personally, as also the place mentioned next. The specimens were written from dictation by inhabitants of these places met with in Birjand. (Nos. 226-227).

19. *Ṭurshīz*, or *Turshīsh* (officially *Sulṭānābād*), the well known town. (No. 228,[3] cf. also 25, 261, 262).

20. *Ispak* (on the maps wrongly *Aspak*), a village of about 25-30 families on the Western slope of the *Ṭabas–Nāyband* range.

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[1] Cf. my "*Ismailitica*", Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii, pp. 1–76 (especially pp. 50–53).

[2] A full description of this place, as it was some fifty years ago, is given by Col. MacGregor, in his "*Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorasan*", vol. I (London, 1879), p. 150.

[3] As mentioned above, 27 quatrains from the Turshiz district, chiefly from the village *Sayfābād*, have already been published in my paper in the Zapiski, 1915, pp. 33–60, with a Russian translation.

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The type of the inhabitants, their cloths, style of buildings, etc., differ considerably from those of the Birjandis; although the language does not differ much, there is apparently (as in *Kurit*) a local dialect which the villagers do not use when speaking to the outsiders. (Nos. 229-232; Cf. also 260).

21. *Kurīt* (or *Kurīd*), a walled oasis in the sand desert, at the foot of the same Tabas range, with a population of about 20-25 families. (Nos. 233-241).

22. *Ṭabas*, the well known ancient town mentioned as early as 13 centuries ago, by different historians. The language is the Southern Khorasani, and there is, as in other ancient places in Persia, apparently no trace of a peculiar local dialect. (Nos. 242-243).

23–25. *Mihrijān, Khūr* and *Anārak* (Nos. 244-249) have been already referred to, from the linguistical point of view, in my paper "Two Dialects spoken in the Central Persian Desert," JRAS, 1926, pp. 406–410.

Specimens of other poems, such as lullabies, wedding songs, etc., are given separately, according to the class to which they belong.

Specimens of prose are extremely difficult to record. It is hopeless to try to write from anybody's dictation. The informer selected for the work should be trained, instructed, tested, etc. Often he is so unintelligent that he must be dismissed. Circumstances permit such training rarely, and therefore to obtain a complete story in prose is rather a rare success. But the work is worth while as a translation from the literary Persian done by the dialect-speaking villagers is not a genuine specimen of their language, neither with regard to syntax, nor grammar. In this collection I include only a few stories in prose because not all my specimens are complete. They are intended only for philological studies, and must not be regarded as representing rustic tales and anecdotes adequately.

Before dealing with the brief review of the peculiarities of the Southern Khorasani, and before quoting specimens of rustic poetry, it will be useful to give here a brief note on the province itself, its history and conditions.

I. The district of Birjand.

The district of Birjand consists geographically of the valley in which the town of Birjand is situated, with the adjoining hill tracts in the North, East and South, where it is bounded by the districts of *Qāin*, *Zirkūh*, *Sunnīkhāna*, and *Neh-Bandān*. In the West the broad tract of desert separates it from the districts of Central Persia. The general direction of drainage is towards the desert (with a gradient of about 3.000 feet to a hundred miles),

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but the numerous dry riverbeds (called here *rudkhunä, rud*, rarely *kol*), contain water for only a few hours a year, when a spate caused by sudden heavy rain in the hills rushes down, devastating every thing in its way; such *säyls* do not take place every year, however. The hills on both sides of the valley rise over 9,000 feet; they are extremely rocky and arid; streams, insignificant in volume, are very rare.

The dryness is extremely great, and, in addition, the peculiar topographical configuration of the ranges is favourable to continuous dry winds, hot and cold (in the winter) which often attain enormous force, keeping the atmosphere full of dust and fine sand for days. Rains fall between the end of January and the end of April, when the desert for a very short period is covered by scanty grass and flowers. All vegetation dries up early in May and for the rest of the year forage is available only on a few irrigated fields. It is normal for this district to feed animals on leaves of trees which are carefully picked. Especially are the leaves of the *'unab* tree valued for their softness. Life depends on artificial irrigation which consists chiefly of *karīzes* or *qanāts*.[1] These, however, often fail leaving the villages which depend on them in a precarious position. Droughts visit the district periodically, reducing the population, and affecting severely the flocks. During the last famine, in 1916-1917, the people in the streets of Birjand used to pick up the undigested grains of barley thrown by the ponies of the Indian garrison quartered there.

The villages are small and separated by long distances; their number is not large. They are situated either at the bottom of the valley, or, in the majority of cases, immediately at the foot of the hills. If you look over the valley from a height, you will notice that small dark lines or speckles are marked on the brown, dark red, or grey surface of the desert looking like scratches. These are really villages with dark green foliage showing in their gardens.[2]

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[1] The usual type of the *karīzes*, which probably existed from time immemorial, is a long subterranean passage dug at some angle along the slope of a valley. The wells made for removing earth, at equal distances, show its direction on the surface of the ground. The stratigraphic peculiarities of Persia exclude the possibility of real water bearing beds, and the *karīzes* are chiefly fed by atmospheric water, which, having got under the surface at some depth, and meeting harder strata, is kept in a continual state of evaporation and condensation ("perspiration"), due to great changes between the temperatures of day and night Absence of rain therefore reduces the volume of the water in the *karīz*, or stops it completely.

[2] The best description of these districts some 50 years ago is given in the first volume of the "*Eastern Persia*", by Euan Smith, London, 1876, especially pp. 334–9; more modern is a brief account by C. E. Yate, in his "*Khurasan and Sistan*," London, 1900, pp. 62–70; some interesting information is found in the books by P. Sykes, "*Ten thousand miles in Persia*", and W. Savage-Landor's "*Across Coveted Lands*", but I have not

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From the point of view of ethnology the district is in the same condition as the whole of Southern Khorasan. The settled population is Persian, both in the hills and in the valleys. This is remarkably uniform in its language and general type. Nomads, chiefly Baluchis, rarely visit the valley of Birjand on account of its aridity. Still rarer are Timuris, living NE of the district. Arabs live in 'Arab-khāna, to the South of Birjand. They are greatly impoverished and speak a sort of jargon. There are also occasional Gypsies, and rarely Turks and *Bärbäris*.[1]

A peculiar feature of the local Persian population is the great proportion of Sayyids amongst them, *i.e.* the supposed descendants of Muhammad. In reality they are purest Persians, with a more prominent racial type than the rest, which is obviously due to their discrimination in intermarriages. It is possible that they may have some remote tradition of an Arab origin, as Arabs raided these districts, and probably occasionally settled in them.

All settled Persians are Shi'ites, except those who live in Sunnikhana.[2] There are also sectarians amongst them, such as Ismailites in Sedeh, or Bahais in the towns. Baluchis, Arabs and Timuris are mostly Sunnuites.

The conditions of life in this corner of Persia, i.e. in Birjand and the adjoining districts of Qāin, Tūn, etc., are so uniform that this part of the Southern Khorasan is often treated as a special province, Quhistan. Its limits varied frequently in connection with political changes. Yāqūt, writing in the beginning of the XIIIth c. A.D. (Geogr. Dict., iv, 205-6), gives this term an extremely wide application, obviously quite erroneous, making Quhistan mean the whole of Central Persia. from Farāh in the East to Nihāwand in the West. But an earlier geographer, ar-Ruknī, quoted by Yāqūt (ibid.), applies this term to what at present constitutes the districts of Birjand and Qāin only, *i.e.* the land from "*Jūsaf*" (obviously *Khūsf*, or *Khūsp*, 20 miles S.W. of Birjand), to "*Ispīdh Rustāq*" (*i.e. Dasht-i-bayāḍ*, or *Isfīdīn*, N.E. of Qāin). Some authors (cf. Yāqūt, iv, 205), by Quhistan mean the province between the districts of Nishapur

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these books at hand and cannot give references to pages. More may be found in N. Khanikoff's "*Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l 'Asie Central*", Paris, 1861, pp. 170-1; J. Fraser, "*Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan*", London 1825, pp. 246-7 and Appendix, 20; C. M MacGregor's "*Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan*", vol. I, London, 1879, pp. 161-188 (for his *Ledeh*, obviously a misprint, read *Sedeh*); W. Barthold's, "*A Historical and Geographical Review of Iran*" (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 93-4, etc.

[1] On the general distribution of these tribes in Khorasan see my paper in the Geographical Journal, 1926, pp. 143-158.

[2] There are Sunnites close to Birjand, in Buj (or Bujd), a village 8 miles distant, but they are not the original inhabitants.

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and Ṭūs in the North, and Sistan in the South, including therefore Ṭurshīz,[1] Jām, Gunābad, Tūn, Ṭabas, Qāin, Zauzan, etc. This term, apparently forgotten long ago, is never used at present by the local inhabitants, who call the province simply *Khurosu*, i.e. Khorasan. The districts of Qāin and Birjand combined are sometimes called *Qāināl*, only in official correspondence. The local inhabitants use this name very rarely, and peasants do not understand it.

The historical information gathered from earlier authors concerning the fate of Quhistan has been summarised by J. H. Kramers in his article on this province in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II, pp. 1108-1110. I quote it here with some slight abbreviations and the necessary alterations in the system of transliteration.

"Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his Geography. In the period of the early Arab conquests we find Quhistan under the rule of the Ephtalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of 'Umar, by 'Abdu'l-lah b. Budayl al-Khuzā'ī. The latter setting out for Kirman took aṭ-Ṭabasayn (Ṭabas and Kurīn, according to Balādhurī, p. 403). In 31 A.H./653 A.D. when Ibn 'Āmir undertook the conquest of Khorasan, his advance-guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Quhistan and defeated the Ephtalites there (Ṭabarī, I, 2885, and Balādhurī, 403, who give also other traditions). In the years following, Quhistan was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Qarīn, a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, I, 2905; Marquart, *Eranshahr*, p. 135). In 51 A.H./671 A.D. it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by ar-Rabī' b. Ziyād, from "the Turks" (Ṭabarī, II, 156). Henceforth Quhistan formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khorasan, and more particularly of the province which Arab geographers call by the old name of Abarshahr, with its capital Nishapur (cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitābu'l-buldān*, B.G.A., vii, 278, who gives a rather limited definition to Quhistan, for he mentions aṭ-Ṭabasayn, Jām and Zawzan separately). These districts became in the early centuries of Islam the principal refuge of Zoroastrians (C. Inostrantsev, *The Emigration of Parsis to India*, etc.). In the ninth century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirides (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 35) and later of the Ṣaffārides. In this period Qāin was the capital. In the year 1052 Nāṣir-i-Khusraw passed through Quhistan, going from Isfahan. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Qāin and Sarakhs and de-

[1] Ibn Khurdādhbih (who wrote circa 234/848), cf. B.G.A., vol. VI, p. 52, gives its name as *aṭ-Ṭuraythīth*. The same is given in Yāqūt's Dictionary, vol. IV, p. 29. If these are not mistakes based on misreading for *aṭ-Ṭurshīsh* (which when written closely resembles the former name), it is possible to think that there was in that district a peculiar manner of pronouncing *sh* like *th* (*thidew*= LP *shuda*) which can be heard still in the pronunciation of some local peasants.

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scribes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of Saljuqs (the XIth and the XIIth centuries) Quhistan became a refuge for the Isma'ilis."

To this may be added that Qāin is mentioned as a rather important town visited by Shaykh Abū Sa'īd of Mayhana (d. 440/1049), cf. the *Asrāru't-tauḥīd fi maqāmāt shaykh Abī Sa'īd* (composed in the end of the XIIth c. A.D., ed. by Zhukovski, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 293). Many stories about the plots of the Isma'ilis of Qāin and generally of Quhistan against Sanjar (ruled in 511-52/1118-57) are narrated in the *Khulāṣatu'l-maqāmāt*, a biography of Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Jām (d. in 536/1141), written in 840/1436 by Abū'l-makārim b. 'Alā'i'l-mulk Jāmī, who based it on earlier works dating from the XIIth c.[1]

Under Khwārizmshāhs and Ghūrides Quhistan apparently preserved much of its independency. About the middle of the XIIIth c. there were Isma'ilite rulers. At the court of one of them, Nāṣiru'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm b. Manṣūr, an enlightened and philosophically inclined governor, Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī wrote his famous book on ethics, the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*. Hūlāgū and his successors devastated the country, ruining many fortified places.[2] Later on, under Kurts and Timurides, in the XIIIth to the XVIth centuries, the province was connected closely with Herat. It is to that city that the easiest roads lead from this isolated corner of Persia.[3]

The ascension of Safawides and their successful wars against the Timurides brought Quhistan again into touch with Western Persia, but three centuries of raids of Uzbeks, and then of Turkomans[4] kept the country in continual misery. The isola-

[1] The manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, cf. W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the Collection of the ASB*, 1924, No. 245. The biography has been partly edited by W. Ivanow in the JRAS, 1917, pp. 291-365.

[2] Some scholars maintain that the fortified places in Quhistan were "castles" of rich land-owners, the aristocracy, who were gradually pressed out from other parts of Persia into this isolated corner of the country. The same is repeated with regard to the "castles" of the Isma'ilites. Judging from the nature of the country this seems to be really a mistake based on the wrong association of the word *qal'a* with the idea of the mediaeval European castle. The scarcity of population and the roaming nomads, who would never miss an opportunity to loot the settled peasants, necessitated fortifying every inhabited spot, every village, as it was practised all over Persia till modern times. So the "castles of aristocracy" most probably were ordinary villages and towns; if they were fortified better than in other parts of the country, this was probably due to the greater lack of safety and the impossibility to expect an early relief from outside.

[3] As one may notice, reference to Herat is often found in the local rustic songs (cf. here Nos. 186–188). The people in their songs and tales remember even the well known localities in Herat, as Kāzargāh, etc.

[4] The "towers of safety" which are frequently seen in the Northern Khorasan, have disappeared here, and are only found occasionally in some gorges. How great was the fear of Turkomans can be seen from the narratives of all travellers of the last century.

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tion of the province, its great poverty and great difficulty of communication offered possibilities to different local chiefs to strengthen their position and become practically independent from central Persian government. Such were the chiefs of Ṭabas, Gunābad, Qāin and Sistan, who were continually engaged in quarrelling, intriguing against each other, or bribing the shahs to acquire governorship.

The hereditary rulers of Qāin and Birjand, who still continue as governors of the province, came into power in the reign of Nādir, about the middle of the XVIIIth c. The most important of this dynasty was Mīr 'Ālam Khān, who is still often mentioned in popular songs. He flourished in the beginning of the last century, and is mentioned in J. Fraser's *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* (London, 1825, pp. 246-7, and Appendix, p. 20). Cf. also *Eastern Persia*, vol. I, p. 341. These governors are supposed to be of Arab origin.[1]

It was under the last family of rulers that Birjand[2] gradually acquired its present position as a capital, which formerly belonged to Qāin. The latter, as we have seen, is a very old place, about as ancient as Ṭabas, which was a town of importance at the time of the Arab conquest. Both al-Iṣṭakhrī (B.G.A., vol. I, pp. 273-274) and Ibn Ḥaukal (ibid., vol. II, p. 324) mention it in similar expressions which indicate that the place was copied from the original, by al-Balkhī (who died in 322/934). The same authors refer to Khūr, an ancient village N.W. of Birjand. They also mention what probably should be read as Khūsp (ibid., Khūst),[3] as these villages are said to be situated near each other. Neither of them was large; at present they possesses no antiquities. At about 8-9 miles S.E. of Khūsp, however, on the top of a spur of Kūh-i-Rīch (cf. above, No. 12 in the list of villages in the preface) which is ascended by an extremely steep path over a precipice, there is the ruin of a fortification. It was, however, built of sun-dried

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[1] In Persia, and especially in India, everybody claims a noble pedigree with rather a great disregard to the truth, and therefore there is no reason to treat these claims seriously. The present governor, whom I met personally, and his predecessors whose photographs I saw, all had typical Persian features.

[2] It is really extraordinary how systematically this name is misspelt by Oriental students: Barjand, Birjind, Burjund, Bīrjand, Bheerjoon, etc. On the maps, where the local names are rarely given in a correct form, the name is given as Bīrjand. The etymology of the word is uncertain. The suffix *and* is rather common in Persian toponymy.

[3] The name of the place is also frequently corrupted by the learned into *Khūsaf*, *Khūsif*, *Khūsuf*. It is a small town of no commercial or industrial importance, and is inhabited by agriculturists and camelowners. There is only one land-mark, the shrine of the author of a religious epic, the *Khāwar-nāma*, Ibn Ḥusām (Muḥammad) al-Harawī, who was a native of Khūsp, and died in 1427 A.D. Now he is regarded as a saint. The shrine is of a modern origin.

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bricks, and is now almost completely washed away. There is nothing to give any suggestion of the date.

Khūsp, Khūr and Birjand, the latter apparently for the first time, are often mentioned in the *Safar-nāma* by the poet of the XIVth century A. D., Nizārī Quhistānī [1] A number of celebrities originating from Birjand, or the villages round it, lived in the middle ages; the best known of them is the famous astronomer of the XVth century, 'Abdu'l-'Alī al-Birjandī.

In a locality such as these arid hills and valleys the position of every inhabited place of importance is defined by two natural and unchanging conditions: direction of passable roads through the gorges, passes, and waterless plains, and, secondly, the distribution of sufficient water supply. There is little doubt therefore that the distribution of large and small villages, and even their number, their prosperity and local importance, could undergo great changes for many centuries. Many early geographers (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 273–4; Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 324; Muqaddasī, p. 321, etc.) mention the great poverty of the province. Conditions are the same nowadays; the life of the peasant is a hard struggle for mere existence, without any prospect of improvement, because increase of prosperity incites extortions from the authorities which in these remote provinces have their hands free even at the best periods of Persian administration. There is no local trade of importance, except for a very limited production of carpets, chiefly in Durukhsh, N.E. of Birjand. Other carpets are produced by nomads, Timuris, Baluchis and Arabs, but these appear on the bazar of Birjand in small numbers as the producers take them directly to Mashhad. The production of silk is dead now; safron is grown, chiefly in Qāin. Until recently trade was so little developed in Birjand that some merchants used to go personally to Mashhad, to buy goods, bring them to Birjand, and to sell them during the whole of the year, when they again had to close their shops for two or three months, and undertake a new journey for new stock. Matters have considerably changed in this respect since the war, when the Eastern Persia Expeditionary Force, sent from India by the British Government, constructed a road from Mashhad to Duzdap, where a railway to India begins. A road, however, which is passable to motorcars, may be of little use to local traffic without safety and the tanks for collecting rain water being in good repair. This depends on the local administration which (at least in 1920 when I visited the province the last time), could be described either as scandalous, ridiculous,

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[1] This work is preserved in the unique copy of Nizārī's *Kulliyyāt* belonging to the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. Cf. (B. Dorn), Catalogue des Manuscrites et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Imperiale Publique de St. Pétersbourg. St. Pétersbourg, 1852, No. 415, on p. 365.

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or both. Its functions consisted only in taxing every thing and everybody, and inventing genuine methods of extortion, etc. Justice, police, armed forces for the defence of the population, were a real farce, and quite incredible to those who have not seen them personally. Such things as sanitation, medical help, construction of roads, repairs of water tanks, improvement of irrigation, upkeep of public caravanserays along the roads, etc., were never even thought about by the rulers who wished only to get back from the population the money they had spent in bribing the shah and his ministers to confirm them in the post of governors in preference to some of their relations.

II. Peculiarities of the Southern Khorasani.

The Southern Khorasani dialect differs from literary Persian (and from the colloquial of the educated classes) apparently less than any other variety of the rustic Persian that is spoken in the country; it is in fact almost pure "bazari." Its deviations are confined not so much to local idioms or usages, as to the phonetical corruption, slangs, and various defects of speech which are inevitable in any language which is used by an illiterate people. In my preceding papers I have already suggested some explanations of this striking similarity.[1] This may be due to different, but equally admissible causes. The Southern Khorasani dialect may have sprung from the same dialect from which literary Persian chiefly grew. Or,—and this seems to me much more probable,—what is at present the Southern Khorasani, is a synthetic language which was evolved from a mixture of local dialects under "unformity-giving" influence of the colloquial Persian, i.e. the "bazari."

The earliest authority, al-Balkhī (d. in 322 A.H./934 A.D.), in his work as preserved in the versions by al-Iṣṭakhrī (B.G.A., I, pp. 273–4) and Ibn Ḥaukal (ibid., II, p. 324), mentions that (more than a thousand years ago) the majority of the population of the province were nomads, "Kurds." Al-Muqaddasī (who wrote about 375 A.H./985 A.D.) adds (B.G.A. III, p. 321) that the language of Qāin is "wild." Yāqūt, who wrote about 250 years later, repeats all this without any change (Geogr. Dict., IV, 23). It seems doubtful whether these "Kurds" were of the same stock as the Kurds that are known by this name now; the early authors apparently apply this term to all nomads of Iranian origin, and therefore it seems probable that by this name they mean the ancestors of the Baluchi or Timuri tribes who now inhabit the province. But it may be added that in the historical and biographical works

[1] *Tabaqat of Ansari*, etc., JRAS, 1923, pp. 7–14; *Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan*, JASB, 1925, pp. 241-42; *Notes of the Ethnology of Khorasan*, Geographical Journal, 1926, pp. 145-146.

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relating to the earlier periods of the history of Khorasan the surname "Kurd" or "Kurt" appears from time to time Even, not to mention the well known dynasty of Herat, it is possible to find several cases of the use of this term in the biography of the Sufic saint, Aḥmad-i-Jām (beg. of the XIIth c.). In the work ascribed to the same saint, the *Unsu't-tā'ibīn*, there are occasional passages from which one may infer that there were at that time differences between the dialects spoken in the different corners of the province.[1]

Persian language may be an excellent example of the general rule: that a written language, conservative in its morphology and phonology, grows chiefly by the absorption of lexical material belonging not only to the different sub-dialects, but also to foreign languages. Unwritten languages (and all the Persian dialects are never used for literary purposes), are conservative in their dictionary (due to the unchanging ideas in the simple and secluded life of those who use it), but are modified very rapidly and substantially in their phonology and morphology; they too easily adopt the corruptions and incorrect forms and usages introduced by individuals, and have no means of correcting themselves. A survey of the Persian dictionary, based on the best lexicological works of all periods, may reveal hundreds, if not thousands, of words, belonging in reality to different dialects; but included as terms that are "archaic," "ancient," or "Pehlevi." The tendency to treat every dialect term as an "archaism," and every local alteration in pronunciation or grammatical usage as a "corruption" is almost a rule in Persia; the latter are attributed to the ignorance and illiteracy of the rustic people. Not only the Persians themselves believe this, but also many foreigners. Therefore the improvement of communication with commercial centres, that brings the peasant more into contact with the outer world, means invariably a great deal of change for him in his native tongue; he begins gradually to "correct," or rather adapt it to the "bazari," as he becomes more and more in touch with civilisation.

Khorasan was the province with the most developed city life during the flourishing periods of Persian history, and it is possible to attribute the fact that Khorasani is now the dialect which deviates little from the "bazari" to this circumstance.

The difference between the Northern and the Southern forms of Khorasani, as I have already mentioned in my preceding paper, is very slight, and depends chiefly on the peculiarities of the particular local form of the language, or rather on the degree of the phonetical "wear and tear" that the isolated position of the village, in which it is spoken, may possess. On

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[1] *Tabaqat of Ansari*, etc., note 1 on p. 11.

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the whole it would be safe to maintain that the inhabitants of the Northern districts, such as those of Sabazawar, Nishapur, Juwayn, partly Turshiz, speak a more idiomatic form of the language, while the Southerners use a comparatively more "refined" form. This I could observe in the Western, and inner side of Khorasan, and it would be very interesting to investigate the remnants of the Persian rustic population of the districts Jām, Khāf, Bākharz, Tāibād, and other localities along the Afghan frontier, or in Afghanistan itself. A proper study of the Northernmost Baluchi and Timuri tribes would yield also interesting facts.

1. *Notes on Phonology.*

The general character of the sound and the principal phonetical alterations in Khorasani have been explained in my preceding paper, "Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan," JASB, vol. XXI, pp. 242-249. They are in Birjand almost precisely the same as in Sabzawar. Here I have for the convenience of the reader to summarise only the most indispensable information.

VOWELS: *a* (the timbre as in *fat*); *ä* (same as *a*, *ai*, *e* in different English words where it is pronounced not as a guttural *a*, or *o*, or *u*); *e*, an indifferent, often elusive *e*; *i* (Engl. *i* or *ee* in *fit*, *feet*); *o* or *â* (Engl. *a* in *all*); *u* (Engl. *u* or *oo* in *full*, *fool*).

CONSONANTS: *h* (plain, but harder than in English); *kh*, *k*, *g*, rarely *gh*, *q* (deeper than *k*, but not much; occasionally pronounced as *kh*); *ḱ* and *ǵ*, which are pronounced with the tongue in a flat position touching the teeth on both sides of the mouth, so that it is as if one pronounces *ky* or *gy* in one breath; *y*, *r*, *l*; *sh* is softer than in English; *zh* as *j* in French *jour*; *ch*, *j*, *z*; *t*, *d*, are more dental than in English, pronounced lower nearer to the edges of the teeth; *s* is a clear sound, as *ss* or *c* in English, never pronounced as *sh*; *f*, *v*, *n*, *w*, *p*, *b*, *m*, all as in English; *ṇ* differs very slightly from the usual *n*, and appears only before the gutturals *k*, *g*.

As in Northern Khorasani there is apparently no inherent difference between the so called long and short vowels; the peculiarity of the intonation may make the sound, which is orthographically short, to appear as a long one, and vice versa.

Accent is effected rather by a prolongation of the syllable than by raising the voice. Hiatus is not avoided, but there is rarely an aspiration inserted (cf. *ohinä*, 73, *fardohi*, 181, etc). Occasionally as a "glide" is inserted: *n*, cf. *ki-n-ä* (=*ki ast*), *sine* (=*sū-i-*); *w*, cf. *chi-w-ä* (=*chi ast*), etc. Apocopation, "swallowing" the final consonant, is common; syncopation is patricularly noticeable in verbal forms. Occasionally it is accompanied by metathesis, especially in Arabic words: *sikd*=*ṣidq*, *suhb*=*ṣubḥ*, *aski*=*'aks*, etc. Even purely Persian words are

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often corrupted : *mun*=*nām* ; *gidä*=*dīgar* ; *zadre*=*zard* ; *päynum* =*panhān*, etc.

Alteration of sound, as compared with the standards of literary Persian, is practically the same as in Sabzawari. The difference is : rare cases of the change *o* (LP *ā*) into *i* (apparently only in *dishtä*, accented, for *dāshta*, and, perhaps, *äftídä* for *uftāda*) ; *u* (LP *ü*) is pronounced as *i* not so frequently as in the North ; what is in LP a short *u* and *i*, may often be interchanged as in *dirisht*=*durusht*, but *chodur*=*chādir*, etc. Occasionally the labial surroundings change the sound into *u*, cf. *purä* for LP *pāra* ; *mun*=LP *nām*, etc. On the other hand, the guttural *n* never brings the labialisation of the sound, and occasionally it is possible to see that it "gutturalises" it, as in *sing* for LP *sang*. It may be also emphasised that the pronunciation of Birjandis is on the whole rather indistinct, and there are not only a great variety of shadings in the vowels, but an abundance of really indistinct sounds.

In the alteration of the consonants the same tendency may be observed as in the Sabzawari. One of the most important exceptions is the absence of the changes *d*=*y*, so peculiar to the latter. On the other hand, there are cases of *g*=*y*, as in the frequent *diyä*=*dīgar*, which are not common in the Sabzawari. Although all labials are "deteriorating" into an indifferent labial spirant *w*, there are cases of hardening: *däbid* (5) for *dawīd* ; *bibä* for *bīwa* ; *resbo* for *riswā* ; cf. *khopi* for *khūbī*, etc. An interesting case of labial nasalisation is *amru* for *abrū* (89).

The *j* for *z* in *jisht*=*zisht* is apparently dialectical, just as *säk* for *sag*, *hamsoda* for *hamsāya*, etc.

In verbal forms the changes of vowels and consonants are extremely irregular, and it is probably impossible to draw general rules for them. They are practically the same as in Sabzawari, and it seems that in them the synvocalising tendencies of the dialect find their complete expression.

2. *Notes on Morphology.*

NOUNS : The suffixes which are used for the formation of the substantives are practically the same as in LP ; in a few cases there are some phonetical deviations, especially in the terminations of the diminutives and of the abstract nouns :

-uk, occasionally abbreviated into *-u*, is quite common, cf. *guluk*, *bulbuluk*, *barkuk* (30), etc.

-ul, *-ol*, as in *shokhul* (150, 184). It may be a phonetical variant of the rare suffix *-al*, as in LP *kachal* (bald headed). Probably a combination of these two, *-uluk*, appears in the form of *kuchuluk*, *kuchulu*=LP *kūchik*.

-ur, is probably a variation of the preceding suffix, as in *kechur-mechur* (19, apparently for *kūchik*).

-ik, as in *kurik* (from LP *kūr*). It may be the same as the

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similar suffix in LP, cf. *nazdīk*, *bārīk*, etc. Strangely enough, this suffix itself sounds occasionally as *-uk*, as in *nazduk*.

-ishk, may be a variation of the preceding. It is probably used as a diminutive suffix for the names of animals and plants, cf. *gunjishk*, *zirishk*, *siwishk*, etc. Its diminutive character is clear from *murishk* (179)=LP *mūrcha*, ant. It seems also frequently used with the names of places: *Dihishk* (from *dih*), *Fidishk* (probably for *Bīdishk*, from *bīd*, willow), *Arishk*, etc.

-u, or *-un*, is the suffix forming the abstract nouns, chiefly from the verbs. It corresponds apparently to LP *-ī* or *-ish*, cf. *arusu*=LP *'arūsī*, *toriku*=LP *tārīkī*, *kalkalu* (47), *dukhtaru* (=virginity), etc. In the sense of the suffix *-ish*: *molun*=LP *mālish* (267), *shirini-khurun*, *rakhte-burun* (2), etc.

The suffix of the onomatopoeia *-ast* (*shelopast*, *khurrast*, *vinǵast*, etc.), have been sufficiently discussed in my previous papers (cf. Tabaqat, etc., JRAS, 1923, p. 27; Rustic poetry, etc., p. 263, No. 25). Much rarer in the onomatopoeia is the suffix *-ik*, as in *chilik*, the sound of crackling of burning charcoal.

The suffixes definite, and indefinite, of substantives are *-ä* (apparently as in Kurdish), for the definite, and *-i* for the indefinite. *Hasanä*, or *i Hasanä* the (certain) Ḥasan; *i mardäkä*—the man, etc. As in Kurdish, there is a great difficulty to decide in which particular case this suffix may be treated as a definitive or as a diminutive one. There are cases such as *mardäkäi bu*, with the parallel form *mardäkäki bu*, in which this suffix is obviously a diminutive one As in Kurdish also, the definitive *-ä* may be added to the noun in every oblique case, especially the Accusative. Sometimes it is tempting to explain it in these circumstances as a deteriorated suffix *-rä* (LP *-rā*). It may be added that although the articles, definite and indefinite, are not recognised by the grammarians, the use of *yäk* and of the "pleonastic" *i* (=LP *īn*) shows that there is some psychological ground for them: *yäk gushti*, *yäk obi*, *yäk chizi*, etc., obviously use the word *yak* not in its numerical sense, but merely to express and emphasise the shading of an indefinite quantity.

The suffixes of the Plural are as in Sabzawari, *-u*, *-un*, and *-o*, *-ho* (LP *-ān* and *-hā*). It is doubtful if the rustic language has any genuine (not adopted from LP) Plural on *-gun* (=LP *-gān*). Contrary to the rules given by the authors of school grammars, it is exactly the form *-u*, *-un* which is mostly used with the names of inanimate objects: *chizun*, *dastun*, *chiroghun*, etc. Sometimes it seems that the choice of the suffix largely depends on purely phonetical considerations, although perhaps quite unconsciously: *mardo*, *aspo*, *zano*, *bacho*, *gowo*, etc., but *shuturu*, *gusfandu*, etc. Occasionally these suffixes are added to the names of material, stuff, as in *obo* (from LP *āb*), *gushtun*, *mosto* (LP *māst-hā*), etc., probably to mean "all these vessels with water," "all these pieces of flesh," etc. These suffixes attract the accent upon themselves. If added to the nouns on *-a*, the latter either is

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disregarded, as in *bächä—bächo*; or there is a short *e* (*ä*) in pronunciation, as *bacheo*.

The suffixes of cases may exist in reality, but are extremely difficult to be identified. The elusiveness of the timbre of vowels, especially those which are not accented, is due chiefly to the "negligent" manner of peasants who quite involuntarily add occasionally "after-sounds" for purely euphonic purposes. The difficulty is accentuated by the much "worn out" state of the Persian language, especially colloquial, in which many different suffixes and other terminations sound exactly the same. If a substantive which logically is expected to be, in some particular sentence, in the accusative, or other oblique case, ends with a sound *ä* or *e* (usually pronounced indistinctly), this sound may be the expected suffix; but it is necessary to prove that it is not one of the suffixes as follows:

1. The suffix *-ä*, abbreviated from *-äk*, of the diminutives.
2. The pronominal suffix *-ä* (=LP-*at*, *-ash*).
3. The definitive suffix *-ä*, described above.
4. A phonetical modification of the particle *-rä* (*rā*).
5. The indefinite suffix *-e* (=LP-*ī*, or *yāy-i-waḥdat* of grammarians),
6. The correlative-definitive suffix *-e* (=LP-*ī*, or *yāy-i-ishārat* of grammarians).
7. The suffix of the adjectives *-e* (=LP-*ī*, or *yāy-i-nisbat* of grammarians).
8. Some other suffix which has no analogy in LP.

The use of the particle *-rā*, which is pronounced as *-ro*, *-rä*, rarely as *-ri*, *-r*, or *-ä*, *-e*, is the same as in LP. There are also instances in which, as generally in the colloquial, it is omitted: *bedey man*, *bedi mo*.

The vocative case has the same suffix as in LP, only it is pronounced as *-äw*, *-ew*, instead of *-ā*.

The *iḍāfa* in the use of the illiterate peasants follows the rules of school grammars rather loosely. It sounds as *-i*,*-e*,*-ä*,*-u*, and is subject to a great deal of phonetical alterations. Very often it is entirely omitted (as in numerous manuscripts), and often expresses not a possesive or definitive connection, but of simply the sequence (as in Kurdish), used instead of the conjunction *wa*, *-u* So in *daste po* we have apparently the *iḍāfa* meaning only the conjunction; but, on the other hand, there are numerous cases as *zän peder*, *ru nunu*, *nawochä pämbä*, *jibo u*, etc., where the *iḍāfa* is either entirely omitted or phonetically absorbed.

Adjectives often add "pleonastically" the suffix *-e*, *-i*, as in *zadre* (=LP *zard*), *khushke* which probably is not identical with the usual suffix of the adjectives, as it does not receive the accent. Only the suffix of the comparative degree is used, *-tär*, although it is frequently omitted. The superlative degree is not

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expressed by the suffix *-tarīn*, which is apparently never used, but by sentences as *äz hamä khubtär*, etc.

Numerals have very few deviations, chiefly of a phonetical nature: *yäk*, *de* (exactly the same sound as French *deux*), *su*, *chor*, *panj*, *shish*, *af*, *ash*, *nuh* (*nukh*), *dakh*, etc. Birjandis are particularly fond of "approximate calculations," as *af-ash-dakh*, *dakh-bis*, etc. Ordinals are *awal* (rarely *yäkum*, in dates, never *nukhust*), *diyum*(*-i*), *siyum*(*-i*) or *sugidä*, *sudiǵa* (*si-dīgar*, an ancient form), *chorum*, etc.

Pronouns also differ only in pronunciation. Personal: *män*, *men*, *mey* (19), *mu* (195); *tu*, *tew*, *ti*; *u*, *i*, *ish*; *mo*; *shumo*; *ino*, *uno*, *ishun*, *eyshun*. Oblique case: *märo*, *mero*, *merä*; *turo*, *terä*, *ture*; *uro*, *urä*, *iro*, *irä*, *ish*, *ishro*, *ishrä*; etc. The particle *-ro* is often omitted; *bedey män*; *mo bor khon ke*=LP *mārā bār khwāhand kard*. Or *män* (=LP *marā*) *arrä bä khoter räsidä* (9), etc. The Dative is rarely formed with *-rā* from the third person sing., usually it is with *bä*: *bä ish guft*.

Pronominal suffixes are: *-um*, *-'m*; *-ät* (*-ä*); *-äsh* (*-ä*). The plural forms are very rarely used, *-mun*, *-tun*, *-shun*. If accentuated, the possessive connection is expressed with the preposition *äz*: *äz mo*, *äz ish*, etc.

In demonstrative pronouns the Birjandis are very fond of using the forms with *ham*: *ami*, *amu* (*hamīn*, *hamān*), also *amash*, *amachi* (*hama*, *hamachīz*).

Interrogative and relative pronouns are the usual *ki* and *chi*. Only the Birjandi will always prefer to ask: *i chi chiyä?* =LP *īn chi chīz ast*, instead of *īn chi ast*.

VERBS. There are many phonetical changes which may be observed in different verbal forms, but all such modifications can be treated as "slang", and not as real alterations of the stems. So, if one meets with the form *moyum* (which may be written in Persian characters as *māyūm*), it would be tempting to suggest that it is derived from a different stem than *khwāstan*, if there were not a number of transition forms between this and *mī-khwāham*, such as *mukhum*, *mikhom*, etc.

Instead of the LP forms of the Infinitive here only pure stems, are used chiefly the Past, cf. *gashte oshuqi kore zelur-ä*; *kharid*, *kosht*, etc. Very often verbal nouns have the abstract suffix *-u*, *-un*, mentioned above: *zanu* for *zadan*. It is necessary to mention that the "gerundium" on *-äni*, as *raftäni*, etc., is frequently used; therefore it seems clear that psychologically it is an independent form, connected only accidentally with the usual form of the Infinitive.

The participles, excepting the Past Passive, are not used The latter often has an "emphatic" form, on *-ägi*: *kharidägi*, *guftägi*, etc. This, however, is also met with in intransitive verbs, as in *murdägi*. It seems to me that it has in it some shading of the Latin gerundivum, on *-ndus*, although at present I cannot give a sufficient number of instances to support this statement.

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The modal particles, or prefixes, *mī-* and *bi-*, are here phonetically modified into *mu-*, *mä-*, *me-*, and *bi-*, *bä-*, *bu-*, *bo-*, *be-*. The latter may be nasalised also into *mu-*, *ma-*, etc. (cf. Nos. 5, 185, etc.). The real scope of their application is much more complex than represented by grammarians. The prefix *bi-* may be used not only as perfective, but also as inchoative, and *mī-* expresses iterative mood as often as simple duration.[1]

The substantive verb $\sqrt{ah}$ appears in its usual form: *-um*; *-i*; *-ä*; *-um* (*-im*); *-ey*; *-än* (*-ä*). The stem $\sqrt{bw}$ is rarely used in the Present tense, and in the Past (*budum*, *budi*, *bu*, etc.) has sometimes the meaning of *shudan*: *u wakh shäw bu* (=*shud*).

The personal suffixes of the Present tense are the same as the forms of the auxiliary verb. It may be noticed occasionally that the people say *mayädi*, *marädi*, etc., instead of *mayä* (*mī-gūyad*), *or marä*, *maraä* (*mī-rawad*). I cannot decide the nature of this final *-i*. Is it *mī-gūyad ī*(*n*)? Or is it the early suffix of what may be called "verbal coherency," the *yāy-i-istimrārī* of grammarians (cf. the Tabaqat, JRAS, 1923, pp. 348-350)?

The personal suffixes of the Past tense are the same, except for the 3rd pers. sing., where there is no suffix, as is known from school grammars. With regard to this it may be mentioned that the form *guftä*, *giriftä*, etc., used exactly in the same sense as *guft*, *girift*, etc., may suggest the question whether this supposed to be a special form of the "apocopated perfect" is simply a colloquial form of the "Imperfect" with a suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. of the Present: *guftä*(*d*), *giriftä*(*d*)? It is quite possible, indeed, that in some cases it may be syncopated from *gufta a*(*st*), *girifta a*(*st*). But it is doubtful that in such cases as *u chi guftä*?—we really have the "Perfect" tense, not the "Imperfect."[2]

With regard to the formation of the tenses, there are no deviation from the LP. In their use there is no rigid, purely formal consecutio temporum, as, *e.g.*, in English. The interdependence of the tenses is governed by the logic of the narrative, so that the Present tense may depend on the Past, and vice versa. The shadings of the tenses are modified by the modal prefixes and other expressions, but there is much to be said against the obsolete manner of applying the Latin terminology to the different forms. The latter is well defined for

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[1] There is in the Khorasani and in the "bazari" as spoken in Khorasan, an expression which is used for emphasising duration, but which is disregarded by grammarians: *hay mi-raft-u hay miraft; hay*, or *hu mi-zad-u hu mi-zad*, etc., or sometimes without *mī*; *hu zad-u hu zad* (6, 64). It is difficult to decide whether or not this is a variation of the LP *hamī*.

[2] Visiting Shiraz in the autumn of 1928, after these lines were written, I found such forms as *guftät*, *guftätäsh*, *newishtätäsh*, etc., used there quite frequently.

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its own language but transferred into Persian grammar, I am afraid, leads to much misunderstanding; all these terms as Aorist, Imperfect, Past, Perfect, Pluperfect, Second Future, Optative, etc., are merely instances of the learned "hair-splitting".

I believe that in Birjandi, or in Khorasani and the "bazari" in general, as well as in the majority of Persian dialects, one should be more correctly guided if one were to adopt a simpler scheme:

Past tenses: (1) Immediate (= not remote) Past:—*khūrd*; (2) Complete, or remote Past:—*khūrda ast*; (3) Indefinite, or iterative Past:—*khūrda būd* (which very often expresses a prolonged action in the Past).

Future tenses: (1) Immediate (or not remote) Future: *bi-khūrad*; (2) Real, remote or complete Future: *khwāhad khūrd*; (3) Prolonged, iterative, or indefinite Future: *khūrda bāshad*.

All Past tenses in addition may be emphasised by the use of the modal prefixes, and the Indefinite Future may receive occasionally the prefix *mī-*, as in *khūrda mībāshad*.[1]

The Optative, on *-ād*, is apparently used in the Khorasani very rarely, cf. specimen No. 33.

The forms of the Passive voice are the same as in LP, but a direct active construction is usually preferred.

The Imperative mood has the same peculiarity as in the Sabzawari, only it is still more pronounced: the second pers. sing. has almost always the suffix *-i*, as the 2nd pers. sing. of the Present tense. In many cases it is the modified suffix of the Plural *-īd*, which becomes *-i* or *-ey*. In the negative form the prefix *ma-* is rare, and *na-* is mostly used: *nägu*.

Impersonal forms are usually identical with the Passive voice. Expression as *män dardi shikäm-um* are apparently not impersonal, but here *dardi-shikam* may be used as a composite adjective.

The forms of the principal verbs which may appear as "irregular" have been given in my preceding paper, the "Rustic poetry," etc., pp. 253–255. Almost all of them are identical with those used in the valley of Birjand.

INDECLINABILIA. There are a few local adverbs, as *jaldak* or *jäldäku*, fast; *hulguk*, slowly; *kallepo*, downwards, etc. Other adverbs may be somewhat modified phonetically: *kuji*, *inji*, etc., for *kujā*, *injā*, etc. LP *kay* is here *kī*; *chan* (=*chand*) may mean "what" and "how", also=*har chand*; *amchi*, *amchini* =*hamchūn*, *hamchunīn*, etc.

The Preposition *khud*, *khot*, meaning "with," "along"

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[1] The modal particle *mī-* is so essential to this form that it may be used even with the verb *dāshtan* with which it is seldom used with other forms: *midoshta boshi* (143).

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(6)[1] is apparently also met with in the form *ad-*, or *a-*: *ad-dil* (101, 216), or the expression that one often hears, *ajosh*=entirely, at all. Perhaps the same preposition is found in *aliski*, from *lisk*, nacked, although, indeed, this *a* may be euphonical.

Other prepositions are much modified phonetically: *wä*, *wär* (LP *bar*, often used as an emphatic form for *ba-*, as in the Dative, cf. *wäräsh guftum*=*ba-ū guftam*); *dä*, *där*, *äz*, *ru* (*ri*), *su*, *si* (with the *iḍāfa*: *sune*, *sine*), *tu*, *ṭi*, *äz tu*, *shiwe*, *tay* (LP *tah*, down, cf. *wa tay khar o*=come down from the donkey), etc.

The conjunctions are practically the same as in LP. There is a very varied application of the conjunction *ki*, which often means "and when": *bä khunä ki räsi; dukhtär ki poin uma*, etc., or "but": *män ki chi mudunum*=but what do I know?

The onomatopoeia, the calls for animals, etc., are included in the list of words added here.

III. Specimens of Birjandi prose and poetry.

A. Tales and Anecdotes.

1. The story of the step-daughter.

Yak märdi bu sowar-käshi. I yäk dukhtäri dosh, i dukhtär rey mikärdä[2] *bä darskhuni. I mardäkä äz khi bi chiz nebu.*[3] *I zäne ami okhundä dukhtär yod dod ki berew ashke serkä äz nänäi khu bestun, bestun-u har che dästun-pone tu tu khume serkä ku.*[4] *U wakh äz tu khume serkä där miod yäk gowe zarde. U wakh gowe zarde ki mishud i wakh zänäkä miod zäne oghoi*[5] *u she. I taraf charkh miznä, u taraf charkh mizänä ki i gowe zard äz kuji birun uma. Bād i aqabe dukhtär-u moder charkh mizänä, bād äz gowe zard.—Hich.*[6]*—I zän pedere näwmodere u shu, khud bä därdi kämär misozid; miyod yäk tänur nun khushki*[7] *mipäzid, bād äz u ke nunu pukhtä ur pān kärdä. I rakhte khäw owurdä ru nunu kärdä. U dangi*[8] *i zaifä uma ru u nunu nishas, u guf ki häy kämärum dard mikunä, häy dard mikunä.—Hich.—Bād i*

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[1] Cf. *Tabaqat of Ansari*, etc., note 2 on p. 33.

[2] *Rāhī kard*=*firistād.*

[3] Favourite expression of Birjandis.

[4] The narrative is much confused in this place.

[5] *Āghā*=father (so children address their fathers).

[6] A meaningless exclamation, used simply to accentuate a pause, a sort of a full stop in the hasty speech of the Birjandi woman.

[7] The *tanūr* is a short of a large clay vessel dug into the earth in such a way that its opening is slightly raised above the ground. The fuel is burnt inside of it, and when its walls are sufficiently hot, they are cleaned with a brush, and bread is baked in such a way that pieces of paste are stuck to the sides. When ready, they come off by themselves, and are picked up with an iron *sīgh*. The expression *yak tanuri nun* means so much bread as may be baked without repetition of heating. The term *khūshk* in this case does not mean "dry," but a special sort of bread, made very thin and hard, like biscuit.

[8] *Ān dam ki.*

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zänäkä guf: i gowe zarde sär buburän, gushtune u bepäzän ki mo bukhurum ki gurdune me khub shä. Bād-ish iro sar buridän, ir sär buridän-u gushtun bukhurd-u guf: i gurdune me khub shu. U wakht ami gowe zard istukhunonä wä han [1] *joshid-u boz gowe zard shu.*

I gow ro wä jelew dukhtär kärd, guf: berew ir bechärun. Bād-esh yak näwochä pämbä-u duk wä u dod, guf ki ur bechäron wä säwäri biobu, beres. U wakh hamu gow pämbä ro wär dosht-u khurd äz u tarafe hänj gey kärd nakhe rismun, pämbä risht.[2] *Bād i dukhtär i gow ro jelew kärdä owurd khunä. Guf ki i chi kor kärdi ki i pämbä risht.*[2] *I guf ki hich kor, dä biobu werishtum.*

I ruze diyä ki shud, i yäk mushti pämbä-u duk dod-u gowe zarde wär jelew ändokhtä, bād guf ki i pämbä wäres. U wakht gowro wär disht biumádä tu biobu. Yäk näwochä pämbä bod wär díshte bur, yäk choyi ändokht. I raf ta choy khost ki näwochä birun biorä di ki de äzhdäho ta choy mikhobä. Amchi chäshi i bär äzhdäho eftid sälom kär. Guft ki: är sälomät näbuwäd khune tu yäk chämchäyi mo, gushte tu yäk lukmäyi mo. Ir sälom kärdä. I äzhdäho biumádä säräsh dä ru zonui u kärd, guf: i nime sär mo neǵah dor. I tämome sere jost. Guf: bio nime khunäyi mo joru ku. I raf tämome khunä joru kar. Guft: berew sär khume jäwohirot, gule pämbäyi tu wär dor. I raf wär díshtä gule pämbeyi khud, wär doshtä bä i jäwohirot hich imtino nekar. Bolo biumádä pishi hami äzhdäho. Äzhdāho bä i guf: khur khud täkun ku. I jeldeku-jeldeku täk kard ki hich jäwohirot päynom nekärdä. Didi ki, nä, hich wär nädíshtäye. Guf: Khudoyi wä räzinä awal yäk moyi ru pishunäyi tu bedorum. Az räzinäy deyum yäk moyi wä läwi tu bedorum, äz räzinäyi seyum yäk moyi gidä wä i läwe tu midähom. Wä räzinäyi chorum yäk moyi wär kalapi tu midehum.

Bolo uma shäwi torik bu; äz wastki [3] *ruye makbul-u nuroni dosh tämome i biobu äz u rushän shu, ki akhir, chor moh wä suräte u bu. Wär hamu shäw ki suräte u rushnoyi dosht gow-ro päydo kerdä-wu pämbä raf ru bä khunä.*

Raf bä khunä, chäshmi nowmodere ki bä surāti u eftid, i guf ki i chi kor kärdi ki i chor to moh bä surāti tu bädar uma ?" Guf: hichche, tu yäk choy äzhdeho khobidä bu, bād-esh gule pämbä mo bod bebur. Bād guftesh ki säri mo negoh ku, säri u negoh kärdem.

I ruzi gidä ki shu dukhtäre tu tänurä peynom ker. Yäk dukhtere jishte äz khude i bu, ir räy ker päy gowe zard. I päy gowe zadr-ä, i gule pämbä bod wer dosh bur to ta choy. Gule

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[1] *Bā ham.*

[2] *Sic!* the verb *rīshtan* is apparently used here in an intransitive sense.

[3] *Az bas ki.*

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pämbä ki bod bebur dukhtär beraf tuyi choh. Bäráfta, inji yak äzhdäho bu, i sälom ker. I äzhdäho guf: äyär i sälome tu nebu khune tu yak chimchäyi mo, gushte tu yak lukmäyi mo Guf: nisfi säre mo neǵah ku. I hamun nisfäy sär i negoh ke. Guf: nisfe khunäy mo wär ru. I amchi nisfä we ruft. Guf: tu berew, sär khumäyi jäwohirot gule pämbäyi tu wär dor. I beraf: äz tu khumäyi jäwohirot yäk nim men, yäk men-u du mäne jäwohirot där u jibe baghalu hamä jo wär dosht, qam kard.

Biumádä pish ami äzhdäho, guf: khur khud täk ku. Khur khud täk ke; did ki yak olam äz u jäwohirot äz jibo u rikht. Guft: wä räzineyi awal ki miri yak daste khar wär pishunäyi tu biumä. Bä räzinäyi digär yak daste khar wär i läve tu biumä. Wä räzinäyi seyumi yak daste khar bä u läwä boshä. Wä räzinäyi chorum yak daste khare wär kalape tu boshä.

Bedaŕ umä did ki shäwe torik, ki säre suräte khärow, ki daste khar shälope-shälopä wä ham mikhurä. U raf dä toriku gowe khu wodi kärdä, pämbäyi khud wodi kärd, beraf ru bä khunä.

Bä khuna ki resi, modäre u guf ki tu chi kor kärdi ki säre suräte tu chini shu? U wakh har che kord-u choghu biowurdän ki beburidänd u boz bulantär shudä.

I dukhtäre makbulro biowurdän äz tänur bedar owurdä bä u guf ki tu chi kor kärdi ki i bächäyi mo i jur shudä, jisht-u zoye shu? I wakh yäk chan múshte wär u bezädän' bād guf: berow päy i gow-ro u khu bechärun. I hamesh tu biobu charkh kärd geryä mikär.

Bād did yäk däryochäyi ob-ä, yak dirakhte säbz-ä. Hamu ki däryochäyi di, läbi ow nishäst, yäk kami ow mikhurdä. Yak aksi äz suräte khu tu ow di, amchi khadesh äz khu sham miyod. Bād-esh umä khudro lukht kar khu tu ow shu ki hawo ǵarm bu. I ham-chi ki tu ow shu, did äz dur de to asp säwor päydo shu. Ino ki näzduk bu—hich—amchi raf bä säre dirakht, amchi lisk.

I de säwor ki omádä yak puseri podshoh bu, yak puseri wazili khu, biumádän läwi ow. Poin omádä äz asp. Poin omádä läwi ow benishástä di dä tuyi ow yak aksi moyi eftidä. Har chi i taraf beǵáshtä, u taraf miǵáshtä did nä, amchi shakhsi päydo ni-ä, ki aski moyi äz kujo's?

Negoh sär dirakht ker did yak dukhtäre makbule nishastä, ammo lisk. Alo ki chäshi u bä i dukhtär räsi ashuki ami aksi dakhtäre shu äz wastki dukhtär hamchi chize shokile makbule bu. Har chi guf bä dukhtär, bio poin, guf: no-khäyr, lukht-um, poin nämiyom. Akhir ki i dukhtär libose nedosht hamäsh bekándä, i yak zirjomäyi wär dosht u aboyi khu tu shokhe dirakht partew kär. Guf: i bepush. U ännokht, dukhtär poyin umä. Dukhtär ki poyin umädi, pusari podshoh nä yäk dil sad dil ashuki ami dukh-tär shu. Ashuki dukhtär ki shu, i dukhtäre pushte aspe khu säwor kär, dembole khu wär díshte bebur. I gowe zard-ro sär dodä, iro yäli kä. Bāde dukhtäro wär dosht-u burd.

Dukhtär ki bebur bä shāre ino räsidän. Puseri wäzil rey kär, guf: berow be shār, begu ki pusäri podshoh bäjihäti khu yak-arusi

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biowurdä ki i libose sängin[1] *befiristen. U wakht libos durust kärdän biowurdän, i ki näzduke shār räsi, libose dä bäre dukhtär kärdän. Bä soze bä sowtu dukhtärä woride shār kärdän. Bad eynewenduni kärdän ki mikhostän i dukhtär dä ahde i pusäri podshoh kärdän. Ir biowurdän bä khunäyi khi,*[2] *arus dä akhd dodän, bä mo hich nedodän.*

(*Nänä Ma'ṣūmä from Ma'ṣūmābād*).

There was once a man who lived on gathering (dry) thorny plants (in the desert, for fuel). He had a daughter, whom he used to send to school. The man was not poor. The wife of the teacher said to the girl, persuading: go, ask thy mother, ask a little (?) vinegar from her; take it, and (say:) "put thy hands and feet into the jar." (This the mother of the girl did). Then from the jar of vinegar a yellow cow came out. When (the girl's mother) has become a yellow cow, that woman came, and became the wife of the girl's father. He was searching everywhere to find where the yellow cow appeared from. Then he looked for the girl and the mother; then again looked for the cow.

Well, that new wife (of the girl's father) became her step-mother She began to pretend she had pains in her back. She came, baked an oven-full of dry bread, and when the bread was ready, spread it on the floor. She brought then bedding and spread it over the bread. And then that woman sat on the bread. She said: "oh my waist is painful, oh, my waist is painful." Well, then the woman said: "let them kill the yellow cow and cook its flesh. I will eat it so that my kidneys recover." Then they killed the cow, she ate the flesh, and said: "my kidneys are all right now." Then the bones of that yellow cow stuck together and the cow reappeared.

She put the cow before her step-daughter, and said: "go, take it to graze." She also gave the girl a bundle of cotton and a hand spindle, and said: "take the cow to graze on the thorns of the desert, and spin (this)." The cow took the cotton and devoured it, then threw it out from the other end as spun threads, so her cotton was spun. Then the girl brought the cow to the house. The step mother asked: "what hast thou done that this cotton is spun?" The girl said: "nothing (in particular), I spun it in the desert."

One day (the step-mother) gave (the girl) a handful of cotton and a spindle, put the cow before her, and said: "spin this cotton." (The girl) then took the cow and came to the desert. Wind had blown away a piece of cotton and thrown it into a hole. She came down into the hole, as she wanted to

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[1] *Sangīn*, as *girān*, means often "expensive."
[2] *Khūd*.

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get out her cotton, when she saw that at the bottom of the hole there were lying two dragons. No sooner had her eyes noticed the dragons that she said: "salam!" The dragon said: "if thou hadst not said *salam*, thy blood would be but a spoonful, thy flesh but a mouthful for me!" But she salamed him. So the dragon came and placed his head in her lap, and said: "look in (for lice in) this half of my head." She searched the whole of his head. Said the dragon: "go and sweep half of my house." She swept the whole of his house. He said: "go to the jar with jewels, take there thy piece of cotton." She went, took up the piece of her cotton, took it up, and was not tempted by those jewels. She came before that dragon. He said to her: "shake thou thy-self." She quickly shook herself (showing) that she had not concealed any jewels. (The dragon) sees: no, she has not taken any thing. He said: "as agreeable unto God, first I will have a moon on thy forehead. Secondly, on this side of thy cheek, thirdly on that side of thy cheek, fourthly,—on thy chin I will give a moon."

She came up (from the hole). It was a dark night, but as she had a beautiful shining face, the whole desert was lit by her, as,—then,—there were four moons on her face. That night, as her face radiated light, she found the cow and cotton, and went home.

As she went home, and the step-mother saw her face, the latter asked: "what hast thou done that these four moons came up on thy face?" (The girl) said: "nothing (in particular), only a dragon was lying there in a hole. Then the wind blew away a piece of my cotton-wool. Then (the dragon) said: look (for lice) in my head, so I searched."

When the next day arrived (the step-mother) hid the girl in the stove. She had a wicked daughter of her own, whom she sent with the yellow cow; and when the girl was with the yellow cow, the wind blew away a piece of cotton-wool, carrying it to the hole. When the wind blew away the piece of cotton wool, the girl went to the hole. She went, there was a dragon, she salamed it. The dragon said: "if it were not for thy salam, thy blood should be but a spoonful, thy flesh but a mouthful for me." Said: "search half of my head."

She searched (exactly) a half of his head. He said: "sweep half of my house." She swept exactly a half. He said: "go, on the top of the jar with jewels there is thy piece of cotton, take it." She went, and put half a *man*, a *man*, two *mans*, of jewels from the jar into her pockets and bosom, every where, and concealed them. Then she came before the dragon, and he said: "shake thy-self." She shook herself, and he saw: a world-ful of jewels pour from her pockets. Said (the dragon): "as agreeable unto God, first, as thou goest, a leg of an ass will appear on thy forehead. Secondly, a leg of an ass will appear on this side of thy cheek. Thirdly, a leg of an

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ass will appear on that side of thy cheek. Fourthly, a leg of an ass will be on thy chin."

She went out, and looked: the night was dark, the face was disfigured, and the legs of an ass moved now and then. She went, lost the cow in the darkness, lost her cotton-wool, and turned home. And when she came home, her mother said: "what hast thou done that thy face has become like this?" Whatever they tried to do with knives, to cut off the legs, these became longer and longer. They brought the pretty girl from the oven, and the step-mother asked her: "what hast thou done that my child has become so disfigured, so ugly and damaged?"

Then they have given her several blows and said: "Go with thy cow, graze it thy-self." She went to the desert, and cried.

Then she saw a pool of water, with a green tree (beside it). On seeing the pool, she sat on the bank, and drank a little water. She saw the reflection of her own face in the water, it shone as a candle. Then she undressed herself, and went to bathe, as the weather was hot. As she entered the water, she saw two horsemen approaching from afar. When they came close—well,—she at once climbed the tree, because she was naked.

Those horsemen that arrived, came to the water; one was the son of a king, the other the son of his wazir. They dismounted. Dismounted, and sat on the bank; they saw in the water a reflection of a moon. Wherever they searched on this and on that side,—no, (they saw): there is no such thing; but from where then is there the reflection of a moon?

They looked up to the top of the tree and saw the beautiful maiden, quite naked, sitting there. When the eyes of the prince noticed the maiden, he fell in love with the reflection of her face, so beautiful and pretty was she. Whenever he persuaded the maiden to descend, she replied: "no, I am naked, I cannot come down."—As the maiden had no dress, having taken it off, he, the prince, threw some parts of his underwear to her on the branches of the tree, and his cloak (*'abā*). He said: "put it on." He threw (the clothes), then the maiden descended. As she descended, the son of the king fell in love with the maiden not with one heart, but with a hundred hearts. As he fell in love with the maiden, he seated her on his horse behind himself, and carried her with him. The yellow cow they dismissed, left it there. Then he took the maiden and carried her away.

He carried her away, and they reached the city. The prince sent the son of the wazir, saying to him: "go to the city, say that the son of the king has brought for himself a bride, let them send gorgeous clothes." Then they prepared the clothes, brought them, and when they (the prince and the maiden) reached the city, they dressed the maiden in these garments.

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With music and singing they brought the maiden into the city. Afterwards they made a feast, as it was decided to marry the maiden to the prince. They brought her to their house, and gave her in marriage, but to me they gave nothing.

Note. The Persian tale is rarely simple; usually it consists, as in the present case, of a number of motives. The present story is obviously an abbreviation of a longer one. Its beginning is rather "condensed," and at the end (as I was told by the narrator), there follows a long series of adventures to the maiden after her marriage to the prince, etc., which Nänä Ma'ṣūmä had forgotten. The motives of bewitching, especially by a woman, turning the rival into a cow, of the cow's magic powers, of the reappearance of the cow from the bones after it is slain and consumed for food, etc., all these are well known from the Arabian Nights and other similar collections. The main portion of the tale, the story of the reward for the virtuous maiden and punishment for the wicked one, is apparently a genuine folk-tale. It resembles so closely the folk-tales of many European nations. A Russian folk-tale treats the same subject almost word for word, except, of course, that instead of the desert, the cotton, the dragon, etc., there appear a forest, a bear and the other details of a Russian landscape. The motive of the naked maiden hiding herself in the foliage of a tree when surprised by a prince at her bathing is one of the most popular, and almost inevitable in all Persian tales of some length. It is also often the subject of paintings. The marriage of the virtuous maiden to the prince resembles the motive of Cinderella, and it may be mentioned, by the way, that the motive of recognition of the lost maiden by her slipper, dropped in her flight, was found in another story, heard by me in the same province (village *Gurong*). Briefly, the story runs as follows: the king, going to his hunting expedition, orders that if a son will be born by his wife, a messenger should be sent. If a daughter,—she should be killed, her blood poured into a bowl and put at the city gate in a niche, so that he may drink it on his return. A daughter is born. The eldest son of the king pities his sister, substitutes the blood of an antelope for the blood of the babe, whom he hides. She grows up a marvel of beauty, the king incidentally meets her, falls in love, pursues her, but she runs away losing a slipper. The maiden is found exactly in the same way as Cinderella was found, but knowing that the king is her father, she disappears, etc.

The dragon is generally described by the peasants of the province as a small animal, with two crystal (*bulūr*) horns. It breathes fire. There is no mention of wings, or a long tail. It steals lambs, as wolves do. The existence of the dragon is an

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indisputable fact to a peasant. In Khūsp I was told that about 30 years ago there was a very severe winter. A peasant, going to the town at night found a frozen dragon near the road. He put it into his shoulder bag (*kulä*), and carried it in hope to sell it to some curio-lover. When the sun rose and warmed the dragon, he revived, began to breathe, and escaped having burnt the bag and caused the man great injuries. Most probably the real "dragon" is the fox, or some other carnivorous beast. As far as I could ascertain, there is no general belief about the dragon being connected with treasures, or being guardians of them. The fact that in this tale the dragon rewards and punishes in the name of God, reveals his peculiar connection with religious lore. As far as I can remember at present, the earliest anecdote of some saint coming in touch with a dragon on friendly terms, in hagiological literature, is found in the *Asrāru't-tauḥīd fī maqāmāt Shaykh Abī Sa'īd* (of Mayhana; ed. V. Zhukovsky, St. Petersburg, 1899, pp. 129-31), which was written in the end of the XII century A.D.

The motive of the maiden adorned with full moons on her face is sufficiently common (in Russian tales the beautiful maidens often have a star on their foreheads). The usual metaphor of the "full moon" for the beautiful face apparently refers not to its being plump, with broad cheek-bones, but entirely to its pale and smooth appearance. The shining light is an equivalent of beauty in the aesthetical perceptions of the Persian. In a tale, which is an exact reproduction of the well-known motive of "Blue-beard" the beautiful maiden becomes shining with light: a man who had three daughters, was asked by them, when going to the town, to bring presents. The youngest asks for a string of corals (*shadda-i-marwārīd*). After a long search in vain, the old man finds the tree on which bunches of coral are growing; it is on the shores of the sea. But no sooner does he pluck one when he sees approaching its guardian, who is a cannibal (*barzangi*) (?), who lets the man go only when promising to give him one of his daughters in marriage. First the eldest goes, the *barzangi* bids her not enter some particular room in his house during his absence. She disobeys and finds a tank of liquid gold. She tests it with her finger, and the stain cannot be washed. *Barzangi* kills her on his return. He marries the middle and the youngest daughter, one after the other, but the latter, when she sees that the stain will not go, returns again to the tank, and bathes herself in it, then she escapes. After many adventures, disguised as a man, she becomes a shepherd of the king, who, coming out one night to his compound, notices a light in a room in the servants' quarters. Growing suspicious, he looks through the hole, and sees a beautiful maiden who in her sleep unconsciously removes the covers from her golden body, which emits powerful light. It may be added that as part of the ornaments of a bride, or a

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generally smartly dressed woman, the *pūlak* (lit. little coin), appears, which is a small disc of some metal stuck between the eyebrows. This is apparently a city custom, because I never found any mention of the *pūlak* in the rustic quatrains, although it may be really referred to simply as a "mole" (*khol*).

2. The ruse of a son.

Yak zänäkäyi bu, yak pusere-u yak pedere. Bād-esh u puder-u moder hamroyi ham khobidä budän. Yäk buze 'am dishtä. I pudar-u modar paluyi ham ki khobidä budän, modär ru bä i mardäkä kar, guf ki äy mard, i puseri mo azab-ä buzurg-ä. Guf: buz-ro chok kunim ir bufrushim pusär-ro äz puli i dumod kunim.

I pusar bidor bu. I harf ki shinof, suhb ki shu, i bä dohwi ġashtä jemowar[1] *kar. Bād äz chan ruz ki i jämowäri bu di ki mahal bä i nemigzorä. Bād ruzi modäresh äftow nishastä bu, bād puseresh äz khow bidor shu. Raf oftow nishäst pishi nänä. Ru bä modär kar guf ki modär, dishaw khow budäm khow didum:*

osh pek-pezu shu, nänä ju,
to tu del-deli kärdä, nänä ju,
owe mäne gil kärdi, nänä ju,
digä buze furush ku nänä ju,
khow budum khow didum, nänä ju,
shirini khurun shu, nänä ju,
hano bändun shu, nänä ju,
rakhte burun shu, nänä ju,
akhd bändun shu, nänä ju,
arus käshun shu, nänä ju,
palew pezun shu, nänä ju,
dästeshun dodä shu, nänä ju,
hamum räwun shu, nänä ju.

Ino raftän buz-ro furukhtän i puseri khud-ro zän owurdan, bä panj käs shirini dodän, bä mo nedodän.[2]

(*Nänä Ma'ṣūma from Ma'ṣūmābād*).

There was a woman, a son, and a father. The father and the mother were going once to bed. (Now) they had a goat. (As) the father and the mother were going to bed, the mother turned towards her husband and said: man, this son of ours is (still) unmarried (although) he is grown up. (The man) replied: let us feed the goat, sell it, and by the money (we get) marry our son. The son was not asleep (at that time). He overheard this conversation, and when the morning arrived, he went to work, and did well (every thing). After several days of work,

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[1] *Jam'-āwar.*

[2] This is not a personal memory, but merely an "ornamental detail," used as a formula for concluding the tale.

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seeing that his marriage was still not going to be celebrated (he invented a ruse). One day his mother was sitting in the sunshine. He rose (as if waking) from sleep, came out and sat by the side of his mother. Turning his face towards her, he said: mother, last night while I slept, I dreamt: there was cooking of food; (I dreamt) that thou hast agreed (to the marriage), making clay of my water (sic!). Mother, sell then the goat! I slept and dreamt: there was an eating of sweets, a colouring (of the hands) with henna; a cutting of clothes; there was a wedding, the bride was brought, rice was cooked, the bride was handed over to the bride-groom, she was taken to the bath.

They (the parents) went, sold the goat, and took a wife for their son. To five people they gave sweets, but to me they gave nothing.

3. The adventures of a bald man.

Yak ƙachaleyi bu, yak pusari tojireyi. Äz shāri khu rawunä shudä, sar guzoshtä ru wär biobu. U wakht bä hamä jo biumádä budän,[1] *biumádä budän, bä yak shāre räsidän. Didän ki tu i shār bisyor shulukh-ä. Guftän tu i shār chi khabar-ä? Guftän ki tämome ahli shār pushti bun yak kisäyi sad tumon ändokhtän ki dukhtare podshoh biyoyä-u war dorä. U wakh dukhtäre podshoh mahal neguzoshtä-u neyomádä.*

I ƙachalä bä puseri tojirä guf ki miduni ki chi kor kuni ki dukhtäre podesho imshaw de palui mo bekhobä. U wakht miǵädi ki bio berem bozor, yak buze mikharem. Yak gusfände bekharidän biowurdän däri kasre dukhtäre podshoh. I ƙachalä korde yak daſa ba gushesh bezänä, yak wakh bä ǵardänesh bezänä, yak wakh bä säresh mizäd. I gusfänd boz hami dod-u bidod mikär. Dukhtäre podshoh di[2] *ki sädoyi gusfän miyod, biumádä kenore bun. Di ki ƙachalä ami yak kodre yak wakh bä gushe gusfände mizänä, yak wakht bä ǵardän. U wakh dukhtäre podshoh biomádä wa ta, kord äz uno bestunde guf: äz ǵardän zän, sär bur. Ir sär buridän. I sär ki buridän maastä ki ishkäm-u porä di.*[3] *Dukhtäre podshoh biumádä äz difol tänofe biowurdä, tänofe bastä bä difol, gusfänd-ro bästä bä difol, pust kä. Ir pust ki ƙardä ir miune mäydu guzoshtän. Bād-esh yak dam korde bezäd, yak dam korde bä ǵardän mezede yak dam bä pälush. I wakht dukhtär boz biumádä wat a, kord äz u bestunde guf: gusfänd-ro wä mo dey ki beberim bolo, amchini narme kunum amshow mo khu ir bä tu bepäzum. Dukhtär ir bebur bolo, bä khidmätkor guf ki amshow mo yak sewobi doshtä*

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[1] A good example showing the real nature of the so-called Pluperfect here obviously meaning the repetition of many completed actions: after having come, many times, to different places.

[2] The verb *didan*, to see, is always used in this sense: *bäwi ki i chi miǵä=listen, what he says.*

[3] *Sic? =dehäd?*

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boshum. Ir bepukhtän, feryod kachalä kardä. Ino beburdä bolo. Ghazo bekäshid buridän biowurdän tu sini nodan.[1] *Didän ki pusäre kachalä u jo ki nishastä, nishatstä, pisere tojire ham nekhostä ki biyon säre ghazo. Dukhtär wär khos dast kachalä begruftä, dast puseri tojir bugruftä, ino biowärdä pishi sini ki ghazo khurän. Uno wärdoshtä i lukmä tu gushe kardän. Dukhtär biumä pishi uno yak dam yak lukmä tu dahane kachalä minodä, yak dame bä dähäni pusäri tojire* [2]....

(*Nänä Ma'ṣūmä from Ma'ṣūmābād*).

There was a bald man and also the son of a merchant. They left their town, and went to the desert. After wandering much in many places, they came to a town. They saw that there was a great excitement in the place. They asked what was the matter. The reply was: the people of the town have put a bag with one hundred tumans on a roof so that the king's daughter may come and take it (and all the people may see her?). The king's daughter (however) had no time, and did not arrive.

The bald man said to the merchant's son: dost thou know what we had better do to make the king's daughter available to us? He then said: come, let us go to the bazar and buy a goat. They bought a sheep, and brought it to the gate of the palace of the king's daughter. The bald man began to strike (the animal) with his knife, once cutting its ears, then its neck, and then its head. The sheep bleated loudly. The king's daughter heard the bleating of the sheep, and came up on the roof. She saw that a bald man hit the sheep with his knife first in the ears, and then in the neck. She came down, took the knife from the hands of these two, and said: cut the neck, then cut off the head. They cut off the head. When they had cut the head off, they wanted to tear the stomach. The king's daughter came out from the walls, brought a rope, tied it to the wall, hung the sheep on it, and flayed it. When she skinned it, they put it in the open. (The bald man) began to pierce it with his knife, first piercing the neck, then the side. The king's daughter descended again, took the knife from them, and said: give me the sheep, I will take it and will cook it for thee my self till it is soft, this evening. The king's daughter took it up and said to the servant: to-night I will have a meal (feast). (When) they had cooked the sheep, she shouted for the bald man. They were brought up. She brought the food which was cut and put on a tray. They saw that the bald man was sitting where he sat before, the son of the merchant also did not rise to come to the food. The king's daughter rose, took the

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[1] For *nihādand*.

[2] The continuation of the story is in the same strain, only gives some details of rather indecent contents.

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hand of the bald man and of the merchant's son, and brought them before the tray so that they could eat the food. They each took a piece and placed it in their ears The king's daughter came before them, putting first a piece of meat into the mouth of the bald man, and then into the mouth of the merchant's son.....

4. Story of the impossibilities.

Ruze äz ruzo podshoh bu, su to pisär dosh : de to kuru kurike yäke chäsh nädosh. Hameki[1] *ki kur bu raf pishi pederi khu, guf : ey peder, yek tufangi bedey ki mikhom berem shikor. Guf : berow dä tui jublekhunä*[2] *su to tufang ast, du toi shekastä digä qundogh nädosh. Bär dosh uma raf dä keshmun. Did ki suto zogh eftidän du to murdä yaki nafas nädosh. Hameki ki nafas nädosh wär dosht-u oward biumádä pishi pedere khu, guf : ey peder, dike bedey ki mikhom ki pukhtä nämoyum, i zogh-ro. Guf : dä tuyi korkhunä*[3] *suto dik hast, dutoyi shikästä yaki gidä tah nädosh. Owar oma dik-ro ow kärd-u bär bor kard. Zogh-ro dä tuyesh ändokh. Bäno kär bä shokh kardän. U qadar shokh kard ki ustukhuno ow shu, gushtunäsh khabar nädod. Bād bäno kard bä khurdän. U qadar khurd ki dumänoyi qaboyäsh därid, ishkämäsh khabar nädosh. Bād raf bä pederi khu, guf : ey peder, tushnä shudum, fikri ow ku. Guf : berow dä tuyi felone bogh suto juy dosh, de to khushk, yaki gidä nam nädosh. I raf un juy ki nam nädosh, bäno ker bä shomidäni ow. U qadar shomid ki sär bar nädosh.*

(*Gul*)

Once upon a time there was a king who had three sons: two were completely blind, and the third had no eyes. The one who was blind came before his father, and said: father, give me a rifle, I want to go out hunting. (The king) said: go into the clothing room, there are three rifles: two of them are broken, and the third has no stock The son took the last one, went out to the fields. He saw three crows lying down, two of them were dead, the third had no breath. He took up the one which had no breath, brought it before his father, and said: father, give me a cauldron, I want to cook this crow. The king said: in the workshop there are three cauldrons, two of them broken, and the third is without a bottom. The son came, filled the cauldron with water, and then placed it over the fire, putting the crow into it. Then he put on more fuel. He put so much fuel that the bones of the crow melted, the flesh remaining raw as it was. Then he began to eat it. He ate so much that the folds of his coat burst, though his stomach did not feel anything. Then he came before his father, and said: father, I am thirsty,

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[1] *Hamīn yakī.*
[2] *Jubba-khāna*, where cloth, not arms are kept.
[3] Workshop, not kitchen, where pottery is kept.

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think of (giving me) water. The king said : go into such and such a garden, there are three streams, two of them are dry, the third has not a drop. The son went to the stream that had not a drop, and began to swallow water. He drank so much that he could not lift his head.

Note.—This motive is very popular not only in Persian popular stories, but also in Sufic parables. It was used in an allegorial Sufic story in the beginning of the XIth c. A.H. (or XVIIth A.D) by Abū Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Chishtī, in his *Risāla-i-chahār barādarān* (see W. Ivanow, *A Concise Descriptive Catal. of the Persian MSS. in the Collections of the A.S.B.*, Calcutta, 1924, No. 1265.2). Apparently much earlier the famous Indian Ṣūfī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Gīsūdirāz Ḥusaynī (who died at Gulbarga, in 825 A.H./1422 A.D.), also used it in one of his allegories (cf. the same Catalogue, No. 1228, ff. 112–114).

5. Mulla Mammad-i-Boghdor.

Yak Mulommede Boghdor bu. Guft ki oshuki zäne Lar Khon shu. Yak ruzi i zän gidä wode ke. Guf : wodi kujo? Guf : dä bolokhunä. Guf : u dam chi kor kunum ki shumo[1] *befahmey biyoyi? I zäne Lar Khon mikhos ki ur bukushände, guf : tu miymun khunä kurape-kurape ku ki men befahmum miyoyum.*

Nemoshun ki she i raf, kurepe-kurepe kä. U wakh i zän Lar Khon-ro guf : ki äz tu miymun khunä kurepe-kurepe miyoyä, wakhi,[2] *nego ku k'in ki's ki sädosh mukunä? Lar Khon raf, guf : inje ki's? Guf : man Mel-mel-mel-melommede Boghdor. Guft : ey ridäm wär khoke pudäre teu, tu khuneyi mo wakhte shäw chi mikuni? U wakh guf : chor to Afghun shart bästim, mo guftim ki chor to qadam itoghi Lar Khon haste, Afghun guf ki hashto qadam haset. I guf : az chande shart bästi? Guf : äz bis tumon. Guf : shart tu burdi, shar tu burdi! Dakh tumon moli mo boshä. I raf guf : holo berem bä Afghun, däbid.*[3]

(*Riqot*).

There was once a Mulla Mammad who was a gardener. They say that he fell in love with the wife of Lar-khān. That woman made an appointment with him. He asked : where shall I meet thee ? She said : in the upper room. He asked : what shall I do then so that you will hear and come ? The wife of

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[1] The plural, *shumā*, in addressing may be used not only for expressing respect, but also affection.

[2] For *bar khīz*.

[3] The story is often used for performances in the *shab-bāzī*. Here only one episode of a large number of them is given. Mullā is invited by his malicious sweetheart for a rendezvous in her kitchen, then in the garden, etc., and ultimately wastes all his property to satisfy the greed of the husband of the woman.

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Lar-khān, wishing for him to be killed, said: make a sound of scratching in the guest-room, when I hear it I will come. When the evening came, he went there, and began to make a scratching sound. Then the wife of Lar-khān said (to her husband): a sound of scratching comes from the guest room, rise, see who is making a noise. Lar-khān went and said: who is there? (Mulla Mammad) replied: I am Mel-mel-mel-mello'mmade Boghdor. Lar-khān said: o thou....., what dost thou do in my house at night? Mulla'mmad replied: I had a bet with four Afghans; I said: the room of Lar-khān is four yards long, the Afghans said: no, it is eight yards long. Lar-khān asked: for how much didst thou bet? He replied: for twenty tumans. Lar-khān said: thou hast won, thou hast won! Ten tumans should be my share. (Mulla Mammad) said: I will go to the Afghans. Then he ran away.

6. Two warlike brothers.

Du to berodär bu guf ki bio khud ham dawo kunum. Guft i: khäyli khub. Duto berodäri jangi, bo kallä Ferengi, raftän bä dawo, dawo kardän duto. Duto kushtä shu. Bād umä arbobäsh guf ki chi tew[1] *shu? Guf: dawo kardem. Guf: chan to kushtä shu? Guf: duto kushtä shu. Guf: äz ki budä? Guft: äz mo buda, päs az ki buda? Separ puste mohi, tufangi Lori, shämshir Qandahori*

Boz raftän bä dawo. Hu zäd-u, ho zäd-u, hu zäd. Du to kushtä shu, umad äz unjo, uma bäre arbowe khud. Arbobäsh guf: chitew shu? Guft: mero ishkas[2] *dod, äz mo du to khushtä shu. Guft: äz ki budä? Guft: äz mo budä, päs äz ki budä...*[3]

(*Normanj*).

There were two brothers who said: let us go together to fight. Said one: right! Two fighting brothers, with Ferengi-like heads, went to war, both fought, both became killed. Then they came back, and their landlord asked them: how was it? They said: we were fighting (hard). He asked: how many were killed? They said: two were killed. He asked: who were they? Said they: who could be these,—we were! (We, with) shields of the leather of fish, with rifles from Laristan, swords from Qandahar.

Then again they went to the war. They fought long and hard. They returned from there to their landlord. He asked them: how was it? Said they: we were defeated, two of us were killed. He asked: who were they? Said they: we were the two, who else could it be...

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[1] For *chi ṭawr.* [2] For *shikast.*

[3] The story continues in the same strain, with addition of indecent jokes.

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7. Stupid children.

Yak mardi bu yak-de bacheyi jisht dosht. Bä bächosh guf ki färdo berim bä yak joyi. Bä bächosh guf ki yak mashki pur ew kuney ki äyär tuyi ro tushnä shim ew mukhurdä boshim. Bād beräftä bä safar. Purey ki raf u wakh shäw bu. Guf: shumo wär ami ro meräftä boshey ki men zārew rizum. Uno ki räftän mashki ew-ro wä shokhe dirakhtesh kä. Bād yek jäwälduz wä mashkesh zä ki ew mesharedi. Un wakht bächosh di ki pudare khu neomad, bād gufte ki bowo, shar-shar ew, hu-hu. Gidä ki pudere äz bächäo beraf.

(*Normanj*).

There was a man, who had one or two bad children. He said to them: to-morrow we will go to some place. He (also) said: fill up the water-skin (*mashk*), so that when we become thirsty, we may drink. Then they started on their journey. (The father) said: go by this road, and I will... When they went, they hung the *mashk* on a tree. Then they poked it with a packing needle, and water began to drop from it. The children, seeing that their father was not coming, began to shout: father, the water is dropping, hey-hey! But the father had abandoned the children.[1]

8. Lazy woman.

Yak mardi bu bä zänäsh guf ki nun biyor ki bukhurim. U wakht zänäsh guf ki män dardi shikam-um. Mard guf ki sewo beroye kore tu dorum. Ruzi gidä ki shu, bä ish guf bio berem bä durew. Bād beraftan bä durew. Wakhti nohor ki shu, guf: kazo bior ki bukhurim Zän ghazo biowúrdä guf ki men dardi shikäm-um. Khud partew mikashidi. Guf ki ishkamum dar' mukunä. Raf bä mänzil, hamsodäsh feryod kä ki bio hu-hu. Bio ghalbere wo di ki mokhom orde bebizum. Mard dembole u raf, beráftä wer säre khunä, nägoyesh mikä. Di ki ghalefi owesh kär ki kaachi mipeze, ord 'am khamiresh kä ki kumosh bepezedi. Kaachi zänu ki ish ne medi un wakht beráftä u sardasti khar bärdo. Kaachi pukhte khurde. Kumoch 'am zire oteshush kä.

(*Normanj*).

There was a man. He said to his wife: bring food (to the field) to eat. The woman said: my stomach pains me. The man said: to-morrow I shall need thee for work. When the next day arrived, he said to her: let us go for harvesting. They went for harvesting. When the time of lunch came, he said:

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[1] The story is obviously a fragment of a larger one, but the man who dictated it to me could not remember anything more in connection with this. I give it here for the sake of its peculiar forms of the second future, used in the iterative sense.

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bring food, let us eat. The woman said: my stomach pains me. She lay down saying that her stomach was hurting. She returned home, and shouted to her neighbour: Hey, come, bring the sieve, I want to make a paste. The man (who had secretly) followed her, came up on the roof of the house, and was watching. He saw, that she filled up the cauldron with water, to cook *kaachi* (a sort of sweet bread), and made paste to bake *kumāsh* (a sort of bread). As she had no special spoon for beating up the *kaachi*, she went and took a donkey's leg. She cooked *kaachi* and ate it, and placed *kumāsh* in the stove.[1]

9. Ass and camel.

Yak ruzi yak charwoyi[2] *tu ulangi sar dodä shu ki pecharäde. Bād i chok she. Yak shutur 'am tu amí ulen' yallä bu. Khar guf bo ushtur ki ey piser ami, men árre bä khoter räsidä. Guf ki arr ki nekuni ki mo bor khonke.*[3] *Khar bä harfi shutur namikä arr kä. Bād ir bor shu ki baráftä bä safar. Bād ushtur raf tu kofilä shu ki khar boz logar shu, wämundä shu, rosh nämeräwä. Bād ir bore shutur kardän. Bād war ser ku räsidä ushtur guf: men aliski*[4] *bä khoter räsidä. Khar guf: piser amu hulguk berow aliski näku ki tu taw miyuftum. Wär khizäsh*[5] *ke ir utandokh*[6] *bād kushtä shu.*

(*Normanj*).

Once a donkey was left to graze on a lawn, and became full. A camel was also on the same lawn. The donkey said to the camel: cousin, I am thinking of braying. (The camel) said: do not bray, otherwise they will load us. The donkey did not follow the advice of the camel, but brayed. Then they were loaded, and went to another place. The camel went into a caravan; the donkey became again hungry and tired, and could not get along. They loaded the camel with him. When they reached the top of the hill, the camel said: I am thinking of throwing my load over. The donkey said: cousin, walk slowly, do not do so, or I will fall over the precipice. But the camel shook him off, threw him over the precipice, and the donkey was killed.

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[1] This story is also a fragment. It ends certainly with the punishment of the lazy impostor. The man who dictated it to me forgot the exact wording of the end, which, as often in many tales of this kind, contains a versified passage. The donkey's leg is used in some magic performances. The fragment is given here for its peculiar language.

[2] So "politely" instead of the "rustic" *khar*.

[3] *Khwāhand kard.*

[4] *Aliski*,—*a* is apparently euphonic (cf. above), *lisk* naked, unloaded (about a pack-animal).

[5] *War khizäsh* (sic), probably for *war khist-ash* (i.e. *bar khāst*). Here *ash* is obviously used instead of *u*.

[6] *Utandokh=ba tah andākht.*

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10. A lazy donkey.

Yak mardäkä bä kharäsh guf ki shäbunäruz chande farsakh mirei ? Bād ish bä dile numidäsh mayedi : [1] *de farsakh. Bād jäwälduz wär säre dushäsh bezä. Bād eish guf ki holo chand farsakh shäbunäruz maraä ?* [2] *Guftä ki : har che awo* [3] *jäwälduz befärmo.* [4]

(*Normanj*).

A man asked his donkey : how many *farsakhs* wilt thou go by day and by night ? He (the donkey), with a broken heart, said : two *farsakhs* ! Then the man began to prick his shoulders with a large needle. He asked the donkey again : now how many *farsakhs* wilt thou go by day and by night ? The donkey replied : as many as my lord the needle will order.

11. Āghāyi Buz.

Oghoyi Buz bo aboyi käshun-käshun, raf bä däri dukune Abos Ushbushu. Oghoyi Buz ki alafi bohor nädidä bu yäk qadri balke anobi där dahan guzosht. Un Abose Ushbushu biumä sängi ki de män bu ki dä tuyi terozu mu'zoshtän, panj män bu, zäd wär säre muborake Oghoyi Buz, shokhesh-ro shikast.

Oghoyi Buz bo aboyi käshun-käshun raf däri dukune Rajab Iloqiban. Oghoyi Buz ki alafi bohor nädidä bu di ki yak chubäyi qäytune säuze owizun bu, yak chubä tu dahan guzosht. I nomardi Hoji Rajab nimǰazi fulodi wär dosh, bar shokhi muboräki oghoyi Buz zäd, shokhesh-ro shikast

Oghoyi Buz bo aboyi käshun-käshun, bo säre shokhe shikastä, hoy-hoy, oma däri Kablaskar Khun Yak puräyi kulgi säwze dä dahan guzosht Un wakh i nomard yak mushtäyi kämundori wär dosht bär dasti muborake un oghoyi Buz zäd. I wakht oghoyi Buz kahr kardä, guf :

Kurgi mero kuloh kärdi yorum
dä säre mello kardi yorum
muyi mero rismun kardi yorum
dä lungi ismun kardi yorum
shiri mero most kardi yorum
dä pishi Abbos kardi yorum.

(*Normanj*).

Mr. Goat, in his long-long cloak, came to the shop of Abbas the lousy. As Mr. Goat has never seen the grass of the spring, he picked up a few leaves of *unab* in his mouth. That Abbas the lousy, taking the stone of two *mans* used as a weight for the scale, which was five *mans*, struck it against the blessed head of Mr. Goat, breaking one of his horns.

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[1] *Migūyad.* [2] *Mīrawī.* [3] *Āghā.*
[4] *Sic*, obviously for *befärmod=bifarmāyad.*

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Mr. Goat, in his long-long cloak, came to the shop of Rajab the braider. As Mr. Goat has never seen the grass of the spring, he saw a skein of a green galloon, and took it into his mouth. That scoundrel, Rajab the braider, took up the half-yard of steel, and struck it against the blessed head of Mr. Goat, breaking off one of his horns.

Mr. Goat, in his long-long cloak, with his head and horns broken, alas! came to the shop of Karbalāl 'Askar Khān. He took a handful of the green wool into his mouth. Then that scoundrel took up the millet of the cotton beaters and struck it against the blessed leg of Mr. Goat. Then Mr. Goat became angry, and said:

of my wool thou hast made a cap, friend;
thou puttest it on the head of a *mullā*, friend;
of my hair thou makest the thread, friend;
thou makest of it the loin-cloth of chastity, friend;
of my milk thou makest curds, friend,
thou bringest it before 'Abbās, friend.....[1]

B. Songs in Different Meters.

1. Lullabies.

12. *Alolo gulew khon kä*[2]
piser khur dä khow khon kä
alolo gulum boshi
dä khow bulbulum boshi.
Gul dorum gulew kunum
bächei khur dä khew kunum.
Alolo bedei gush
begir dastum beräw bufrush
bä yak män ordu si sir gush
bio benshin bekhur khomush.

(*Riqot, from an old woman*).

A-lo-lo, I will prepare rose water,
I will lull my little son to sleep.
A-lo-lo, be my flower,
Sleep my nightingale.
I have a flower, I will make it into rose-water,
My little baby I will lull to sleep.

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[1] The narrator had forgotten the end of these verses. The story obviously is a slight parody of the *rauza-khwānī*, or the sad religious narratives about the sufferings and martyrdom of the Imams. The Goat here is depicted as if a religious person of distinction. The principal allusion in the story is to the great scarcity of forage which is usual in this arid province.

[2] *Khwāham kard.*

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A-lo-lo, listen to me :
Take my hand, go and sell it.
Sell it for one *man* of flour and 30 *sīrs* of meat, [1]
Come, sit down and eat quietly. [2]

13. *A-lo-lo guluki mo*
da khew shi bulbuluki mo.
A-lo-lo gule bodyu
sewor ǵashte kurä modyu.[3]
A-lo-lo gule modär
da khew shi bulbule modär.
A-lo-lo da khew mikunum.
gule dorum gulew mikunum.
(*Riqot*).

A-lo-lo, my little flower,
Sleep, my little nightingale !
A-lo-lo, the flower of *bādyān*,
Thou art riding a foal.
A-lo-lo, flower of the mother,
Sleep, nightingale of the mother.
A-lo-lo, I lull thee to sleep,
I have a flower, I prepare rose-water.

14. *Ey loloy äy loloy*
chabuk bere bä sahroy
chungi tu bä zär girum
boli tu bä melwori
chan räwi chand oyi
khabari khushi ori.
(*Zirk*).

Ey lo-lo, ay lo-lo.
Lark, go to the field !
I will adorn thy claws with gold,
Thy wings—with pearls.
Go many times, come many times,
And always bring good news !

15. *Ey lolo gule momo*
ey lolo kälunak shi
dä kuchä räwunak shi
Quron dä baghal shi
dä khunäyi mäktäb shi.
(*Birjand, from a Gypsy woman*).

---

[1] The Birjandi *man* is equal to about 3½ lbs. It is divided into 40 *sīrs*.

[2] Cf. *Rustic Poetry*, No. 204, on p. 300.

[3] Cf. *Rustic Poetry*, No. 204.

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Ey lo-lo, the flower of the mother!
Ey lo-lo, grow up (soon).
Grow up (soon) to walk in the street,
With a copy of the *Qur'ān* in hand,
Walk to the school house.

16. *Ay lolo gule atey*
lolo gulum boshi
da khuw shi bulbulum boshi
äy gule rizä lolä rizä
shälwore gul kanowiz-ä
a-lo-loyi Sharbonuyi män
bio benshi ru zonuyi män.

(*Chohak*).

A-lo-lo, the flower of "*ātä*" grass,
Lo-lo, be my flower.
Sleep, be my nightingale.
Little flower, little tulip.
The skirt of the flower is of *qanāwīz* silk.
A-lo-lo, my Shahrbanu,
Come, sit on my knee.

2. Wedding songs.

17. *Holo aruse kheyrowo* [1] *kunum mo*
dästi modär u pudär äz ham jedo kunum mo
äy bästey bästey to khäyrowo kunum mo
modäre arus-ro äs ham jedo kunum mo.

(*Riqot*).

Now, bride, we will say good-bye.
We will take off the hands of the father and mother.
Oh, wait, wait, let us say good-bye!
Let us separate the mother and the bride.

18. *Helo häy balke bide*
dästun mo safid-ä
hälo ho num shudä
hälo ho zän shudä.
Där wo kuney där wo kunäy
häno miyorum wä shumo
hanoi shumo pishi shumo
zäne miyorum bär shumo.

(*Riqot*).

---

[1] *Khayrowo* is a corruption of LP *khayr bād.*

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Hay, leaf of the willow !
My hands are clean.
Ey, thou hast become betrothed !
Ey, thou hast become a wife !
Open the door, open the door !
I bring you henna.
Your henna is with you,
I bring you a wife.

19. *Bio bio kechur-mechur* [1]
bio bio sär das belur
bio ki tur bestunum mey [2]
dä shewke gul beshinum mey.
(*Normanj*).

Come, come, little and tiny one,
Come, come, with hands delicate like crystal.
Come, that I may catch thee,
I will sit waiting in passion for the flower.

20. *Äy Neso Neso bio berim hamum*
hamum kholi-ä bio berim hamum
gulobi tulo bio berim hamum
ʃarshesh gholi-ä bio berim hamum
joyi bozi-ä bio berim hamum.
Shälworo duto mekunum
där poyi Neso mikunum.
Dur mishum negoh mikunum
pish meyom hayo mekunum.
Äy Neso Neso bio berim hamum, etc.
Pirehänro duto mekunum
där bäri Neso mikunum.
Dur mishum, etc.
Äy Neso Neso, etc.
Chorqadrä duto mikunum
där säri Neso mikunum.
Dur mishum, etc.
Äy Neso Neso, etc.
Dästmolä duto mukunum
där säre Neso mikunum.
Dur mishum, etc.
(*Normanj*).

---

[1] *Kechur* is apparently a variant of *kuchulä*, dim. from *kuchik* (or *kuchak*). The next word, *mechur* is apparently what is called by the native grammarians *tābi'*, as the same word repeated with a slight alteration of the initial syllable, or sound, cf. *kuchak-muchak* in No. 86a further on.

[2] For *man*.

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Ey Nisā, [1] Nisā, let us go to the bath!
The bath is not occupied now, let us go to the bath!
The jugs are of gold, let us go to the bath!
The floors are covered with carpets, let us go to the bath!
It is a place of enjoyments, let us go to the bath!
I will make the skirt double
And will place it on Nisā's limbs.
If I stand far, I cannot help looking at her,
If I draw near, I feel shy!
Ey Nisā, Nisā, etc. (as in the first part).
I will make the shirt double,
And will place it on Nisā's body.
If I stand far, etc., (as above).
Ey Nisā, Nisā, etc.
I will make the head-kerchief double,
And will place on Nisā's head.
If I stand far, etc.
Ey Nisā, Nisā, etc.
I will make the handkerchief double,
And will place on Nisā's head.
If I stand far, etc.

21. *Mo arus miberim*
gule khurus mibärim
äz wastki sunduqäsh sängin-ä
wär pushte khurus mibärim
arus äz hamum miä
taus äz hamum miä
zulfi u tar-ä
chitour lärzun miä
mo arus mibärim
gule khurus mibärim.

(*Normanj and Zirk*).

We are bringing the bride,
We are bringing the flower of rose-mallow.
As the box (with her dowry) is very heavy,
We carry it on the cock's back.
The bride comes from the bath,
The peahen comes from the bath,
Her locks are wet,
Trembling she walks!
We are bringing the bride,
We bring the flower of the rose-mallow.

22. *Mirem bozor bozore Isfähun*
mikharem shälwor qimätesh girun.

[1] Abbrevitaed *from Khayru'n-nisā.*

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Mirem bozor bozore Isfähun
mikharem pirhän qimatesh girun, etc.

(*Manjägun*).

We will go to the bazar, the bazar of Isfahan,
We will buy the skirt of high price.
We will go to the bazar, the bazar of Isfahan,
We will buy the shirt of high price.

(etc., the same repeated with regard to the *kurdī*, or "Kurdish" frock, the *chorqat*, or head-kerchief, *duloq*, or trousers, *jurob*, or socks, *dastmol*, or handkerchief, etc.).

23. *Shalwore aruse gulpär owurdä*
balke now dumod äz Bandal owurdä
marhewo dumod marhewo dumod
bäzǵar 'am dumod zärǵar 'am dumod.
Perhane arus gulpär owurdä, etc.
Kurdine arus gulpär owurdä, etc.
chorqate arus...
chodire arus...
duloqe arus...

(*Manjägun*).

They brought the skirt of the bride, with flower design.
Probably the bride-groom brought it from Bender-Abbas.
Welcome, bridegroom, welcome, bridegroom!
The bride-groom is a peasant, but he is also a jeweller!

(The same is said about the shirt, the "*Kurdi*" frock, the head kerchief, the cloak, the trousers, etc., of the bride).

24. *Jone mo ki pulät bedi mo*
chiro surkhe pirhänät kharim mo.[1]
Jone mo ki pulät bedi mo
chiro arakchinät kharim mo, etc.

(*Manjägun*).

Dear, give us thy money.
Why?—we will buy thee a red shirt.
Dear, give us thy money.
Why?—we will buy thee a skull cap.
(etc., the same about the skirt, the cloak, socks, etc.)

25. *Häzor häzor owurdäyim*
däsmole yor owurdäyim
ke buberem kanjero.
Häzor häzor wo pas bedim
däsmole yor wo pas bedim
ki nemidim kanjero.

[1] The dress of the bride is made of red colour (which is considered as the most attractive), but usually peasant women have a uniform of dark indigo blue or dark green shirt and skirt.

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Häzor häzor owurdäyim
chodire yor owurdäyim
ki buberim kanjero.
Häzor häzor wo pas bedim
chodire yor wo pas bedim
ki nemidim kanjero, etc.

(*Turshīz*).

We brought thousands and thousands (of gold coins ?),
We brought the handkerchief of the beloved,—
To take away the treasure.
We will give back the thousands and thousands,
We will give back the handkerchief of the beloved,
And we will not give up the treasure.
We brought thousands and thousands,
We brought the cloak of the beloved,—
To take away the treasure.
We will give back the thousands and thousands,
We will give back the cloak of the beloved,
And we will not give up the treasure.[1]
(etc., about other parts of the bride's dress, the shirt, the socks, the skirt, etc.).

3. Play songs about animals.

26. *Ushtur bä chi mone dä bulandi*
källäyi shutur siwe qandi
gushune shutur kash-kashandi
chüshune shutur dur-binändi
demoghi shutur fesh-feshändi
dändune shutur khor-känändi
geluwe shutur ghar-gharändi
dästune shutur roh-räwändi
kumochäyi shutur takhte saṇgi
kire shutur mile tufaṇgi
khoyone shutur jufte zaṇgi[2]
dumbe shutur joru-baṇgi
kune shutur pok-u-taṇgi
guhoye shutur khurmoye raṇgi
muhoye shutur rismune bulandi.

(*Normanj*).

O ! Camel, why art thou so self-conceited ?
The Camel's head is a sweet apple.

---

[1] Apparently originally intended to be sung by two choruses, one that accompanies the bride, and the other that remains at home.

[2] *Zang* is called a bell hung under the loads of the camel By its sound, as the camel walks at night, camelmen understand that all is right with the camel and the load.

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The Camel's ears are slowly moving.
The Camel's eyes can see far.
The Camel's nostrils are sniffing.
The Camel's teeth are plucking thorns.
The Camel's throat is making a noise.
The Camel's feet can walk far.
The Camel's breast-pad resembles a stone slab.
The Camel's hair resembles long threads, etc.

27. *Khare-khar armune khar*
armune jauze ġardune khar
häyfe ki bemurdi khar.
Mohi Ramazun bä sar nebudi
khare mo tu khar nebudi
häyfe ki bemurdi khar.
Dumbe khare khu polun misozum
sewor mishum jelew mitozum
häyfe ki bemurdi khar.

(*Chohak*).

Donkey, donkey, woe for my donkey!
Woe for the walnut that the donkey was!
Pity that thou hast died, donkey.
Thou wast not the end of the month of Ramazan,
My donkey, thou wast not a donkey.
Pity that thou hast died, o, donkey!
I will make the tail of my donkey into a pack saddle,
I will ride on it, dashing ahead.
Pity that thou hast died, o, donkey!

28. *Khare mo khare nebud kharkhäzune*
äz pushte kamar Husaynowo roh rewune
u dange [1] *khare mo tappey ändokh*
mirzo war medoshti tu kotri mepokh [2]
u dange khare mo shosh mika
khiyol kardi ki Nodil joshni ka
u dängi falak muy wär särum zä
khiyol kardum ki kelogh ching wär särum zä
dilum bedärri äz khare mushä
dogh-ä ġar nebinum khare mushä.

(*Gubägu*).

My donkey was not an (ordinary) donkey, but a swift one (?)
He would come from behind the Ḥusaynābād range (in one day).

---

[1] *Ān dam ki.*
[2] *Kotri* is the adaptation of the English "kettle."

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When my donkey was throwing dung,
Princes would pick it up and cook it in the kettle.
When my donkey emitted urine,
Thou wouldst think that Nādir-Shāh was giving a feast.
When fate made the hair on my head rise,
I thought that a raven had struck his claws into my head.
My heart is broken for the mouse-grey donkey,
It will be a pain if I see not the mouse-grey donkey again.

29. *Kholä arusu kärdä äz däwläti buzgholä*
u shokhähoyi buzgholä dästinä arusu kholä.
Kholä arusu kärdä äz däwläti buzgholä
u ishkämbe buzgholä choduri arusu kholä.
Kholä arusu kärdä äz däwläti bezgholä
u gushikoye bezgholä koshuqe arusu kholä.
Kholä arusu kärdä äz däwläti buzgholä
u rudäkoye bezgholä rusmun belande kholä.
Kholä arusu kärdä äz däwläti bezgholä
u dumbäke bezgholä surmädune arusu kholä....

(*Normanj*).

The aunt had a wedding, on the money of the goat (*i.e.* received as its price).
Those horns of the goat are the wedding bracelets of aunt.
The aunt had a wedding, on the money of the goat,—
That stomach of the goat was the wedding cloak of the aunt.
The aunt had a wedding, etc.
Those ears of the goat were the spoons for the wedding of the aunt.
The aunt had a wedding, etc.
Those bowels of the goat were long threads for the aunt.
The aunt had a wedding, etc.
That tail of the goat was the wedding antimony phial of the aunt, etc.

4. A song of the peasant.

30. *Raftum bä sine*[1] *pushtä*
didum neholu tushnä
neholun-ro ow dodum
neholu mere balkuke dun[2]
balkuke bä gigi dodum
gigi mere pushkile dun
pushkil-ro wä khayduk dodum
khayduk mere khushä bedun
khushä-re wä kharmä[3] *dodum*
kharmä mero po'kardu[4] *dun*

---

[1] *Sū-i—* [2] *Dādand.* [3] *Kharman.* [4] *Pāk-karda.*

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po'kardu bä osyo dodum
osyo mero haridä dod
haridä wä täwol dodum
täwol mero särishtä dod
särishtä wä tänur dodum
tänur mere kulumbä dod
kulumbä wä bobo dodum
bobo mere khurmäyi dod
khurmo-ro wä mulo dodum
mulo mere kitobi dod
kitowe wä Khudo dodum
Khudo murode mor bedun.

(*Normanj*).

I went towards the foot-hills,
And saw the young trees which required water.
I poured water over them.
They have given me leaves.
These leaves I gave to the sheep,[1]
They gave me dung.
The dung I took to the field,
The field gave me spikes.
The spikes I took to the threshing floor,
They gave me clean grain.
These I took to a mill,
And it gave me flour.
The flour I put into a jar,
And it gave me paste.
The paste I put into the oven,
It gave me sweet bread.
The bread I gave to the father,
He gave me dates.
These I took to a *mullā*,
He gave a book.
The book I gave to God,—
God, know my desire!

C. Quatrains.

1. Birjand.

31. *Amire Miralam Khon koppeyi nur*
boloyi osmun-ä äz seresh dur
ki har jo dusti dorä khushhol-ä
ki har jo dushmane dorä shiwe kur.

[1] The scarcity of forage is so great in the province that cattle late in the summer and autumn are fed from the leaves of trees, which are carefully collected for this purpose. Especially good is the *unab* tree, the leaves of which are particularly delicate.

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Amīr Mīr 'Ālam Khān [1] is a "cupola of light",
The top of the sky is (not) far above his head.
Any one with whom he is a friend, shall be happy,—
Any one to whom he is an enemy, shall be humiliated and blind.

32. *Bio benshin-u awal äz watan gu*
diyum äz bulbule shirin sukhan gu
sukhanoyi ki dilwäre wo tu guf
bio benshin-u yak-yak-ro wo man gu.

Come, sit down, first tell me about (thy) home.[2]
Then tell about the sweet-singing nightingale.
Those words that the sweetheart has spoken to thee,—
Come, sit down, and relate them one by one.

33. *Da bune bulan rakhte khowe tu shäwom*
dä khunäyi torik churoghe tu shäwom
da khunä ki tu nokhush-u bimor shiyi
kurbune tu nolähoyi zore tu shewom.

On the high roof of the house let me become thy cover,
In the dark room let me become thy candle.
In the house in which thou wilt become ill and sick,—
Let me become for thy sake thy moans of pain.

34. *Päriruye tu bär bod-i bä mo chi*
kharidore tu Farhodi bä mo chi
päriruye turo burdän bä bozor
bä daste mo dod-u bidod-ä bä mo chi.

Peri-faced one, thou hast perished, but what has this to do with me?
Farhād may buy thee, but what has this to do with me?
Peri-faced one, they have taken thee to the bazar,
It is in my power only to weep, and what has this to do with me? [3]

---

[1] See above, the introduction, and a note to No. 131.

[2] Cf. *Rustic poetry, etc.*, No. 134.

[3] Although real slavery was abolished in the province many years ago, it is still a general practice (as in many other provinces of Persia, and also in Kurdistan) for peasants to sell their young daughters, usually between the age of 7 and 8, to well-to-do people, for something like 10–12 tumans (£ 2-3). This slavery is conditional, and lasts till the marriage of the girl, when the bridegroom pays a small sum. Often, however, girls of the poor peasants are sold to Afghans, who carry them over the frontier as contraband. In 1912 the frontier guards intercepted a party, which carried with them a girl of about ten. She was brought to Birjand and sold at an auction. Although I was very keen to be present at such an extraordinary transaction, I was not admitted.

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35. *Suto dukhtar bedidum royi Koshun*
Halimä-wu Salimä-wu Zäräfshun.
Suto busi talab kardum äz ishun
yäki suhb-u yaki zuhr-u yäki shum.

Three girls I met on the road to Kashan:
Halima, Salima and Zarafshan.
Three kisses I asked from them,
One in the morning, another at noon, and one in the evening.

36. *Tu wär bun-i men wo tu warowar*
tu shokhe sänawär-i män soyä-pälwar.[1]
Ägär märdi dori neshunesh-ro wä män di
mero äz changi i nomard bedar war.

B. Thou art on the roof, and I am on a level with thee.
Thou art the branch of a cypress, and I am the lover of the shade.
G. If thou hast courage, show it to me,
Save me from the hands of this scoundrel.

37. *Zämin-u osemun misporum ämshow*
bä palunum beyo bemirum ämshow
bä palunum beyo äy june ghamkhor
ki kulle dushmäno bidor-än ämshow.

I will abandon the earth and the sky to-night,
Come to me, (otherwise) I will die to night.
Come to-night, dear consoler,
For all my enemies are awake (to night).

38. *Äz qazo raftum bä palune Tawas*
raftäni hamum märo kardä hawas
owesh äz dawronä doghe Tamuz bu
gulkhan äz biotäshi mayus bu.

By chance I went towards Tabas.
It came to my mind to go to the bath.
The water from the tap was as hot as the day of July,
But there was no hope as to the fire-place, as there was no fire.[2]

---

[1] *Parwar.*

[2] This quatrain apparently belongs to the endless cycle of witticisms which is found in every village, and is composed on the same lines as others. The poems of this kind are produced also in towns. See *Rustic poetry*, etc., Nos. 178–181, and here Nos. 114, 176 and 228 further on.

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39. *Rohum dur-u deroz-ä markabum laṇg*
dä poye shishä-u rohe pur äz saṇg
berow junum chi tew joi fetodi
gharibi-u rehe dure dule taṇg.

(*Birjand, from a Gypsy woman*).

My way is far and long, and my donkey is lame.
My foot is cut with glass, and the road is full of pebbles.
Go on, dear, what a place hast thou got in!
Having poverty, a long journey, and a heart full of sorrow.

40. *Särum dard mikunä äz dardmändi*
tu bidard-i ki wär dardum mikhandi
chi mikhoyi äz i wakhshe biobu
tu ki bakhtät seroy-u rezomändi.

(*Birjand, from a Gypsy woman*).

A headache I have from (my) sorrow.
If thou art smiling at my pain thou art merciless.
From this savage in the desert what dost thou want?
Thou whose lot it is to live in a house, in abundance?

41. *Wiloyät dur-ä män dur äz wiloyat*
murakhas ku burum sune wiloyat
murakhas ku ki berum äz u neyoyum
watan dä khow-ä wodi dä qiyumat.

(*Birjand, from a Gypsy woman*).

(My) home is far away and I am distant from it.
Let me go, so that I may return to my home.
Let me go to return there, never to leave again.
(But) my mother-country is (only) in a dream, (and) the promise (of my return to it) is (only) on the Day of Resurrection.

2. Māhīābād.

42. *Alo dukhtar turä mayum chi migi*
chirä wo kheysh-u qomu khu nämigi.
Bäraftum bä kheyshiro mu khu beguftum
merä wo tị nedan tị chi migi.

O girl, I ask thee, why dost thou not answer?
Why dost thou not tell thy parents?
I went myself, and told the parents,—
But they will not give me to thee, what dost thou say?[1]

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry, etc.*, No. 104, and also the "Zapiski," op. cit., p. 39.

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43. *Deto dukhtar wä ri gaudol miraf*
sabu war das ki langardor miraf
bä qurbune säre yaki jälow bi
ki moye chordum wär dimbol miraf.

Two girls were walking down the hill.
They had water jars in their hands and walked slowly.
Let me die for the one who was in front,
But it was a moon of the fourteenth night who was walking behind her.[1]

44. *Halo bod-u halo bod-u halo bod*
Sikändär noibe kulle Gunobod
bärum arzi kunum wä Mir Olam Khon
bedän daste arus bä daste dumod.

Oh, wind, continuous wind!
Sikandar is the deputy governor of the whole of Gunābad.
I will go to submit my petition to Mir Alam Khan,[2]—
Let them hand the bride over to her husband.

45. *Halo dard-u halo dard-u halo dard*
beguyum wo kuni boghät guli zard
beguyum wo kuni därrä mäbändey
gharibi gäshtäyum rangum shudä zard.

Oh, pain, continuous pain!
Open thy garden, I say, o yellow flower!
Open it, I will say, and do not close the door,—
I have become poor, the colour of my face has become pale.

46. *Halo dukhtär ki kurdinät guli nor*
bedey panj bus ki gowe khar kunum bor.
Näbusumät äz i gow-u äz i bor
ki haft pushte mero nang-ä äz i kor.

B. O girl, in the frock of the colour of pomegranate flower!
Give me five kisses, and I will load the bull and the donkey (with presents).
G. I will not kiss thee neither for the bull nor for the load,—
Because for me it would be a shame for seven generations.

47. *Hawo garm-ä ki sar soyä neyoyä*
sädoye kalkalu poye miyoyä

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 1.
[2] Cf. above, No. 31. It belongs to the same type as No. 176 in *Rustic poetry*, etc. See also for a variant here further on, No. 76.

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südoye kalkalu poye nechandu
südoye kaushi zänonä miyoyä.

It is hot, and there is no shadow,
There is the sound of shuffling feet.
Not even the sound of shuffling feet,
For it is the sound of a woman's slippers.

48. *Nämozi shum nämozum bi qazo shu*
gharibi bäd bä men oshno shu
rafiqon miräu sune wiloyat
nämipursän ki awole tu chi shu.

At nightfall my evening prayer had no supper after it.
Evil poverty has made acquaintance with me.
My friends are returning home,
But they do not ask: how art thou feeling? [1]

49. *Nämoze shum owe war boghe kardum*
katore lukin äz awsore kardum
katore lukin äz awsore zänjir
ki ruye wär jonibe deldor kardum.

At nightfall I opened the water channels in the garden.
Taking off their bridles, I let loose the camels.
I let loose the camels taking off their chains of bridles,
And myself started towards my sweetheart.

50. *Sare kuhe bulan män negiristum*
qalam dä dast koghaze minewishtum
qalam eftod koghaz rä bod wär dosht
ki har chi wär dilum bud nenewishtum.

I was crying on the top of the high hill.
I had a pen in the hand. I was writing a letter.
Then pen fell down, and the paper was carried away by the wind,—
I could not write all that was in my heart.

51. *Sare darwozä bor ändokhtä Zäynäb*
kajako wä shimol ändokhtä Zäynäb
berän bä modäre Zäynäb beguyä
ki johile wär ishkol ändokhtä Zäynäb.

Zaynab has seated herself at the village gate,
With her locks loose in the wind.
Let them go and tell Zaynab's mother
That she has got a youth into difficulties.[2]

---

[1] Cf. No. 154. [2] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 8.

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52. *Shäwi dushaw ki män dä Khur budum*
amä dilshode män delkhur budum
Iloyo otäshi dä Khur girä
ki män äz june shiri dur budum.

Last night when I was at Khur,
All were happy, only I was sad.
O God, let fire start in Khur,
For I was far away from my sweetheart.[1]

53. *Shumol bode ki äz un bär miyoyä*
bä ruye owe mushke pär miyoyä
shumol bode äz in khubi nedidum
mäyer äz jonibe delwar miyoyä.

The cool breeze that comes from that side,
Arrives over the water as if it were on muscus wings.
I never saw a breeze as pleasant as this,
Perhaps it comes from the side of the beloved.

54. *Siyochäshme ki ġandum pok miķa*
märo bedid gäribun chok miķa
märo midid-u ashk äz didä miraft
bä däsmole du chashmäsh khushk miķa.

That black-eyed one, who was winnowing wheat,
Tore his collar as he saw me.
He looked at me, and tears dropped from (his) eyes,
He wiped both his eyes with a handkerchief.

55. *Siyohchäshmi ki män ämruz didum*
nä där Id 'am nä där Nowruz didum
nä där Id 'um nä där Nowruze porsol,
mäyer dä khunäyi kafshduz didum.

That black-eyed one, whom I saw to-day,
I saw her before, (but) not at the festivals of Ramazan or Nowruz,
And not at the festivals of Ramazan or Nowruz last year,—
Probably I saw her at the house of the shoemaker.[2]

3. Ma'ṣūmābād.

56. *Äz inji to bä Birjan gul bekorum*
miune har guli sibe begzorum
bä kaftar miduhum bolesh girun-ä
bä bulbul miduhum shirin-zäbun-ä.

---

[1] Cf. No. 223.
[2] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 13, and here further on, No. 111.

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From here to Birjand I will sow flowers.
Into every flower I will set inside an apple.[1]
I will give (them) to a pigeon, whose wings are strong.
(Or) I will give (them) to a nightingale, who sweetly sings.

57. *Bä qurwune ṭi shem yore mäluzä*
mero äz ṭi judo kardän diruzä
mero äz ṭi judo kardän khayresh nebinum
Khudoyo dishmenune bad besuzä.

Let me die for thee, my little beloved!
They separated me from thee yesterday.
They have separated me from thee, and I do not see any good in it.
O God, let the wicked enemies be burnt.

58. *Bä qurwune tu äy sibe muhubat*
mero bugzoshti rafti bä ghurbat
mero bugzoshti hich gham nekhurdi
duoguyi tu boshum to qiyumat.

Let me die for thee, "apple of love"![2]
Thou hast left me, having gone to other places.
Thou hast left me without regret,
But I will be praying for thee to the day of Resurrection.

59. *Bä Sistune kharow-ä khunäyi män*
neyomad koghazi äz junnäyi män
neyomad koghazi ki män bukhunum
qaror girä dili diwunäyi män.

My house is in ruined Sistan.
No letter came from my beloved,
No letter came that I might read,
That my maddened heart might take some rest.[3]

60. *Gule sad balk sar woze ṭi key bu*
mero wodi bä läboyi ṭi key bu
mero wodi bä läboyi ṭi färdo
nemidunum ki färdoyi ṭi key bu.

O rose, when wilt thou open?
When will I get what was promised regarding thy lips?
I was promised regarding thy lips "to-morrow,"
But I do not know, when thy "to-morrow" comes.

---

[1] The apple is prominent in love transactions as a message, cf. No. 58.

[2] On symbolical meaning of the apple in love transactions see *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 7 (footnote 3 on p. 259).

[3] Cf. No. 94.

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61. *I bod ki miznä dile mo shod-ä*
päyghome sälomi mo dä daste bod-ä
äy bod! Khabar bubur ki dä Bändunum
dä kundele bäkhew bä das zindun-um.

As this breeze blows, my heart becomes happy,
And I give my news and my greeting into the hands of the wind.
O wind! Take the news that I am at Bendan,
In stocks, with chains (?) on my hands, in prison.

62. *Jonunäye män dur mero jun neshu*
dä sinäye män choyi bekan jomä beshu.
Dä sinäye tu choyi känum khun oyä
yär jomä zänum jomä gul-gul oyä.

My beloved is far away, and my soul parts (from me).
Dig a well in my breast and wash the cloth.
(If) I dig a well in thy breast, blood will appear,
If I throw the cloth there, it will be covered with red flowers (stains).

63. *Säre qaläyi amir dilbere män*
bä lab khushke asir-ä dilbäre män
bä qurwune sare qaleyi Tughob shum
ki rushnoyi nedorä Masumobod.

My beloved is on the top of amir's fort
She is a prisoner with thirsty lips.
Let me die for the village of Ṭūghāb,
Ma'ṣūmābād has no lights in it.[1]

64. *Särum bä kuchäkoye*[2] *Masumowot*
chirogh äz pänjälä hey mizänä bod
bä qurwune siyohchäshmoyi Tughow she
ki rushnoyi nedorä Masumowot.

Am I ready to lose my head for the sake of the (miserable) streets of Ma'ṣūmābād?
The wind through the window blows out the light.
Let me die for the black-eyed (girls) of Ṭughāb,—
Ma'ṣūmābād has no lights in it.[3]

---

[1] An allusion to some raid which took place many years ago. The local people, however, could not tell me anything definite.

[2] Diminutive used in the sense of contempt, cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., Nos. 54, 73, 151, etc.

[3] Apparently connected with the same events as the preceding poem.

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65. *Shäkar boloye läw läw boloye dändun*
shäkare khub dorän qad buländun
ägär panj bus khurum äz qad buländun
nä därdi sar kenum nä darde dändun.

Sugar is on (her) lip, and the lip lies over her teeth.
Much sweetness have the tall-statured (girls)!
If I receive five kisses from the tall-statured (girl),
I shall not feel headache or toothache.[1]

66. *War khi to berim äz inji mäne tu*
tu daste män begir män domene tu
joi berim har de bimor shim
tu äz kame bikasi män äz ghame tu.

Arise, let us go from here, I and thou!
Take thou my hand, and I will hold thy skirt.
Let us go to some place, we will be both sick there,—
Thou feeling lonely, and I being sorry for thee.

4. Shāhdhīla.

67. *Äz Shozilä to rudkhunä*
säri Nakhi chi hindwunä
äz waski kozi nodun-ä
subhe sewo sär arzun-ä.

From Shahzila to the riverbed
The heads of the inhabitants of Khusp are as plentiful (on the ground) as water melons.
As the *qāḍī* is incompetent,
So from day to day heads are cheap.[2]

68. *Nägore nozänin äz men chi didi*
ki yakborä äz royi män rämidi
chunun chodir bä ruyi khu käshidi
khiyol kärdi mero hargiz nedidi.

Delicate beauty, what have I done to thee?
Why dost thou rush away from my path?
So (quickly) hast thou drawn thy *chādir* upon thy face,
That one might think, thou hadst never seen me before.

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 62.

[2] An allusion to some local fights. *Nakhī* are called the inhabitants of Khūsp and the nearest villages surrounding it, of which Shāhzīla is one. There are many local memories about fights which took place between the inhabitants of Khūsp and of Birjand; several heaps of white stones are shown on the upper path, nearer to the hills, which are said to be the monuments of the battle-field cemetery. I could not get any information as to even an approximate date of these events. Cf. also Nos. 63, 64.

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69. *Ohängar mard-ä dehkun bale u*
gholiboj nim-mard-ä darzi zane u.

The black-smith is a man, and the peasant is (a man) like him.
The carpet-weaver is half-a-man, and the tailor is his wife.

70. *Pudun ki qahwä 'um qiche kurumsoq*
banä mard-äs-u zanäsh kundäiyi toq.

Wild mint grass is a prostitute, and *qich* grass is a scoundrel.
The wild pistachio tree (*bana*) is a man, and his wife is the log of *saksaul*.

71. *Azize lizzäti denyo chi chiz-ä*
beguyum tu bedone ki chi chiz-ä
awal farzan diyum moli denyo
seyum u zan ki bo aqle temyiz-ä.

Friend, what is pleasure in this world?
I will tell thee, know what it is:
First—children, secondly—property,
Thirdly a wife who is clever and who has clean habits.

5. Mazār-i-Kūhī.

72. *Bio to charkhi gardun benozum*
bio to Läyli Mäjnun besozum
diloromi rashid äz daste män raf
diloromi diyär äz now benozum.

Come that I may feel friendly with fate.
Come that I may create Layla and Majnun (of me and thee).
(But if) a nice beloved goes from my hands,—
I will find a new beloved again.

73. *Chäshmum säfid-ä jun bä läb uma bäroyi tu*
dastum nemiräsä ki jun kunum fädoyi tu
ohinä zire zang jilohi nemidehä
surmä bä chäshmi kur käshidän chi foidä.

My eyes become white,[1] soul is parting with the body for thy sake.
I cannot do anything even if I sacrifice my life for thee.
A mirror covered with rust does not shine,—
Of what use to pour antimony into the blind eye.[2]

---

[1] The usual metaphor for the expression of intense fear or despair.
[2] It means: what use to express condolence when one cannot do anything to help. This is apparently a reply to the preceding two lines.

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74. *Negore nozänine rizä dändun*
merä äz ishke tew burdän bä zindun.
Chiro gham mukhuri äy yore nodun
deto gushworä dorum mole diwun.

B. Delicate beauty, with small teeth,
I am taken to the prison because of my love to thee.
G. Why art thou worried, my foolish beloved,—
I have two earrings, let them be given (as a bribe) to the dīwān. [1]

75. *Sare kuchä budum ki mohi sar zäd*
khuruse oshuki bonge sahar zäd
khurusew chan bukhuni ki sahar nis
negore nozänin dä baghal nis.

I was in the street when the moon rose.
The cock of love crowed as if it were dawn.
Cock, why art thou crowing ? it is not dawn,—
Delicate beauty is not in (my) embrace.

6. Gul.

76. *Alo bod-u alo bod-u alo bod*
Sikändär hokime Kokhk-u Gunobod
burum arzi kunum bo Shoukatu-l-Mulk
bedey dasle arus bä daste dumod.

Wind, continuous wind!
Sikandar is the governor of Kākhk and Gunābad.
I will go and complain to Shaukatu'l-Mulk :
Place the hand of the bride in the hand of the bridegroom.[2]

77. *Bä Khusp omädum ki nu khurum män*
säre shur u juwe beryo khurum män
khuroke män shudä tahinäyi gowarz
Ilohe darde bidärmune khurum män.

I came to Khūsp in order to eat bread,
In order to eat meat soup and barley food.
My food has become the millet that remains on threshing floor.
God, I am fed on unrelieved sorrow.[3]

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry, etc.*, No. 62. This quatrain was already published by me in the "Zapiski" (1915), p. 39.

[2] Cf. a variant from Māhiābād, No. 44. Shawkatu'l-Mulk was the title of several local governors towards the end of the xix c. and in the beginning of the present one. The governor who was in office in 1912-3 was also called Shawkatu'l-Mulk.

[3] Peasants of famished villages come to the towns for work, but there

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78. *Chirogh misuzä dä boloyi fisuz*
chiro gham mikhuri äy yore dilsuz
chiro gham mikhuri nisfäsh nämundä
tere wode midum suhbe Nowruz.

The lamp is burning on the top of the stand [1]
Why art thou worrying, sorrowful beloved ?
Why art thou worried, less than half of the difficulty remains now,
I promise thee on the morning of Nawruz.
(Variant of the two last lines:

mäkhur ghustä ki nisfäsh nämúndä
ki wādeyi mänät wär suhbe Nowruz).

79. *Gul gul gul gul gul-ä*
harchi khopi där Gul-ä
kur-u kal-u shal-u
pochupurgu där Färiz-ä.

Gul, always Gul !
All that is good, is in Gul.
The blind, bald, paralytic and
limping, all are in Farīz.[2]

80. *Imruze su ruzä bist-u panj ruzä su ruz*
borik shedeyum chi suzane makhmale-duz
suzane biyor har di chashme mero beduz
to kur shewum tero nebinum shäwune ruz.

To-day, in three days, in twenty-five days, or in thirty days.
I have become as thin as the needle of the tailor who stitches velvet.
Bring a needle, and sew both my eyes,
So that I shall become blind and not see thee day or night.

81. *Khudowando duto khurmo bä man dey*
zane pire zane rahno bä man dey
zane pire bäroye kore kärdän
zäne rāno bäroye dastegärdän.

---

is not much for them to do. *Sarshur* is a food of boiled meat, like "Irish stew." Millet is much in use in this province, although it seems to be rare in other parts of Persia.

[1] *Chirogh* is usually a clay lamp, like those which were used in the ancient Rome and Greece. *Fisuz* (*pīh-sūz*) is a copper stand in the form of a large candle stick, on the top of which the lamp is placed. Usually vegetable (cotton) oil is used, but in rich houses also the fat of sheep is burnt. It burns lighter and gives less smoke. Nawruz, the greatest festival of rustic Persia, is usually an occasion for the celebration of different additional events, such as marriages, etc.

[2] This is really not a song, but a sort of a proverb.

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God! give me two dates.
Give me an aged and a young wife!
The aged wife for work,
And the young wife for embraces.

82. *Sare pushtä nishinum oteshe alew ku*
setoräki sar zänä mishur kojuw ku
äyär khoyi ki guzol chok gärdä
bezän chokmol guzol ruw dä ew ku.

I am sitting behind a hill, but where is the fire and fuel?
A star is rising, but where is the straw and barley for sheep?
If thou wantst the sheep to be fat,
Drive the herd towards the water.[1]

83. *Sare qaläyi Gishod rakhnä dorä*
gäribune tu dilwär bäkhyä dorä
gäribune tu dilwär lom-älif-lom
kamar-borik märo diwunä dorä.

The top of the Gīshād fort (ruins near Gul) has a breach.
Thy collar, beloved, has (many) stitches.
Thy collar, beloved, is like the letters *lām*, *alif* and *lām*,
The one with a thin waist makes me mad.

7. Farīz.

84. *Ägär yore man-e shäwgir-u shäwgir*
mätärs äz kundä wä bangoye zänjir.
Mätärs äz häyuhuyi sarbunon
palaṇwori beyo gul dä baghal gir.

G. If thou art my beloved, travel night after night,
Do not be afraid of sticks and the klinging of the chains.[2]
B. Do not thou also be afraid of the shouting of camel-men,—
Come bravely as a leopard, and embrace (thy) husband.

85. *Alo kaugi ki karkar mikuni ṭi*
sar äz kuh bä kamar wär mikuni ṭi
huqob uma bä qasde kushtäne tew
amu didum ki pärpär mikuni ṭi.

---

[1] The quatrain complains on cold and absence of food for cattle. The last two lines are ironical. *Kojuw= kāh wa jaw. Chokmol* means the sound made by the tongue for speeding the animals.

[2] Camel convoys always travel by night in Persia, the day time is

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Ey partridge, thou that art crying,
Thou art flying towards the rocks.
An eagle comes to kill thee,
This is why I see that thou art fluttering.

86. *Araqchi wär sarät giwä wär poyä*
bä urdu miräwi junum fädoy-ä
bä urdu miräwi zude biyoyi
siochäshmi nishastä där wafoyä.

A cap is on thy head, knit shoes are on thy feet,
Thou art going to the camp, let my life be sacrificed for thee!
Thou art going to the camp, return quickly,—
The black-eyed one is waiting faithful to thee.

86a. *Arus kuchak-muchak*[1] *aybi nedorä*
i aybi dorä ki shälwor nedora.

The bride, the little and tiny one, has nothing wrong about her.
Her fault is that she has not even a skirt (so poor she is).

87 *Bäri ruyi tu didum-u raftum*
palune tu nekhobidum-u raftum
misole soyäyi awre behore
bä sangistun neboridum-u raftum.

I saw thy face, and walked away,
I did not rest near thee, but walked away.
As the shadow of a spring cloud,
Which did not rain over a stony ground, I walked away.

88. *Bio äz dar därun misli hamishä*
ki mäyli därunum birun namishä
ki mäyli därunum ǵashtä dirakhte
käshídä shokhe bolo kardä rishä.

Enter the house as usual.
My longing does not disappear from the heart.
The longing of my heart has grown into a tree,
Which developed roots and spread high its branches.

89. *Chashmune sioh Sarhade Sistun girift*
khole läbe yor Khawise Kermu girift
chorgushäyi amruyi tu Kermun girift
muyi tu alam käshid Sefohun girift.

---

used for grazing. The second line alludes to the dangers of being kidnapped by prowling bands of brigands.

[1] Again the *tābi'*, cf. above, No. 19.

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Black eyes have conquered Sarhad and Sistan ;
The mole on the lip of the beloved has conquered Khabis and Kerman,
The four corners of thy eyebrows have captured Kerman,
Thy hair raised a banner, and conquered Isfahan.

90. *Chashmune sioh sioter äz pare maġas*
nodune niyum ki dil bedem hamä ḳas
nodun niyum tolie[1] *buzurgu nedorum*
däryoye niyum ki das bushurä amä ḳas.

My eyes are black, blacker than the wings of a fly.
I am not a fool to run after everybody.
I am not a fool, although I have not the position of the noble,
I am not a river in which everybody may wash his hands.

91. *Däri darwozäyi Kermun neshinum*
siohchasmu biyoyä män bebinum
siohchashme biyoyä ġallä-ġallä
chi gham dorum ki sar-ġallä bechinum.

I am sitting at the gate of Kerman.
The black-eyed ones are coming (in), I am looking.
The black-eyed ones come in herds,—
What shall I have to regret if I but take the tax ?

92 *Elo dukhtär ki sar-sar mikuni tew*
misole barrä ġar-ġar mikuni tew
misole bärräyi tozä regoyi
dam bä dam yode modär mikuni tew.

Ey girl, thou art capricious,
Thou art screaming like a young ewe,
Like a ewe which has tender sinews.
Every moment thou mentionest thy mother.

93. *Gharibi sakht märo dilgir kärdä*
ṭalak wär ġardanem zänjir kärdä
ṭalak äz ġardanem zänjir wär dor
ki khoke ghurbat mero domängir kärdä.

Loneliness has made me greatly depressed.
Fate has laid a chain round my neck.
Fate, take away the chain from my neck,
As the strange land already has me in fold.

---

[1] *Ṭāli'.*

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94. *Käloghe wär kalukhe khunäyi män*
neyomad koghazi jununäyi män
neyumad koghazi män bukhunum
ki khun miborä äz du didäyi män.

A crow is sitting on the brick of my house,
But there is no letter from my beloved.
No letter came that I might read;
And blood drops from both my eyes.[1]

95. *Kelote Mir murum män kulä wär pusht*
feroghe dukhtäre amu mero kusht
feroghe dukhtäre amu nachandun
ki u kholi bäre ruyesh mero kusht.

I am going to the village of the amīr, with a haversack behind the shoulders.
The separation from the cousin has killed me.
It is not so much the separation from the cousin,
As that mole on her cheek, which has killed me.[2]

96. *Kharidum shol befrushum kadakro*
benozum ġardishi charkhi ʃalakro
har ki nunum dodä dushmäni män shu
beburum har du daste binamakro.

I used to buy shawls, but now I have to sell even (home-spun) rough serge.
How wonderful is the change of the fate!
All those who offered me hospitality, have become my enemies;
Let me cut off both unlucky (lit. saltless) hands!

97. *Khudo gär bol dehäd mipäridum*
hami lahzä bä dilbar miräsidum
akire[3] *budäyum dä daste dilwä*
bä har qimat ki midod mikharidum.

If God would give me wings I should fly,
I should reach the beloved in a moment.

---

[1] A crow alighting on some one's house signifies that he will get news from somewhere (crows are rare in Persia, especially in Khorasan). *Kalūkh* means simply a piece of dried mud, of which unburnt bricks are made. Cf. a variant above, No. 59.

[2] It was a general practice that any one who wanted to marry, or to arrange a marriage for his son, had to ask special permission from the governor (certainly not with empty hands). This tax on marriages was not a fixed sum, but depended on the means of the payer. It was collected in 1913, and most probably is still to-day.

[3] *Ḥaqīr.*

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I was badly treated at the hands of the beloved,—
Whatever she asked I did.[1]

98. *Musalmono ƙami bolo ƙami ƙam*
kharidum abrishumro si sir ƙami man
kharidum abrishum boloyi atlas
zi bakhte toliyum yak shalgham.

Musulmans, for a little more, or a little less,
I used to buy silk, thirty *sīrs* (in weight), almost a *man.*
I was buying silk, and in addition atlas,
But my luck and my fate give me but dry turnips now. [2]

99. *Musalmunu ki dä kuhe Kelot-um*
miune pestä wu kande näbot-um
äz u tärsäm ki dä pey ku bemirum
ki dilbär oyäd-u neshnosä khokum.

Musalmans, I am in the hills of Kelat,
With plenty of pistachios and kandy sugar.
I only fear that I will die amidst the hills,
And that the beloved will come, and will not find my grave.

100. *Sädo äz ghami tew mikunum man*
bä khori ruze har shäw mikunum man
äz u buso ki dodi shiwe dolu
yodesh ruze har shäw mikunum man.

I am moaning and longing for thee,
I am spending days and nights in misery.
Those kisses that thou gavest me at the entrance (of the house),
I shall remember every day and night.

101. *Sare kuchä nishastum ad*[3] *dile tang*
bä man guftä fuloni khurdäyi bang
nä bangi khurdäyum nä dunäyi bang
dilum wär yore duriyum shudä tang.

I was sitting in the street, with worried heart.
They said to me: so-and-so, thou hast taken *ḥashīsh.*
I had not eaten *ḥashīsh*, not a grain of it,—
My heart was longing for my beloved who was far away.

---

[1] The last line does not necessarily imply any indecent sense though one may be attached to it if it be rendered literally. The same expression is often used having no connection with erotic matters.

[2] A Birjandi *man* is about three and half pounds. It is divided into 40 *sīrs.* *Shalgham* is dry turnip on which the peasants of the desert live for the greater part of the year. When cooked it is called *pukhtik.* It is extremely hard.

[3] Sic. Cf. the introduction.

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102. *Sare kuhe buland bolo shudum man*
bä shälwore qirmizi oshno shudum man
mikhostum roze del beguyum man
bäroyesh umádum resbo shudum man.

I have climbed high, to the top of a lofty hill.
I became acquainted with one in a red skirt.
I wanted to tell her the secret of my heart,
I went for this purpose, but she humiliated (=rejected) me.

103. *Säroyi yore man eywun nedorä*
ki yorum johil-ä imun nedorä
bä yak das mikunä eymu ishorä
ki u daste digäri färmu nädorä.

The house of my beloved has no entrance porch.
My beloved is young, and is not to be trusted.
With one hand she makes the sign of faith,
But the other hand does not obey her commands.

104. *Säroyi yore man wär pushti houz-ä*
miune har di sinäyesh kholi säuz-ä
äz u busoyi ki dodi shiwe dolu
amä qich-u qalfer-u[1] *magze jouz-ä.*

The house of my beloved is behind the tank.
Between her breasts there is a grey mole
All those kisses that thou hast given at the entrance of the house,
All are as *qīch*-grass, cloves and walnut.

105. *Shäw bu äz bidili khobum neyumä*
zädum färyod dilbärum neyumä
bäghayr äz bulbule ki boghbun bu
diyär hich kas bä nole zorum neyumä.

It was night, but I had no sleep of despair.
I was wailing, my beloved had not come.
Only the nightingale was the watcher in the garden,—
No one else had come on hearing my painful moans.

0I6. *Shäwi mähtow wär yakh mitawun raf*
beroye yor ba duzakh mitawun raf
bäroye yor baroye panj buse yor
shäwi häftod farsakh mitawun raf.

On a moonlit night I could walk even over ice,
For the beloved I could go to Hell.

---

[1] *Qalumfar.*

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For the beloved, for her five kisses,
I could walk seventy *farsakhs* a night.[1]

107. *Tuyi bogh budum joyi tu kholi*
bä gul mushtoq budum joyi tu kholi
chi pärwunä bä-dowri bogh ġashtum
chi qomri nolä ḳardum joyi tu kholi.

I was in the garden, but thy place was empty,
I was passionately searching for the flower, but thy place was empty.
As a butterfly I fluttered round the garden,
As a dove I moaned, but thy place was empty.[2]

8. Ḥāḍirābād.

108. *Alo dukhtär neqobe bästä dori*
temume ashuqun dil khastä dori
temume ashuqun dilbärät doräṇ
Khudo dunä tu ki yor dori.

Ey girl, thou keepest thy face covered with a veil.
Thou hast disheartened all the lovers.
All lovers regard thee as their beloved,
But whom dost thou love?—God knows.

109. *Duto dukhtär wär i kuchä guzär ḳa*
shimole Khuspi olamro khabar ḳa
bäraftum mäṇ jämoläshro bebinum
ki oshuqunä olamro khabar ḳa.

Two girls have passed along this street,
So the breeze of Khusp informed the world.
I (also) went to have a look at their beauty,—
Because their lovers had spread the news over all the world.

110. *Säre kuhe buland jighe wär orum*
äz yak kuhe ḳamar yore wär orum
säre kuhe bulan pur takhte saṇg-ä
nämoyun ki dukhtäro tute naṇg-a.

I will shout on the top of the high hill,
I will call my beloved from amidst the rocks.
The top of the high hill is covered with slabs of stone,
Similar to girls who are all (?) bad.

---

[1] A *farsakh* in this province is *subuk*, i.e., light, or short, and mostly does not exceed three miles, or three miles and a half.

[2] Cf. a variant in *Rustic poetry*, No. 99.

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111. *Siyohchashme ki chun hamsoyä didum*
nä dä shahre nä där bozor didum
nä där shahre nä där bozore Kermun
mäyär dä khunäye bodore didum.

The black-eyed one whom I saw as a neighbour,
I saw not in the city, and not in the bazar.
Neither in the city I saw her, nor in the bazar of Kirman,
Perhaps it was in the house of the landlord that I saw her.[1]

9. Yāsht.

112. *Hawo ġarm-ä ki misuza dile män*
bä ṭi rid miġardä guli män.
Khudowändo tu qalyun karam ku
ẕi temboku firistodä wele män

It is hot, and my heart is burning.
My husband is wandering in the dry riverbed.
O God! let me have a water-pipe,
My husband has sent me the tobacco.

113. *Sare kuhe belände ḳallepoyum*
pänire tar khurum dukhtar bogoyum
pänire tar neboshä gushti ḳaftar
Khudo qismat kunä panj buse dukhtär.

I am walking down the high hills.
I am eating fresh cheese, and will...
If I have not fresh cheese, let it be the flesh of the pigeon.
Only let God give me five kisses from the girl.

114. *Säri owe Färize sang dorä*
nishastän bo Färizi nang dorä
chi gumbune säri qaläyi Khusp shu
ki shäftoluyi rangorang dorä.

At Farīz there is a rock in the spring.
It is unbecoming to have anything to do with a Farīzī.
The top of the village of Khūsp is like (the camel's) hump.
It has apricots of many different sorts.[2]

115. *Shuturo bä gaudol bolo nämishe*
zä chashmoyum gumon äz wo nämishe
kälidi boghe shäftoluyi dilbar
bä nozäsh män dähon där wo nemishe.

---

[1] Cf. a variant in No. 55 above, also *Rustic poetry*, No. 13.

[2] This is probably not an independent quatrain, but a fragment of the very popular versified "geography," cf. No. 38. It is attributed to some particular author, who is always different in a new locality, but in fact it is a produce of the local wits, who ridicule their neighbours.

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Camels are on the plain, they cannot go over the hills.
Doubts are not departing from me,—
(Here is) the key of the beloved's apricot garden,
But my mouth does not open to caress her.

10. Nārmanj.

116. *Anore sakht ki wär duwol khurdä*
läbunum bä läbone yor khurdä
läwone yorum amchi shishä nozak
mäyär u shishä wär duwol khurdä.

As a pomegranate apple is thrown hard against the wall,
So cling my lips to the lips of the beloved.
The lips of my beloved are as delicate as glass,—
Is it glass that has been thrown against the wall?

117. *Äyär tu gushnä-i män bär nähor-um*
ägär tu oshik-i män bär qaror-um
ägär tu bächäyi sharmunda nisti
bä joyi wodi kun ki män beyoyum.

If thou art hungry, I will sit at lunch,
If thou art in love, I will be quiet.
If thou art not a shy child,
Name some place to which I will come.

118. *Äz u bolo miyo chodir-säfide*
kate dorä misole balke bide
äz u chodir-säfid chizi meguyay
äz u chodir-säfid dorum umide.

From that hill descends a (girl) clad in a white cloak.[1]
She has stature straight as a willow leaf.
Say not anything (bad) of that white-cloaked one,
I have hope of her.

119. *Äz u bolo miyoyä ararey tu*
zänum awsore charmi wär sarey tu

---

[1] Instead of the black cloaks and black trousers in which women appear in public in many parts of Persia, the district of Qain and Birjand have a much more picturesque, and probably more ancient dress. The cloak is white and the trousers (each half of which is independent) are made of different colours, but not bright or gaudy. There is no *niqāb*, and the face is covered by a fold of the *chādir*. The women in the villages of the Central desert (Tabas, Anarak, Nain), have grey *chādirs* of hand woven cloth, which are shorter than in other places. Similar hand-woven *kadifa* (which also serve as bedsheets, table-cloth, etc.), of a grey and khaki colour are made and worn by peasant women all over the district of Birjand. These are chiefly intended for daily use, and are replaced by a white cloak on solemn occasions.

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zänum awsore charmi pashmi khoshi
kharum gum kardäyi khostum khare tu.

Thy braying is heard from that hill.
I will put a leather bridle on thy head.
I will put on a leather bridle, or one of camel wool,—
Thou hast lost my donkey, so I want thee to be an ass.

120. *Bä pushte bun näzorä mikunä yor*
bä Quron istekhorä mikunä yor
ägär foli bade oyä bä Quron
waraqro porä-porä mikunä yor.

On the roof the beloved is engaged in divination,
She is taking auguries by the Coran.
Should the augury be unpropitious in the Coran,
She tears the leaf in small pieces.

121. *Bä tu yak osyo män chash be roy-ä*
ki khonzodä kuruh kardä neyoyä
hamä märdum nemidunan bedonan
bäroyi khotiri chashme siyoy-ä.

I am in a watermill, but my eyes rest upon the road.
The *khān's* daughter is angry, for she does not come
If the people do not know, let them know,
That (I am worrying) for the black-eyed one.

122. *Bänol bulbul bichorä bulbul*
ki khore pot dorä dä soyäyi gul
chiro bulbul äz i ghustä nemiri
siyoh zoghe girift joyi tu bulbul.

Lament, o nightingale, o unfortunate one,
In the shadow of the rose thy foot got a thorn.
Why dost thou not die of this sorrow, o nightingale ?
—A black crow has taken thy place!

123. *Bepushum jomäyi jodugäriro*
begirum bär sarät naw arusiro
bä pushte bun berum qasre besozum
bä chand korum hamu yore qadimiro.

The dress of a witch I will put on.
To command thee I will take a new wife.
I will bring her on the roof, I will make her comfortable there,—
For of what use to me is the old beloved ?

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124. *Bezan näyro ki gham dora dili män*
bezan näyro ki dur äst manzili män
bezan näyro mäqomäsh neǵardun
ki dä shāre Sepohun äs dile män.

Play on a flute, because my heart is full of sorrow,
Play on a flute, because my way is long.
Play on a flute, and do not change its tune,—
For my heart is in the city of Isfahan.[1]

125. *Bezän nolä ki nolä koremon-ä*
ki Footme dukhtäre bodoremon-ä
de kurse nune jeu wär shole bästä
ki i kharji yak solemon-ä.

Weep, because weeping is all that we can do.
Fāṭima is the daughter of our landlord, and
Two loaves of barley bread, tied at the belt,
Are all that we have to live on for a year.

126. *Bio ay Footmeye gutte gulurä*
bedey panj bus ki roye bändä dur-ä
bedey panj bus-u ru khu meǵardun
ki ǵashte oshuki kore zelur-ä.

Come, Fāṭima, small as a bullet!
Give me five kisses,—my way is long.
Give me five kisses, do not turn away thy face,—
Because the plight of a lover is a painful part.[2]

127. *Bio äy Fotimäye khol-kholäyi män*
kamar borike läb miskoliye män
mero panj bus qabul kardí nedodi
negoh kardi bä mushte kholiye män.

Come, ey Fāṭima, with many moles!
Thou, thin in the waist, with lips an ounce each.
Thou agreed to five kisses, but didst not give them,—
Thou looked into my empty hand.

128. *Beyo äy Fotimaye murghe musammo*
ki dishäw omádum dodi bä sarmo
ki dishäw omádum panj bus nedodi
äz i kunje läbo panj bus befärmo.

Come, o Fāṭima, sweet like "*murghe musammo*" (sweet-meat)!
I came last night, thou received me coldly.
I came last night, thou gavest not five kisses,
Give me (now) five kisses from the corner of thy lips.

---

[1] Cf. a variant in *Rustic poetry*, No. 157. [2] Cf. Nos. 141, 221.

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129. *Biyobu dä biyobu balke ġandum*
gharib eftidäyum dä mulke märdum
gharib äftudum mere ishkas nedunän
jäfoyi khu käshum-u nangi mardum.

Fields! On the fields there are sprouts of wheat.
I am a stranger in the place.
I am a stranger, no one knows me,—
I feel humiliated, and bear contempt of others.

130. *Bod äz bolo hamishä bod äz bolo*
sisolä shudum nedodän kasi mero
sisolä shudum si diġar khoum shu
wär bod-u hawo hawolä kardän mero.

Wind from the hills, there is always wind from the hills!
I am thirty years old, and they have not given me a wife.
I am thirty years of age, and will live so thirty years more,—
They have thrown me to the winds.

131. *Däre qaläye Birjand ohäni shu*
Sistun nimbuluki Qoini shu
bem arzi kunum bä Mir Olam Khun
ki khuroke mo jeu u ġandum shu.

The gate of the Birjand citadel is now made of iron,
Sistan has become a small district of Qain.
Let me go and report to Mīr ʿĀlam Khān
That our food is now only barley and wheat.[1]

132. *Där u ruze ki dilwär khol mizäd*
dili män misli kaftar bol mizäd
bä qurbune sare hamchi negore
kalamfer bar säre dast mizäd.

On that day when the beloved pasted her moles,
My heart palpitated as a pigeon beating its wings.
Let me die for such beauty,—
She even scented her hands, too, with cloves!

---

[1] Mīr ʿĀlam Khān, who is frequently mentioned in these popular songs, was an almost independent ruler of Qain in the beginning of the last century. He carried on a continual war with the local rulers of Sistan, and was rather successful in it. The iron gate which is mentioned here can still be seen in the citadel of Birjand. I was told that it was taken at the siege of the fort of Furg, in Sunnikhana, and brought to Birjand, for a trophy. The last lines of the song point to the poverty which resulted from these warlike undertakings.

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133. *Derew raft-u derew raft-u derew raft*
negore nozänin guftum märow raft
Iloyo ruyi nodori sioh shey
mero bugzosht we dumbole u raft.

Harvest has passed, and (yet another) harvest has passed.
I said to the tender beauty: "do not go," but she went.
God, let the face of poverty become black,—
She left me and went after him.

134. *Di chashmunum dard uma bä yak bor*
zewastki nolä kardum äz ghame yor
bedey dasmol ki bä chashmo bebändum
ki shoyäd khub shäwä äz buyi däsmol.

Suddenly my two eyes began to ache,
Because I had cried much in sorrow for the beloved.
Give me the handkerchief, I will tie it over the eyes,
Perhaps they will become better from the scent of the handkerchief.

135. *Dili dorum ki dä fermune män nis*
kedum dard-ä ki dä june män nis
bä har ki nune dodum dushman mishu
mäyär haqi nemak dänduni män nis.

I have the heart which does not obey me,—
What sorrow is there that is not found in my soul?
Every one to whom I gave bread became my enemy,—
Is it that my teeth have no right to (eat) salt?

136. *Gallä dä kol-ä män dä pushti kol-um*
ġallä kash mukunä män dä khiyol-um
Ilohi beshkanä dändune gurgon
ki har shäw miberän moli halolum.

The herd is in the riverbed, I am on its banks.
The herd moves slowly, I am thinking.
God, let the wolves' teeth be broken,
They carry away every night the property of my wife.[1]

137. *Gule sad balk ki tu shohe gulun-e*
chiro dä busäkhurdän dil-gerun-e
bio hampäyi män panj bus bä män dey
ki färdo gul shäwi äz digärune.

Flower of the rose, thou art the queen of flowers.
Why art thou so strict about kissing?
Come, give me five kisses,
Because to-morrow thou wilt become some one else's flower.

[1] Or: my lawful property. Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 198.

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138. *Hawo ǵarm-ä ki ǵarm mikunä dil*
hawoyi särbuländi mikunä dil
hawoyi särbuländi ho nechandun
hawoyi säwze shiri mikunä dil.

The weather is hot, making the heart warm.
The heart wants to be proud.
It is not that the heart wants to be proud, only,
Oh, it is longing for the fresh and sweet one.

139. *Hole dukhtär tamoshoyi kamar ku*
ghame susoläro äz dil bedar ku
bä chang owardi murghi dile mo.
Chi gham ki wo shudä säyli chaman ku.

B. Girl, look at the range of hills.
Take away the sorrow of three years from my heart.
Thou hast caught the bird of my heart.
G. What sorrow by it were gone! Fly over the law[illegible]!

140. *Ilo dukhtär ki kurdi dä bäre tu*
du miskole tulo angushtäre tu
du miskole tulo kiymat nedorä
bä dändu wär kanum khole läbe tu.

Girl, dressed in a "Kurdi" frock,
Thy finger-ring weighs two ounces of gold.
But two ounces of gold are nothing,—
I would tear off the mole on thy lip with teeth.

141. *Ilo dukhtär ki zulfoyi tu bur-ä*
bä hamum miräwi royi tu dur-ä
bä hamum mirawi zude biyoyi
ki kore oshuki khäyli zelur-ä.

Girl with the brown locks,
Thou art walking to the bath, and thy way is far.
Thou art walking to the bath, come back soon,—
For love is very difficult matter.[1]

142. *Jewuno beshkanum sharmi shumoro*
benozum majlise ǵarme shumoro
beyorum dowrie pukhtuge shalgham
bä yak lahzä kunum ahdi shumoro.

You, young people, I will break your shyness,
I will make your meeting cheerful,
I will bring a tray of dried cooked turnips,
I will arrange your marriage in one moment.

---

1 Cf. Nos. 126, 221.

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143. *Kalamfur äz dimoghe khish wel ku*
bä har jo murdäyum bäyni kafan ku
bä har jo oteshun midoshtä boshi
hamär bugzor awal yode man ku.

Do not keep thy cloves before thy nose,
Wherever I die, put me in a shroud.
Wherever thou wilt have thy camp,
Forget all, and only remember me.

144. *Kalamfur wär säre dästmol dori*
bä margi mo bugu chan yor dori.
Bä margi mo bä margi shish berorum
bä-ghayr äz tu digär yore nedorum.

(Thou who hast) cloves in the end of thy handkerchief,
Upon my death, tell me, how many lovers thou hast?
Upon my own death, upon the death of my six brothers,
I have no lovers except thee.[1]

145. *Kalamfero ki tu kardi rawunä*
bä daste män räsi dunä bä dunä
bä daste män räsid buyi khush dosh
Khudowändo moro wo ham räsunä.

Those cloves that thou hast sent
All arrived, every single grain.
All arrived, they had a sweet smell,—
May God join us together!

146. *Katum bär jästä-wu zode nedorum*
där i waslä dili shod'um nedorum
Ilqyi märdumone bad bemirän
chunun ǵardum kharidore nedorum.

My stature is tall, and I am young,
But inspite of this my heart is not glad.
God, let the wicked people die,
For such I am, but no one wants me.

147. *Khudum injosh-u yorum dä Mädinä*
khudum ängushtar-u yorum näginä
Khudowändo niǵahdore nägin bosh
ki yore awal-u akhirum hamin-ä.

I am here myself, and my beloved is in Medina.
I am myself a ring, and my beloved is the jewel.
God, keep safe the jewel,
Because my first and last beloved is this.

[1] Cf. variant in *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 66.

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148. *Musalmonu Fedeshk mebinum äz dur*
kati yorum mesole kopie nur
munojot mikunum pishi Khudowänd
bä yak bore digär binum tero' z dur.

Faithful, I see Fedeshk [1] from afar,—
The stature of my beloved is like a shining disk.[2]
I am praying to God
To be able to see thee from afar once more.

149. *Musalmonu jaras-u bong bä bogh-ä*
ki Fotimäye ghamzäġar boloyi jehoz-ä
berey bä modäri Fotmä beguyäy
ki Fotmä enki shirmun täkkä-boz-ä.

Musalmans, there is noise and excitement in the garden,
Because the playful Fāṭima is playing (lit. is on the saddle).
Go, tell the mother of Fāṭima
That Fāṭima, who is our lioness, is playing with dee .

150. *Musalmonu nemidunum chi wakht-ä*
ki bulbul maste shäydo bä dirakht-ä
ki bulbul mipärä shokhul bä shokhul
du to äz ham säwo kardän chi sakht-ä.

Faithful, I do not know what time is this :
The nightingale madly and desperately (flies) in the trees.
The nightingale flies from one branch to another,—
How hard it is to separate one (lover) from the other.[3]

151. *Nämoze shum (ki) bä kuhe Afriz-um*
di män khurmo khurum khastäsh närizum
di män khurmo khurum bo gushti kaftal
Khudo kismat kunä panj busi dukhtär.

At nightfall (when) I am in the hills of Afrīz,[4]
I will eat two *mans* of dates, not throwing away even the stones.
I will eat two *mans* of dates, with the flesh of the pigeon,
God may let it be (also) my fate to have from a girl five kisses.

152. *Nämozi shum beraftum suyi kuchä*
we didum dukhteru buzor dushä
buguftum dukhterew panj bus wä män dey
beguftä bugzor ki ruz furu shä.

---

[1] A village West of Khūsp. Its inhabitants are mostly camelmen.
[2] Cf. above, No. 31.
[3] See for a variant further on, No. 184.
[4] There are several villages called *Afrīz*. One is to the South of Birjand, on the road to Nāyband.

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At sunset I went to the street,
And saw girls milking their goats.
I said: girls, give me five kisses!
They said: when the sun comes down.

153. *Nämoze shum beraftum tu rabote*
we didum dukhtäru shokhe nabot-ä
buguftum dukhtärew panj bus bä män dey
beguftän kabz dori yo berote.

At nightfall I went into a *rabāṭ*,
And saw girls sweet as kandy sugar.
Said I: girls, give me five kisses!
Said they: hast thou a voucher or a remittance letter?

154. *Nämozi shum ki ruz dä ku furu shu*
dili män dä gharibi gharqi khun shu
rafiqun miräu suni wiloyat
nämiguyan ki awole tu chi shu.

At nightfall, when the sun came down behind the hills,
My heart was swimming in blood, in its loneliness.
My friends are going home,
They do not ask, how I am feeling.[1]

155. *Nämoze shum shudum meymune kholä*
shikam äz gushnägi umá bä nolä
chiro gham mukhuri ay june kholä
ki nun dä sefrä-u mos dä piolä.

I was a guest of the aunt at nightfall.
The stomach began to growl for hunger.
Why art thou worrying, aunty?
Bread is on the table cloth and sour milk is in the cup.

156. *Ne khu mirum ne margi yor binum*
säre dushmän bä poyi dol binum
säri dushmän bä khanjar porä-porä
säre khu dä kunore yor binum.

May I not die myself, and not see the death of the beloved,
(Before) I see the head of my enemy at the foot of a gallows.
(Before) I see the head of the enemy cut to pieces by a dagger,—
And my head on the breast of the beloved.

---

[1] Cf. No. 48.

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157. *Negore nozänin yore tị hastum*
bä bozi burdäyi däsmole dastum
bä bozi burdäyi muhkam neǵah dor
hamu yore qadimiyi tu hastum.

Delicate beauty, I am thy lover,
Thou hast taken away, in play, the handkerchief from my hands.
Thou hast taken it, keep it carefully,—
I was thy lover long ago.

158. *Negoye roye Normanj kunum man*
negoye sawze noranj kunum man
äyär donum ki yorum khohad uma
sare royäsh gulew-poshi kunum man.

I am looking on the road to Normanj,
I am looking for a green orange.
If I see that my beloved is coming,
I will sprinkle the road with rose water.

159. *Nishinum wär buni sāni säroy*
zi gushe dorum beshinosum sedoy
ägär äz hurmäti bowo neboshä
feruz oyum bebusum soqo poy.

I am sitting on the roof of the room of the house.
I am listening, and recognise the voice.
If I would not be ashamed (to do this before) the father,
I should come down and kiss the ankles of her feet.

160. *Qul ba qul naqle kunum nozak ruye tero*
shunä har jo zänum kuchä dehäd muye tero
yo Khudo mihre tero äz dele män dur kunä
yo Khudo marg dehäd modäre bädkhuyi tero.

Word by word I will talk in praise of thy delicate face.
Wherever I put the comb, thy hair leaves a line.
Either may God take away the love for thee from my heart,
Or may God bring death to thy wicked mother.

161. *Sare dastät hänoyi tozä dorä*
sare ruyät bä gul ändozä dorä
äz u kunje läbo panj bus befarmo
ki buse oshuki owozä dorä.

Fresh *henna* is on thy hands,
Thy face resembles a rose.
Give me five kisses from that corner of thy lips,—
The kisses of love are very famous.

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162. *Sare kuhe bulande Boghron-um*
anore tuyi daste oshukon-um
äyär sad sol dar i khunä bemonum
hänuz 'am sikkäyi sohibqiron-um.

I am on the high hills of the Bāghrān range.
I am as a pomegranate apple in the hand of lovers,—
If I remain even a hundred years in this house,
I will be still the coin of Alexander.

163. *Sare kuhe bulan khur shiwä kunum*
misole humo mäyli liwä kunum
misole humo mäyli liwäyi säwz
de to dukhtäre newchä bibä kunum.

From the top of a high hill I will throw myself down,
Like the bird *humā* I will get the *līwa* grass.
Like the bird *humā* I will get the green *līwa*,
And I will make widows of two tall girls.

164. *Sare kuhe buland panj panjäyi shir*
khabar uma ki yorum khurdä shämshir
piolä pur kuney äz owe änjil
berizey bär ǵarde-zakhme shämshir.

On the top of the high hill there are five traces of a lion.
The news arrived that my beloved has received the blow of a sword.
Fill a cup with the juice of figs,
Pour it around the wound made by the sword.

165. *Sare kuhe buland tufang bä dushum*
sädoye Zäynäw miyoyä bä gushum
sädoye Zäynäw hilo wu kalamfär
miune dukhtäru gul mifurushum.

I am on the top of a high hill, with a gun on my shoulder.
The voice of Zaynab comes to my ears.
The voice of Zaynab is like cardamon and cloves,—
Amongst the girls I possess a (real) rose.[1]

166. *Sare roye mero dufol kärdän*
mero no mālum[2] *äz didor kärdän.*
Iloyo märdumone bäd bemirän
ziwastki guftäguyi bisyor kärdän.

---

[1] *Gul mifurushum* has not the same sense as it should if translated literally. The verbs *kharīdan* and *furūkhtan* have in Persian special meanings, corresponding perhaps to "asking for" and "having in stock."
[2] *Sic*, for *nā maḥram.*

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They blocked my road with a wall,
They made it impossible for me to see (her).
God, let bad people die,—
(This happened) because they talked too much.

167. *Setorä sar zäd bidor budum*
bä poyi rakhnäyi duwol budum
tuluye subhe sodik ki asar ǩar
häniz dä intizore yor budum.

The stars rose, and I was already watching,
At the breach in the wall.
And when the clear dawn made its appearance,
I was there, still waiting (in vain) for the beloved.[1]

168. *Shutur un-ä ki sandal bor dorä*
shikar tahbor-u gul sar-bor dorä
hilo sarwu beǩash ki khow harom-ä
ki ru we jonibe dildor dorä.

(Only those) camels (are real camels) which are laden with sandal wood,
Laden with sugar, and having the top-load of flowers.
Hey, camelmen, speed up the camels, sleep is forbidden,
Because (the caravan) is moving towards the beloved.

169. *Tero didum bä dumbol omádum män*
chi kewgi narm bä färyod umádum män
mahaläyi shumo kori nedoshtum
beroye didäni yor umádum män.

I saw thee and went after thee;
I began to cry like a gentle partridge.
I had nothing to do in your street,
I came only for the purpose of seeing the beloved.

170. *Un yore män-ä ki gharghore ney dorä*
zänjire tulo bä ǵardane ney dorä
zänjire tulo näginä khoum ǩard
junro be fudoyi oshuki khoum ǩard.

My beloved is that one who is playing on a flute,
Who has a gold chain at the end of the flute.
I will make a jewel on the chain of gold,
I will sacrifice my life for the sake of love.

---

[1] See *Rustic poetry*, No. 82.

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171. *U yore män-ä k'äz bolo mioyä*
bo aspe säfide sad tumon mioyä
bo aspe säfide sad tumon chi kunä
jowrun zänä bä jaṇgi män mioyä.

That one is my beloved who comes down the hill,
On a white horse, which is worth a hundred tumans.
What will he do with a horse that is worth a hundred tumans?
He will spur it and come to fight for me.[1]

172. *Yak to dukhtär där i malla räshid-ä*
mero bä soyäyi qala käshidä
heniz dastum bä u neräsidä
mero bä dole qasowi käshidä.

There is an honourable girl in these quarters.
She took me to the shadow of the village (wall).
Though my hands did not touch her,—
They dragged me to the executioner's scaffold.

173. *Yo ki bor ḳardum kun wäle mä*
duoyi kun ki wär ġardum sälumä
deoyi kun ki shom zude beyoyum.
Duoguyi tu boshum to qiyumä.

B. Oh, now that I have finished loading, say good bye!
Pray that I may return safely.
Pray that I may go and return early.
G. I will be praying for thee till the day of Resurrection.

174. *Yo ki bor ḳardum rohiyum ku*
nazar bä raṇge zarde kohiyum ku
nazar wär moli denyoyi meyändoz
nazar wär yaki (*äz?*) *muhoyum ku.*

Now that I have finished loading, let me go.
Look at the yellow, straw-like colour of my face.
Do not look for the riches of the world,—
Look for a hair of mine.

11. Riqāt.

175. *Äy Khudo ishk äz särum ḳam ku ki risfo mishum*
där miune näwjäwonun bi saru po mishum
yo libose oshukiro äz bäräm birun beḳan
yo ki män khokistäri kuhe Zulaykho mishum.

[1] Horses (really ponies) are very rare in the province, and are kept only by a few local rich people. In 1912–1913 there were almost no ponies in possession of any peasant in the whole of the district of Birjand. The usual pack and riding animal is a donkey which is a strong and remarkably enduring animal.

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God, make love diminish in my head, otherwise I will be degraded,
I shall become wild amongst the young people.
Either take off from me the dress of a lover,
Or I shall become ashes at the abode of Zulaykhā.[1]

176. *Chorto hast ki dorä zi Jahannam rishä*
Khur-u Tabas-u Seqalä-u Sarbishä
Chorto hast ki mizänä däm zi Bihisht
Bäydun-u Khuroshod-u Balgird-u Chinisht.

There are four places that have their root in Hell:
Khūr, Tabas, Seqal'a, and Sarbīsha.
There are four places which give signs of Paradise:
Baydān, Khurāshād, Balgird, and Chinisht. [2]

177. *Du to dilbär dorum yak nimäyi dil*
miune har de dilbär kor-ä mushkil
Khudowändo dili mero duto ku
ke har dilbär dehem yak nimäyi dil.

I have two sweethearts, one half of my heart (for) each.
It is a difficult task (to choose) between two sweethearts.
God, make my heart double,
So that I may give half to each beloved.

178. *Gule kalumfere män*
Sarbishä manzili män.
Owe qalyun berizä
tange shu dile män.

My flower of carnation,
My home is in Sarbīsha (on the Sistan road).
Let them pour out some water from the *qalyān*,—
Because I am breathing with difficulty.

179. *Musalmonu ki dä kuhe Boghron-um*
jalak dä dast-u murishk micharonum
jalak dä das neyoyä däm-dämu
äz u kuhe kamar yore där orum.

Faithful, I am in the hills of Bāghrān.
I have a hand spindle in the hands, I am out "grazing the ants" (*i.e.* doing no work).

---

[1] The song is obviously a free imitation of literary poetry. *Kuhe Zulaykho* =LP *gūyi Zulaykhā.*

[2] Khūr and Tabas are well known Seqal'a is Sedeh, on the Mashhad road, Sarbīsha is a place on the Sistan road. The other four are all villages in the Bāghrān range, situated at an altitude of about 6.000 feet and therefore not hot in summer. Cf. for similar 'geographical' quatrains Nos. 38, 114, 228.

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The hand spindle stops every moment in the hand,—
I am bringing my beloved from amidst those hills.

12. Gūbagū.

180. *Gallä äz ku mäwar ki ku dirisht-ä*
buhor khub-ä dä kuhe Chenishte
amey mardum nemidunän bedonä
ki buse dukhtäro miwäy behisht-ä.

Do not drive away the herd (of sheep) from the hill, because the path is hard,
Spring time is good in the hills of Chinisht.
If all the people do not know this, let them be told,—
That kisses of girls are like fruits of Paradise.

181. *Gule sad balk mesalmuni ṭi kī bu*
mero panj bus läbi lali ṭi key bu
mero panj bus bä färdo wodï dodi
nemidunum ki färdohi ṭi key bu.

O rose, where is thy being a (true) believer?
Where are five kisses from thy ruby lips for me?
Thou hast promised me five kisses "to-morrow."
I do not know, when thy "to-morrow" arrives.

182. *Katori luki bori pistä dorum*
jelow miberem ghustä dorum
jelow miberem zudät biyorum
dilum har ghusäro sar bästä dorum.

I have a string of camels, with a load of pistachios.
I am leading them ahead, and feel sad.
I am leading them ahead, and will soon reach thee,
Then I will have my heart 'sorrow-proof.'

183. *Khudät gufti ki sad sole digä*
bä ghayr äz tew negirum yore digä
sare sole neshu yore girifti
sukhan pishi mäne dil joyi digä.

Thou hast said thy-self that a hundred years hence
Thou wouldst not have any beloved except me.
One year has not come to its end, and thou hast got a beloved,—
Thy words are with me, but thy heart is in some other place.

184. *Musalmonu bewinäy shäw chi wakht-ä*
ki bulbul maste sheydo wä dirakht-ä

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ki bulbul mipärä shokhol bä shokhol
ki yor äz ham suwo kärdän chi sakht-ä.

Faithful, what a time is night!
The nightingale is animated and distracted on the tree.
Flying from one branch to the other.
How difficult it is to be separated from the beloved.[1]

13. Tabas (-i-Sunnīkhāna).

185. *Alo bod-u alo bod-u alo bod*
khawar äz man bubär to Aliobod
begu dilwär duoi minewisä
bä yode busähoyi dashte Shäykhobod.

O wind, continuous wind!
Carry my message to 'Alīābād!
Ask the beloved to write a prayer,
In memory of the kisses on the plain near Shaykhābād.

186. *Bä Herot miräwu ki jow begiru*
khabar äz dukhtäre Khusräw begiru
ägär dono ki Khosrew bor kärdä
gule nozuk-bädän äz new begiru.[2]

I am going to Herat to buy barley,
To get news about the daughter of Khusraw.
If I find that Khusraw has departed,
I will find for myself a new rose with a delicate body.

187. *Negohi kuhi Kozärgo kunum män*
muqom äz ruyi yor bolo kunum män
hami ǵarde ki wär kawshot minshinä
misole surmo wä chashmo kunum män.

I am looking (from) the hill of Kāzargāh (in Herat),
I am taking place higher than the beloved's face (?)
That dust that lies on thy slippers
I am ready to put into my eyes as antimony.

188. *Sari chorsuyi Herot shishtä budum*
ki säbzäjun uma ur didä budum
en oshuk zor minolid-u guf
ki mohi Herot 'am didä budum.

I was sitting at the *chārsū* (bazar) of Herat,
The sweet, dear one came, and I saw her.

---

[1] See for a variant above, No. 150.
[2] The man who dictated this poem obviously had some organic defect in his nose, which prevented clear pronunciation of nasal sounds.

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(I) this lover was crying loudly, saying:
I have seen the moon of Herat.

189. *Sare oshuk särenjume nedorä*
dili shuridä orume nedorä
kasi ki dilwari äz new begirä
ze yore künä päyghome nedorä.

The head of the lover cannot find rest,
The perturbed heart cannot find relief.
Whoever takes a new beloved
Has no news from his former sweetheart.

190. *Shuturu bor kard u dilwärum raf*
ghurur-u johili akle särum raf
ghurur-u johili-u murghe dowlat
chi zakhmat mole dunyo dilwärum raf.

The camels were loaded and my beloved has gone.
Pride, foolishness and reason have gone from me.
Pride, foolishness, and the bird of luck,—
Why have I to worry about anything if my beloved has gone[1].

14. Zirk.

191. *Bä pushte bune khudro jo kun tu dilwar*
arusune tämosho kun tu dilwar
arusune ki ghayghoye nedorä
dehul beshikastä-wu soze nedorä.

Take a seat on the roof, beloved,
Look on the wedding, beloved,
The wedding that has no rejoicing:
The drum is broken, and there is no music.

192. *Chununki miräwi khize negoh ku*
män där zädi ti'um dardum dawo ku
chununki miräwi poi piodä
biyo po dä rikobe aspe mo ku.

As thou art going, stop and look behind.
For thou hast wounded me, and thou also must cure me.
As thou art going on thy feet,
Come, put thy feet in my horse's stirrups[2].

193. *Chununki miräwi poyi tim ma*
nishästä wä sare royi tim ma
chununki miräwi mänzil besozi
chunun sozi ki bä reyi tim ma.

[1] Cf. No. 222. [2] Cf. No. 239.

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Thou art going, and I will follow thee.
I will sit waiting on thy road.
When thou wilt go and camp somewhere,
Camp in such a way that I may be on the road to thee.

194. *Ilo khole läbe ruyi tu uma*
helo noränji sinäyi tu uma
chiro bihudä miǵardi dä saharo
bäzän tiri ki ohuyi tu uma.

Hey, the mole of thy face has appeared,
Oh, the oranges of thy breast have appeared.
Why art thou purposelessly wandering in the desert?
Shoot an arrow, thy antelope has appeared.

15. Sedeh.

195. *Arakchi wä sarät chite kalamkor*
mero bo tu nemiden yore ghamkhor
mero wä tu nemidä modäre mu
beru joye diǵar fikre khu bedor.

The skull-cap on thy head is of printed calico,
They are not giving me to thee, poor friend.
My mother is not going to give me to thee,—
Go to some other place, think about thy self.

196. *Äz u bolo miyoyä kawg-u kaftär*
bä hamum mirä modär-u dukhtär
bä hamum miräwä owe berizän
ghulome modäre shede-u dukhtär.

A partridge and a pigeon are coming down from that hill,
The mother and her daughter are going to the bath.
They are walking to the bath to pour on water,
I have become a slave to the mother and the daughter.

197. *Bero gurge saharo she*
bä poye takhti Mullo she
äyär Mullo befärmoyä
tu jorukäshe Mullo she.

Go, be a wolf in the desert,
Go to the throne of Mullā (‘Alī).
If Mullā orders,
Be thou the servant of Mullā.

198. *Bä tuyi bogh boghbuni kunum man*
bä chubi nor chuponi kanum man
begirum barräyi poye jelewro
beroye yor qurboni kunum man.

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I will become a gardener in a garden,
I will be a shepherd, with a pomegranate stick in the hands.
I will take a lamb by the front legs,
And will sacrifice it for the beloved.

199. *Bä Chohak miräwum ki kori dorum*
säroye chape hamum yore dorum
säroye chape hamum yore shirin
yak Läylä yaki kholdore dorum.

I am going to Chāhak, I have something to do there.
In the house on the left from the bath I have a sweetheart.
In the house on the left side of the bath I have a sweet beloved,—
I have a Layla, one with moles.

200. *Däre qaläyi Chohak tow dorä*
dilum äz bäre dilwar dogh dorä
dilum äz bäre dilwar kad-bulandum
bä ohu munäd-u chashmoyi zogh dorä.

The gate of the village of Chāhak is polished.
My heart has had a wound from the beloved,
My heart, from my beloved of tall stature.
She resembles a gazelle, but has the eyes of a crow.

201. *Du ohui budim mo dä biobu*
khuroke mo gule lolä-u owi boru
Khudoyo har ki mo äz ham jedo kar
besuzäd amchi ruwghun dä churoghu.

We were two antelopes in the desert,
Our food were tulip flowers and water of rain.
God, whoever has separated us,
Let him burn like oil in a lamp.

202. *Negore man sare äywun giriftä*
bä daste nozäkesh qalyun giriftä
bä daste nozäkesh qalyune shishä
ki dastosh buyi tämboku giriftä.

My beloved sat herself in the entrance porch,
She took in her delicate hands the *qalyān*.
She took in her delicate hands the *qalyān* made of glass,
And her hands received the scent of tobacco.

203. *Tu ki yorum neyi borum chiro-i*
gulistonum neyi khorum chiro-i

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tu ki borum zi dush mān wār nedori
bā ruyi bor-u sarborum chiro-i.

As thou art not my friend, why art thou a burden to me?
As thou art not my spray of flowers, why shouldst thou be my thorn?
Thou wilt not lift the burden from my shoulders,
Then why art thou on the top of my load?

204. *U yore mān-ā ki kunā owdori*
wār dāstāyi belesh kāshā mālwori
wār dāstāyi belum kashum mālwori
bāchāyi dehkun-um korum owdori.

That is my friend, who is cultivating land,
Who with his spade is gathering pearls.
(I also) collect pearls with my spade,
I am a son of a peasant, my work is cultivation.

205. *Zānum gāryā beǧardum dowre boghāt*
zānum zonu benshinum dār utoghāt
zānum zonu bā zonuyi buzurgu
bebusum halkāyi zarde dimoghāt.

I will groan and roam around thy garden.
I will kneel and sit in thy room.
I will kneel beside the noble,
And I will kiss the yellow ring in thy nose.[1]

16. Chāhak.

206. *Alo amu mero dumode khu ku*
mero dumode mūtabare khu ku
murakhas ku berum kaushi beyorum
wār poyi dukhtāre kholdore khu ku.

Uncle, make me thy son-in-law!
Make me thy reliable son-in-law!
Give me permission, I will go and fetch (a pair) of slippers,—
Put them on the feet of thy daughter who has moles.

207. *Anor khub-ā saresh wār kandā*
jewun khub-ā lābesh pur khandā
jewune ki nedorā moli denyo
bemirā beytār-ā ki zindā boshā.

[1] A nose-ring is very rarely used by women of the province as an ornament I was assured that Persian women never used it now-a-days, but I saw personally several times Gypsy women with these rings. They are worn only on solemn occasions such as weddings, etc.

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The pomegranate apple is good if its top is cut off,
A young man is good when his mouth is smiling.
For a youth that has no means
It should be better to die than remain to live.[1]

208. *Bio äy tighe jawhardor dilwär*
bio ghami dilum wär dor dilwär
mero bo khud bebär bä säyle boghät
ki shäftoluyi rangorang dorä.

Come, engraved dagger, beloved!
Come, take away the sorrow of my heart, beloved.
Take me along with thee for a walk in thy garden,—
It has apricots of different sorts.

209. *Bio äy biwäfo bo män wäfo ku*
ägär tarkät kunum lānat bä mo ku
ägär tarkät kunum äz biwäfoyi
bäkash khanjar särum äz tän jedo ku.

Come thou, faithless, be again faithful to me.
If I leave thee, curse me then.
If I leave thee out of perfidy,
Take out the dagger, and cut off the head from my body.[2]

210. *Bio dukhtär ki boboyät gedoy-ä*
de chashmune sio mole kujoy-ä
chi mikhoyi ki boboyum gedoy-ä
de chashmoyum sioh dode Khudoy-ä.

Come girl, whose father is a beggar!
From where are thy two black eyes?
—What dost thou want (by telling) that my father is a beggar?
My two black eyes are given by God![3]

211. *Buland boloi räyhani läbät qand*
fetodä tore geysu to kamarband
ägär äz arshe bolotär nishinim
wäzile mo tero gardäd Khudowänd.

Thou straight statured, sweet scented, thy lips are like sugar!
Thy tresses are hanging to the waist.
If I will sit on the throne of God,
God will make thee my minister.

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 152.
[2] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 67.
[3] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 29.

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212. *Jalakro tew män di ki das mesuzä*
dilum äz sakhtehoye sakht mesuzä
ägär märdum nemidunän bedonän
ki yorum del bä khushwakht misuzä.

Thou hast given me a spindle that burns the hand.
My heart is burning much from misfortune.
If the people do not know, let them be told,
That my beloved burns (my) heart simply for amusing herself.

213. *Khushät Kermu khushät bozore Kermu*
khushät karwunseroyi Ganjeli-khun
ägär yak shäw där i seroy bekhobum
gidä orum bemunä dä dile mun.

How pleasant is Kerman, and its bazar!
How pleasant is the caravansaray of Ganj-ʿAlī Khān!
If we sleep only one night in that seray,
Quiet will abide in our hearts.

214. *Ramä där sare gudol kalǵar oyä*
Käniz Khonum bä burji Sardar oyä
män äz most-u shakaru boz girum
shikore boz wär kaftar uma.

The herd (of sheep) is slowly ascending the pass.
Kanīz Khānūm is coming to the tower of Sardar.
I will get some sour milk and sugar :—
A falcon has caught a pigeon.

215. *Setorä dar hawo mibinum ämshaw*
zämin zire barf mibinum ämshaw
hamu khobe pereyshune ki didum
khudro äz yor judo mibinum ämshaw.

I see stars in the air to-night,
I see the earth covered with snow to-night.
I saw that perplexing dream,—
I see myself to-night separated from the beloved.

216. *Setoräyi osemun män mushtäriyum*
ägär oshuk neboshum kushtäniyum
ägär oshuk neboshum ad [1] dile ju
bä khanjar porä-porä kärdäniyum.

I am going to get the stars from the sky.
If I am not in love (with thee) let me be killed.

[1] Cf. the introduction.

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If I am not in love, with my heart and soul,
Let them cut me to pieces with a dagger.

217. *Shutur dä zire bor-ä jone shirin*
du chash dä intizore yore shirin
chuni khostum ki ruyäshro bebinum
amo u biwäfo bu jone shirin.

Camels are loaded, my sweetheart!
Both (my) eyes are looking for the sweet beloved.
So I desired as to see her face,
But she was faithless, my sweetheart.

218. *Yo Rab i chi toli* [1] *ki bud bo män*
ki yorum ruyi nenämud bo män
ey jono ruye tu benmoyun[2]
diġar orum bemunä dä dile män.

God, what is the fate that has befallen me?
My beloved has not shown her face to me.
Dear, show me thy face,
For then quietness will abide in my heart.

17. Gurāng.

219. *Chashmune siyohät sare mo äz roh burdä*
ishki tu mero säre i roh burdä
ishke tu mero dä diyore märdum
färzande kujo ru wo kujo owurdä.

Thy black eyes have led me away from my road.
Love for thee has brought me this way.
Love for thee has brought me to the strange place,—
What place am I a native of, and how far from it have I been brought!

220. *Dilum moya* [3] *ki hamrasmi tu boshum*
duoyi ġardäne aspi tu boshum
duoyi ġardäne aspät nechandun
chi nore bär sare daste tu boshum.

My heart desires that I should be living like thyself,
That I should be as a charm on the neck of thy horse.
And not so much a charm tied to the neck of thy horse,
But as a pomegranate apple in thy hand.

221. *Keloghe sar sioh bole tu bur-ä.*
Bä Sistu miri royi tu dur-ä

---

[1] *Ṭāli'.*
[2] May be read also *benmoyum*, which may be explained as Imper. *benmoy* and pron. suffix *-um.*
[3] *Mīkhwāhad.*

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bä Sistu miräwi zude biyoyi
ki kore oshuqi kore zulur-ä.

O crow, with the black head, thy wings are brown!
Thou art going to Sistan, and thy way is long.
Thou art going to Sistan, but come back soon,
Because love is a difficult matter.[1]

222. *Mahala bor karde dilwärum raf*
hawoyi nowjewuni äz särum raf
hawoyi nowjewuni shohe dowlät
häzor armun ki dilwärum raf.

The camp is moved, and my beloved is gone.
Thoughts of youth have gone from my head,
Thoughts of youth, of kingdom and of wealth,—
Thousands of woes have I now that my beloved is gone.[2]

223. *Nämozi shum ki män dar Khur budum*
hamä dilshode män dil khur budum
Ilohi oteshi däri Khur girä
ki män äz dilwäre khu dur budum.

At nightfall when I was in Khūr,
All were rejoicing, only I was full of sorrow.
God, let the gate of Khūr catch fire,—
For I am far away from my beloved.[3]

224. *Sare qaläyi Khusp noränj-pärun-ä*
seroghä miduhum yorum kedum-ä
seroghä miduhum ǵar mishnosey
kamar-borike shohe dukhtärun-ä.

In the village of Khūsp the oranges are falling down.
Who is my beloved?—I will give thee reply (to the question).
I will answer,—perhaps thou knowest,—
She is thin in the waist, the queen of girls.

225. *Setorä där osmun qator eftidä*
gul amchi miune khor eftidä
sad dastä gule säfid shaw-nam zädäm
ki gule biobu sar kor eftidä.

In the sky the stars are moving in strings (like camels),
Flowers are as if placed amidst thorns.
At night I picked a hundred sprays of white flowers, covered with dew,
And have found this flower of desert last.

---

[1] Cf. Nos. 126, 141. [2] Cf. No. 190. [3] Cf. No. 52.

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18. Bushrūya.

226. *Mesalmonu mäsalmoni miwiri*
neḳardum kore bädnomir bewini
nukhurdum busi shiri äz läwunä
siohru shud ki oshukro begirä.

Faithful, do you see (your) righteousness ?
I have done nothing (bad), but see the infamy !
From her lips I never received sweet kisses,
But she is disgraced now that she is taking lovers.

227. *Tu boloyi bum yore shuedori*
ajab chäshmoyi sioh khushe dori
berow poin diġar bolo neyoyi
khudät mast-e mero diwunä dori.

Thou, on the top of the roof, a married woman !
What beautiful black eyes thou hast !
Go down, and never stay on the roof,—
For thou art foolish, and it makes me mad.

19. Turshīz.

228. *Äz injo to bä Turshish se gudor-ä*
gudole awali naqshi negor-ä
gudole duwum rigosh bechinum
gudole suyum zonuyi yorum.

From here to Turshīz there are three passes.
The first pass has a picture of a beauty.
From the second pass I will sweep away sand.
(After crossing) the third pass I will sit near the beloved.

20. Ispak.

229. *Azize gul bä ruyät gul bä ruyät*
turo loiq nemidonum bä shuyät
bemirä showhare nange tu dilwär
ki to imruz kashum dusti bä ruyät.

Dear, thy face is like a flower, like a flower.
I do not regard thy husband as suitable for thee.
Let thy miserable husband die, beloved,
I up till now feel love for thy face.

230. *Bäri ruye tiloye bighishe yor*
u jufte sinä anore Turshishi yor
bedey panj bus äz i kunje läbonät
ki buse oshuqi bä pursishi yor.

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The face of the beloved is like pure gold,
The pair of breasts are as pomegranates from Turshīz.
Give me five kisses from the corner of thy lips,—
Kisses of love must be asked for by the lover.

231. *Buland oyum zi ishkät mubteloyum*
bedey panj bus ki darwishi Khudoyum
bedey panj bus u ruyät neǵardun
Khudo donä ki färdo shäw kujoyum.

I am going up the hill, distressed by my love for thee.
Give me five kisses, for I am God's darwish.
Give me five kisses, do not turn thy face,—
God knows, where shall I be to-morrow night.[1]

232. *Särum bär dor särdori särät ku*
tän mu beshkan choke piränät ku
äǵar mehri Ali dori bä sinä
mero yak shäw bä joye shawharät ku.

Take my head, and make from it thy head-dress.
Tear my body, make out of it a patch on thy shirt.
If thou hast love for 'Alī in thy heart,—
Take me for one night in place of thy husband.[2]

21. Kurīt.

233. *Arakchi chite chor-gul dorä yorum*
duozdah bändi kokul dorä yorum
duozdah bände kokule pich dä pich
hawoyi shāre Koul dorä yorum.

A skull cap of chinz with flower design has my beloved.
Twelve locks has my beloved.
Twelve locks, all curling, has he;
He thinks of going to the city of Kabul.

234. *Arakchi wär särät chite Fereng-ä*
chi pihreyi dar bärät bisyore tang-ä
arusi kardäyi däsmol nedodi
näkhum pämbä mägär ziresh bä chang-ä.

G. The skull-cap on thy head is made of European chinz.
What a shirt on thee, it is so tight!

---

1 In this quatrain the motive of begging for some erotic favours on religious grounds is particularly clear. Cf. my short note in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, LXIII, pp. 168-171, and *Rustic poetry*, No. 190.

2 Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 186.

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Thou hast married, but didst not present a handkerchief (to thy bride).

B. My thread is of cotton, but its lower end is caught by claws (of fate).[1]

235. *Arakchi wä sarät sinkash kunum man*
negohe tu bä zire chash kunum man
ägär isto dä i watan neboshä
tämume mole khu pishkash kunum man.

I will embroider thy skull-cap with silver threads,
I will look at thee with lowered (shy) eyes.
If in this place there are no silver-embroiderers,—
I will present all that I have (to get one).

236. *Bä qurbune kajakoye tormetorät*
dilum khostä beshinum bä kunorät
dilum khostä beshinum war nekhizum
chi foidä nedorum ikhtiyorät.

Let me die for thy small curled locks.
My heart desired that I should sit near thee.
My heart desired that I should sit near thee and never rise.
What use (of these desires if) I am not chosen by thee.

237. *Buland bolo bä bolo umádum män*
bäroye khole läbot umádum män
shinidum ki khole läbot mifurushi
kharidoräsh bä bozor omádum män.

Tall statured, I came up the hill.
I came for the sake of the mole on thy lips.
I heard that thou art selling the mole on thy lips,—
So I came as a purchaser to the bazar.

238. *Khudowändo bä gul khor ofäridä*
tabib äz bahri bimor ofäridä
bä qurbune karimí Khudo she
bä yak sinä du to nor ofäridä.

God has created the thorn with the rose,
He created the physician for the sick.
Let me be sacrificed for the mercy of God,—
On one chest He has created two pomegranates.

---

[1] The handkerchief mentioned here is usually presented at the *rugushini*, by a newly married man to his bride when she uncovers her face before him "for the first time." The absence of such a customary present is an allusion to the extreme poverty of the bridegroom. The last line of the poem apparently is his reply to these accusations, alluding to his being accidentally in stressed circumstances.

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239. *Nesoye nāle kewshätro telo ku*
bä hamum mirawi poyät häno ku
bä hamum mirawi ki mundä mishi
bio poye dä rikobe aspe mo ku.

Nisā, make thy slippers shoed with gold.
Thou art going to the bath, put henna on thy feet.
Thou art going to the bath, thou wilt be tired,—
Come, put thy feet in the stirrups of my horse.[1]

240. *Sare kuhe buland juſte setorä*
jäwone kushtä shu bist-u du solä
jäwonun jam she zakhmäsh bebiney
ki walloi dilum shu porä-porä.

On the hills (there are two fires, like) a pair of stars.[2]
A youth has been killed, twenty two years old.
Lads, go together, look at his wounds!
God, my heart is torn to pieces.

241. *Sare roye Nesoye gul berizum*
ägär juläw beborä war nekhizum
ägär julaw beborä misli shämshir
bäri ruyäsh nebinum war nekhizum.

I will scatter flowers on the road where Nisā passes.
I will not rise from there even if hail stones fall.
I will not rise even if hail-stones should be like swords,—
I will not rise until I see her face.

22. Tabas.

242. *Dukhtär dukhtär där kämini tu män-um*
där soyäyi zulfe anbärine tu män-um
kishti ki tu kishti dä zämine dile man
amäsh khush bä derew khushächine tu män-um.

Girl, girl, I am always waiting for thee (at some corner).
I am always under the shadow of thy amber-like locks.
The harvest that thou hast sown in the earth of my heart,—
Is ripe now, and I am thy harvester.

243. *Halo dukhtär hälok Kardi tu mero*
män kur budum bino Kardi tu mero
män bächä budum chizi nemifihmidum
säwdoġari Qandahor Kardi tu mero.

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 48, and here No. 192.

[2] Formerly, especially during the period of Turkoman raids, Persians had a system of signalling: on high peaks, visible from many sides, special fires were lit in case of danger, spreading news about approaching raiders. These signals were picked up and repeated by neighbours, on their ranges, so that soon the whole of the district was aware of the news.

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Girl, thou hast ruined me,
I was blind, thou hast given me sight.
I was like a child, who knew nothing,—
Thou hast made me as experienced as a merchant who travels to Qandahār.[1]

23. Mihrijān.

244. *Äy dust tu guli bä yode yori befrist*
ġar gul neboshä nishunä khori befrist
äz bahri Khudo ne äz beroyi dile män
i nomä ki beräsä jäwobi befrist.

Friend, send me a rose in memory of friendship,
Or if there will be no rose, send me a thorn, as a sign of it.
For the sake of God, not for the sake of my heart,
Send a reply as soon as this letter will reach thee.

245. *Mero burdän mero äz Khur burdän*
mero mänzil bä mänzil dur burdän
mero burdän äz injo ru bä ghurbät
mesoli murdäyi dä gur burdän.

They took me away, they took me away from Khūr,
They carried me far away stage by stage.
To a strange place they have taken me,—
As if they have taken a dead body to the grave.

246. *Duroziyi du zulfunät mero kusht*
siyohiyi du chäshmunät mero kusht
ami wāde deyi imruz-u färdo
ami imruz-u färdo mero kusht.

The length of thy locks has killed me,
The blackness of thy eyes has killed me.
The same promise thou givest to-day and to-morrow,—
These "to-day" and "to-morrow" have killed me.

24. Khūr-i-Biābānak.

247. *Bä sahro beńgarum sahro neginum* (=*nebinum*)
bä däryo beńgarum däryo neginum
bä har beńgarum kuh-u där-u dash
neshun äz qade rahnoye tu ginum.[2]

---

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, No. 70.

[2] The man who dictated this quatrain was a native of Khūr. In the local dialect of that village the LP initial *b* becomes *g* (Cf. my paper on this dialect, JRAS, 1926, pp. 423-424; also *Notes on the Dialect of Khūr and Mihrijān*, which is to appear shortly in the "Acta Orientalia."

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If I look on the desert, I do not see it.
If I look on the river, I do not see it.
On whatever I look, on hills, and valleys, and plains,—
(Everywhere) I see the vision of thy beautiful stature.

248. *Bio to mane tu az dil bedar shim*
äz Samarqand-u Bukhoro durtär shim
berim az hajjiune haj ahwal begirim
ki duri bäs yo durtär shim.

Come, let us leave the place in anger.
Let us go further than Samarqand or Bukhārā.
Let us go and ask the ḥājjīs who are returning from the pilgrimage,—
If it is far enough, or if we should go still farther.

25. Anārak.

249. *Welem dasti hänoi dorä imshäw*
bä po kawshi tiloyi dorä imshäw
shäwi juma welem khäyrot midod
dilum mäyli gedoyi dorä imshäw.

To night beloved has her hands painted with henna;
To night she has gilt slippers on her feet.
(Every) Friday eve my beloved used to distribute alms,—
To night my heart wants me to become a beggar.[1]

26. Quatrains left without a translation.

250. *Nämozi shum beraftum pushti Säṇgu*
bedidum dukhtäre tanbu dilängu
beguftum dukhtäre panj bus bä män dey
bä läb khandid-u sust kard bandi tambu.
(*Sedeh*).

251. *Bä qurbune kusi mudor mishum*
ki yak shäw män ze ish bikor mishum
kusät ǵar män sägi dodum jarimä
sezoyi odämi kuskun hamin-ä.
(*Sedeh*).

252. *Bä qurbune kuse ki mu nedora*
derozi doräd-u pishune dorä
ishorä mikunä bär surkhe lakä
ki har chi mikanä dändun nedorä.
(*Sedeh*)

1 Cf. footnote to No. 231.

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253. *Negoro raftän äz tu mundän äz män*
läbi lal äz tu busidän äz män
bä ruyi sinä dori jufte anore
tahammul äz tu molidän äz män.

(*Farīz*).

254. *Alo dukhtar ki soqo to bä soqot*
fälitäyi kunum tuyi churoghät
chunun bä zire nofät bugzorum
ki khine bästä rizä bär dimoghät.

(*Nārmanj*).

255. *Har jo mikhobum khobum nemiyo*
har jo minolum yorum nemiyo
har jo mikhobum hamäsh zamin-ä
ruyi sinä Läyla chi nozänin-ä.

(*Nārmanj*).

256. *Negore nozänine fälfäle män*
miune har du sinät mänzele män
ägär tu i borgir shäwi bekhobum
gidä orum bemunä da dile män.

(*Gūbagū*).

257. *Häyhoyi mikunum raftore murghobiro*
pish-nofi bulur pirheni obiro
dar mine shewu ke sinä wä sinä khurä
tew houze bulur-e shappere mohiro.

(*Gul*).

258. *Sare qaläye Gishod khew kunum män*
säbuhoye tu dilwär ow kunum män
säbuhoye tu dilbar ow nemishä
ki ruze shäbhot khow kunum man.

(*Gul*).

259. *Ilo dukhtar mero boloyi khud ku*
bä zire chodirä yak loyi khud ku
bä zire chodirä yak loy nechandun
khudro zir-u mero boloyi khud ku.

(*Nārmanj*).

260. *Musalmono dä burji buland-um*
giliftore ham abru-kämänd-um
ägär khune sädoqat dorä sinät
bä män dey ki gharibe mustamand-um.

(*Ispak*).

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D. Miscellaneous Poems.

1. Topical song.

261. *Hasan mehtar aspur zi ku*
jelow Khon Ogho bozi ku
Khon Oghoyi bichorä
ghullä khurdä-u minolä
Khon Ogho chi hille bu
sarkärdä chi file bu
Mad-sein Khone täryoki
mäkun koroyi biboki
amä dar fikre Nowruz-ä
tu där fikre täryok-i
dude marti buland shu
Mad-sein Khon kafan shu
ghullayi marti dogh-ä
Mad-sein Khon bi dimogh-ä
ghullayi marti yalä shu
berji anwor shiwä shu
chor to arus biwä shu
chor to arus azizi
burdän ino bä känizi.

(*Turshīz*).

Ḥasan the groom, saddle the horse!
Ride before Khān Aghā!
The unfortunate Khān Aghā,
Received a bullet, and groans.
Khān Aghā was (delicate) like cardamon nut,
He was a headman, as powerful as an elephant.
Muḥammad-Ḥusayn Khān, the opium smoker!
Do not behave thyself impudently!
All think about Nowruz,
And thou thinkest only about opium.
The smoke of Martin's rifles appeared,
Muḥammad-Ḥusayn Khān became wrapt in a shroud.
The bullet of Martin rifle is hot,
Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān is lifeless.
The bullet of a Martin rifle shot out,—
The tower of light came down.
Four brides remained widows,
Four pretty brides,
And they were carried into slavery.

2. Parody.

262. *Riwoyät-ä buridän sare chekundarro*
bä poyi dol kashidän jenobi shalghamro

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kädu bä geriyä uma ki mänˈzäne pir-um
khiyor bä gäriyä uma ki män zämingir-um
amo hennawuna guf ki män tushläyi Baluchon-um
du tir mizänum bä täre Kuchon-um.

(*Turshīz*).

There is a story that they have cut off the head of the parsley.
They have hanged the honourable turnip.
The pumpkin started crying, saying: I am an old woman!
The cucumber (also) cried, saying: I am the conqueror of the earth.
But the water-melon said: I am a knuckle-bone of the Baluchis,
I will shoot twice into the stake-row of Quchan.

3. Taṣnīfs.

263. *Mikhom berem ku haloli Zamzämä*
tufangi män ku ,, ,,
soqiyi mäjlis ,, ,,
bä chey borud ku ,, ,,

mikhom burum dey ,, ,,
tu rukhsatum dey ,, ,,
äz kunje läbo ,, ,,
panj bus bä män dey ,, ,,

imruz yäk ruz-ä ,, ,,
färdo du ruz-ä ,, ,,
yorum no päydo ,, ,,
dilum misuzä ,, ,,

kurbune numät ,, ,,
ġardum qulumät ,, ,,
har suhb-u har shäw ,, ,,
oyum salomät ,, ,,

kurbune ruyät ,, ,,
torum zi muyät ,, ,,
ferengi mishum ,, ,,
zi gufṭuguyät ,, ,,

(*Nārmanj*).

I want to go to the hills, dear wife Zamzama,
Where is my gun, dear wife Zamzama?
Carrier of the wine of my feast, dear wife Zamzama,
Put gunpowder in the bottom of the muzzle, dear wife Zamzama.

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I want to go to the village, dear wife Zamzama,
Give me permission, dear wife Zamzama.
From the corner of thy lips, dear wife Zamzama,
Give me five kisses, dear wife Zamzama.

To-day it is one day, dear wife Zamzama,
To-morrow it will be two days, dear wife Zamzama,
That my beloved disappeared, dear wife Zamzama,
My heart is burning, dear wife Zamzama.

Let me die for thy name, dear wife Zamzama,
I will become thy slave, dear wife Zamzama.
Every morning and evening, dear wife Zamzama,
I will come to say to thee salam, dear wife Zamzama.

Let me die for thy face, dear wife Zamzama,
I am a single piece of thy hair, dear wife Zamzama.
I will become (as pale as) the European, dear wife Zamzama,
After talking to thee, dear wife Zamzama.

264. *Yori dorum bolo bune*
munäsh haloli Zamzämä
katesh sarwi räwun-ä
ruyäsh chi moî tobun-ä
raftum boghesh gul bechinum
yak dunäyi gul bechinum
yak shokhi sumbul bechinum
gul rezo bulbul rezo boghbun rezo
kasi nis junum Zamzämä.

(*Närmanj*).

I have a beloved, on the top of the roof,
Her real name is Zamzama.
Her stature is like a straight cypress tree,
Her face is like a shining moon.
I went to the garden to pick up a rose,
(Or) to pick up a stem of the hyacinth.
The rose is agreeable to this, also the nightingale and the gardener,
For there is nobody there, my beloved Zamzama!

265. *Raftum dukone timsozi*
guft-um : khonum chi mäyli dori
guftum : mohute zängoli
gufto : bä qadri chan boshä
guftum : ba qadri sardori
gufto : khonum pulesh bedey
guftum : zäwun khäyli miyori
gufto : khonum khonät kujos
guftum : Bolo-khiobun-ä
guftumî : nomum Zäräfshun-ä.

(*Närmanj*).

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I went to the shop of the milliner.
Said he to me: what dost thou want, *khānūm*?
Said I: serge of brown colour.
Said he: how much?
Said I: for a coat.
Said he: *khānūm*, pay me money.
Said I: thou art talking too much.
Said he: *khānūm*, where is thy house?
Said I: in the Bālā-Khiābān (principal street in Mashhad).
Said I: my name is Zarafshān.[1]

266. *Dukhtäre okhundchä*
däme dolunchä
äy Khudo jonum
mi bedar kärdä.
yak zakhmät zädum
khi bedar kärdä
äy Khudo jonum
khi bedar kärdä.
ay gule olu
dukhtäre kholu
bio dä baghalum.

(*Nārmanj*).

267. *Olubolu khastä chiro dir umadi, dir umadi,*
ġardän shikastä chiro dir umadi, dir umadi.
Holo ki män dir omädem, dir omädem,
be gire Ghulom omädäm, bä gire Ghulom omädem.
Kori ki Ghulom mukunä dowre inje molun mukunä.

Olubolu khastä chiro dir omädi, dir omädi,
ġardä' shikastä chiro dir omädi, dir omädi.
Holo ki män dir omädäm, dir omädem,
bä gire Abos omädem, bä gire Abos omädem.
kori ki Abos mukunä injo pur most mukuna, etc.

(*Nārmanj*).

268. *Nasru, Nasru jon, jon, jon äy Nasru jon*
häyf-ä tu Nasru, bä Khudo, rafti Turkeston.
Modär nebinä, bä Khudo, dogh äy Nasru jon (*bis*).
Bozore Särshur, bä Khudo, tang-u torik-ä
Nasruyi bächä, bä Khudo, kamar borik-ä.

Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.
Tufangi Nasru, bä Khudo, du halkä dorä
kunore Nasru, bä Khudo, du bächä dorä.

[1] Cf. *Rustic poetry*, etc., No. 223, on p. 309.

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Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.

Sar sare pushtä, bä Khudo, du okhur dorä
yak dukhtäre khub, bä Khudo, mirokhur dorä.

Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.

Sar sare pushtä, bä Khudo, tämboku koshtä
tämboku talkh-ä, bä Khudo, Nasru bä Balkh-ä.

Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.

Dukhtäru holo, bä Khudo, khub rasmi doräu
pish äz arusi, bä Khudo, du bächä doräu.

Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.

Sar sare qalä, bä Khudo, safo nedorä
dukhtäre mardum, bä Khudo, wäfo nedoräu.

Nasru, Nasru jon, etc.

Imruz du ruz-ä, bä Khudo, färdo se ruz-ä
yorum ne päydo, bä Khudo, dilum misuzä. Etc.

(*Närmanj*).

Nasru, Nasru, dear, dear, dear Nasru!
It is a pity that thou, Nasru, by God, hast gone to Turkestan.
Mother does not see (thee), by God, woe, o Nasru dear. (bis).
The Sarshur bazar (in Mashhad) is, by God, narrow and dark.
The young Nasru, by God, is thin in the waist.

Nasru, Nasru, etc.

The gun of Nasru, by God, has two buckles.
At her breast, by God, Nasru has two babies.

Nasru, Nasru, etc.

Behind the hills, by God, there are two stables.
The manager of the stables, by God, has a good daughter.

Nasru, Nasru, etc.

Behind the hills, by God, tobacco is sown.
Tobacco is bitter, by God, Nasru is in Balkh.

Nasru, Nasru, etc.

Girls nowadays, by God, have a good custom,
Before marriage, by God, they have two children.

Nasru, Nasru, etc.

Behind the village, by God, there is not a good place.
The girls, by God, are not reliable.

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Nasru, Nasru, etc.

To-day it is two days, by God, to-morrow—three days,
Since my beloved is lost, by God, and my heart burns.

IV. A Vocabulary of Birjandi Words and Expressions.

In the present vocabulary only those expressions are included which differ from the usual terms of LP either in form or in meaning.

ajim, he goat.
andar (*mor-andar*), step mother.
ar-arrä, *arre*, braying of the donkey.
ashk (*-e sirkä*), jar (?).
bädshegin (LP *bad-shugūn*, ominous), poor.
bädsitarä (LP ill-starred), ugly, bad-looking.
bak, frog.
bakhäw (61), handcuffs.
bakhtä, sheep (castrated) 3 years old.
bal (69), pair.
baq, belowing of the bull.
békke, *bekkáste*, bleating of sheep or goats.
bideruma, poor, homeless.
bighish (230), beautiful.
bihar, double edged saw.
biobu (LP *biābān*, desert): 1. field; 2. dust, smoke.
birang, untraceable, obliterated.
bodor, *wodor* (111), landlord, the owner of the village.
buj, *bujd*, wasp (of a large size, called in Bukhara *oru*, apparently belonging to the species *Scholia*).
bul, earthenware basin with a little hole in the bottom. It floats on the water in a larger vessel, gradually becoming full of water. When it sinks, it is taken out by a watchman, and put afloat again. This operation is used for measuring time, and is a kind of water-clock. Twenty *buls* make one *dudang*.
bulġa, pond.
buluni, throat (?).
buriq, *burik*, an earthenware vessel for ablutions, *ibrīq*.
chabush, goat.
chahcholbiz, sieve.
chähräi, red, pink.
chakmol (81), sound made by the tongue pressed against the teeth by shepherds or donkey drivers.
chappet, wooden sandals (the same as *poçhuku*).
cheshk, earthenware shred (also *keshk*).

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chilik sound of burning and crackling firewood or charcoal.
chiṇg or *chuṇg* (14,28), nail, claw (LP *chang*).
chishk, female calf.
chizhä (LP *juja*), a chick.
chopulusi, *chopuluski*, lie, fraud.
chori, *chorzi*, goat 4 years old.
churchatbul, cunning, deceitful.
dak, wild almond.
dämdämu, capricious.
dändänu, talkative.
danekh, cold (?).
dästinä (29), armlet.
dilä, *dulä*, *dulor*, howling of a dog; to howl, *dulä käshidän*.
dildilu, talkative.
dileṇgu (250), long, hanging, suspended.
dir, quick (LP *dīr* means just the opposite, late, slow).
doghsar, he-sparrow.
dosh, earthenware vessels.
doshǵar, potter.
dudaṇg, see *bul*.
dudu, sister, in addressing only.
duk, same as *jalak*, hand spindle.
dukhtaru(n), virginity.
dulä, *dulor*, see *dilä*.
dulmul, *dolmol*, raw, unbaked (bread).
ewriz, *äwriz*, drain, cesspool.
eynewenduni, *äinäwänduni*, wedding festival (LP *ā'ina-bandī*).
ezbäki, *uzbäki*, raw, insufficiently baked meat.
fälidä (LP *pālūda*), a sort of sweetmeat.
fárre, *farrást*, neighing of the horse.
galew (=*mandīl*), turban.
gärderi (LP *gard-i-rū*), women's ornament, consisting of a ribbon with suspended coins, worn round the head.
gargīdan (*migärgä*), to neigh (?).
ghamīdan, to stink.
gigi, call for sheep.
gini, pot used for keeping sugar.
gis, *gisä*, pregnant ewe.
guhgelun, Scarabeus, an insect (LP *khazūk*, Ar. *ju'al*).
gulgulu, (a man or woman with a face) covered with many traces of small-pox.
gullast, sound of the boiling water.
gullokh, pebble.
gungeloshi, dumbness.
gushokh, sticks supporting the branches of fruit tree.
gut, *gútte* (126), small, tiny.
guzol (81), sheep.
halhalu, breathing with difficulty.

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haluk, camel (?).
hambik, *ambik*, one of the two wives of a man.
hamwor, *amwor*, *hamworuk*, level, easy (road).
hanj (?), backside (?).
häräwidä, crooked, slopping.
haridä (LP *ard*), flour.
hatápu-wartap, restless.
hulguk, slowly.
hyuk, cry for speeding camels.
illetu (from Ar. '*illat*), sickly, ill.
isfinduk, *isfilinj*, *isfilink*, whistling.
isfis, neighing of the horse.
istifilink, whistling.
istink, obstinate, quarrelsome.
jak, first milk of female animals; juice of the tree
jaldak, *jäldäku*, quickly.
jallä, excrement of the camel.
jargh, the branch of the tree.
jereng, *jerenǵast*, sound of bells (of a camel caravan)
jigh, cry; a distance of a mile, "or so."
jisht (LP *zisht*), bad, vile.
jistughir (=*jishta-khūr* ?), touchy, irritable.
jufti moh, the second day of the month.
julaw, *jola*, *zhola* (LP *zhāla*), hail stone.
juljulu, quick, hasty, jerky.
junä, bull.
jurrä, desert, arid place.
ḳabrä, *ḳawrä*, toothless (?).
ḳadak (96), woolen homespun.
ḳajak, uncoloured silk; lock of hair.
ḳalak, portable hearth.
ḳalåk, dumb.
ḳalap, chin.
ḳalbizä, a sort of a basket.
ḳalgar (214), slowly.
ḳallepo, downwards.
kälut, rounded low hills which may often be seen at the foot of high ranges.
kamchiliz, a spoon with holes for collecting the foam.
kärkäru, Adam's apple.
kat, *katta* (cf. *get*, *geta*), large, big.
kechur, *kuchulu*, *kuchak* (LP *kūchik*), small, tiny, short.
ketelu, beggar, a man in rags.
khandäsirun (=*khutna-sūri*), the festival of circumcising a child.
khashwo (=*khūsh bād*, or *khūsh bāsh*), good bye!
khayduk (30), young male sheep.
khel, *khil*, snot.
khosh, mother-in-law (wife's mother).

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khoshi (119), young camel.
khoshuk, dry fruits.
khoskor (LP=*khwāst-kār*), the suitor, son-in-law.
khumänä, a rag, bed-sheet.
khumädor, a sort of coloured cotton cloth.
khurkhuri, snorting.
khuskhusu, *khiskhisu*, snuffing.
kinäw, hemp seed.
kokuli, a sort of grass.
kol (rarely used in Birjandi), river bed.
kuki (a sheep or goat) with brown coat.
kulumbä (cf. *poderoz*), a sort of sweet bread.
kundäl (61), foot stock (for keeping several prisoners together).
kundolä, wooden rubbish, used as fuel.
kusmoshush, fool.
kusur, turnip.
kuzum, a sort of grass.
lakad-dum, short tailed (pony).
lakhati, poor, clothed in rags.
langardor (43), slowly.
läw (LP *lab*=lip), used in the sense of the cheek.
likitäw, hanging, suspended.
lili, *luli*, small, tiny.
lisk, naked.
liskäw, the trunk of the body, without limbs.
liti, spoilt, rotting (food).
lom, cheek.
lukh, green (reed only ?).
lumbä, fat, greasy, corpulent.
mälmälu, grey green.
mäluzä (57), young (?).
makyun, hen.
mashu, sieve.
mäwi, olive coloured.
mingidän, to love, desire, to pity.
modägishk, *modäghishk*, she-sparrow.
mukht, confidence; *war mukht*, treachery, fraud.
murishk, ant (LP *mūrcha*).
musmusu, slow, idle.
naghz, good, fine.
nämniz (?), shy, bashful.
nasar, *nasrik*, the place which remains continually in shadow.
naward, *sarkhori*, *mikhi*, *dästgardun*, *panchol*—different accessories and parts of the weaving loom.
nawochä, a handful of cotton or of wool.
nejghuru (?), untidy, of filthy habits.
nimol, a sort of women's frock.

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nobidu, waster.
nok, front tooth.
nomukh, bat.
noychä, a small copper pot.
oboft, or *ostäri*, a sort of cheap cotton cloth used for lining.
ohkuk, *uhkuk*, unripe apricot.
otäshuni, evening meal.
otesuz, fire fork.
paftalu, rubbish.
pakhmä, idle, lazy.
pakhmadengi, idleness.
pandefulus (LP *pand-furush* ?), obedient.
partäw, fallen, spread, lying; *p. kardan*, to throw.
parwi, *pärwin*, a hired woman mourner.
päslakat, a recess or niche in the wall.
päswoshiki, a large basket.
päswäshu, idle, lazy.
päynum (LP *panhān*), concealed, hidden.
pidä (=LP *pusīda* ?), rotten.
pikh-pikh, ragged, torn.
pisäzän, baker.
pochupurgu (79), lame, stumbling, limping.
poderoz(=*kulumbä*), a sort of sweet bread.
potäw (LP *pā-i-tāb*), a place always lit by the sun.
poti, stupid.
pukhtuq, *pukhtiq* (142), boiled and dried turnips.
puluni, a sort of meal.
puh, empty.
purchiyori, a sort of cloth.
purwärwä, talkative.
pushbur, front hills, small hills at the foot of a range.
qalqalistun, crowded place.
qam (Ar. *qā'im*), concealed, hidden.
qäqrisht, crowded place.
qäysor, underground drain or channel.
qoq, a sort of bread.
qotiq, sour milk.
rasti, weeping, lamentation.
razinä, consent (?).
rushto, fool.
saranginäw, with a covered head.
sarishta, paste.
sarkärdä, chieftain, headman of the village.
sowär, *sawer*, a thorny grass used, when dry, as fuel.
shalop, *shelopast*, flapping, slapping.
sharidän, to pour (intrans.).
shäyhä, *shayhalun*, neighing of the horse.
shekhor, *shekhol* (var. of LP *fishār?*), pressing.

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shiläräw, overflowing.
shiroqast, sound of a slap.
shishnok, a sheep two years old.
sholon, neighing of the horse; *sh. käshidän*, to neigh.
shul, loose, thin (cloth).
shulworand, sloping, crooked.
shunäsar, the hoopoe.
sil, a blow.
sili, a sort of footwear, sandals.
sind, bastard, hybrid.
sipoku, jumping.
sik, *siq*, *suq* (=LP *sang ?*), pebble.
sishu, the upper part of the body (?).
sukhu (?), subterranean passage.
sur, wild.
taftu, a sort of bread.
takbin (Ar. *taqwīm*), calendar.
takhtak, a shallow, round basket.
tämshu, *takhta-i-*, the bench used for washing the dead on.
täntänu, stupid, uneducated, clumsy.
tär (262), stake row.
tártu-part, strayed, scattered, torn, worn.
tawol, cauldron.
tel (or *til*) rubbish, dust.
tilä, *tulä*, a pup.
tilikast, sound of cracking in bones.
tikhtikh (cf. *pikhpikh* , torn, worn out.
tir, dung
tiyqol, a knife with iron handle.
tulláste, gurgling, bubbling.
tulopast, sound of something falling into water.
tunguli, a small goblet.
tus, belching.
tushlä (262), knuckle-bone, used for play.
uhkuk, unripe apricot, see *ohkuk*.
waddapidä, swollen.
wadekhun, squeezing.
walhamidä, idle.
wel, dear, beloved (var. *dil* ?).
wodi (Ar. *wa'da*), promise.
wodi (LP *bādī*, *bar-bād-dāda*), wasted, spent uselessly.
wododäġar, a loose woman.
wodor, *bodor* (111), land-lord, owner of the village.
yakhozi, miser.
zardäk, a sort of beet-root.
zinä, the lowest step of the staircase.
zumukht, sour, pungent (taste).
zurzuru, talkative.

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Note.—The majority of these terms were collected in the course of conversations with the local inhabitants, and found in songs, etc., but a certain number was taken from the *Farhang*, a versified vocabulary of Birjandi rustic terms, compiled by a local poet, Mullā Ṣabūḥī of Zīrūch, who flourished some fifty or sixty years ago. His little work was intended not for any philological purpose, but was merely to be a parody, apparently, of the famous school book, the *Niṣābu'ṣ-ṣibyān*, by Abū Naṣr Farāhānī (beg. XIII *c.* A.D.), which is still much in use in Persian schools. The author tried to make it as "humorous" (i.e., obscene), as he could. Besides, many terms are obviously either no longer used, or confined to the dictionary of some isolated villages, and an average Birjandi does not understand them. These, as other doubtful cases, whether with regard to the pronunciation, or to their meaning, are marked with a query in the list.

CALCUTTA.
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INDEX OF POETICAL SPECIMENS.

In this index every poetical specimen quoted in the present paper is referred to under the initial and closing words of the *first* line. References are given to the serial number in this collection. In order to facilitate research in the history, wanderings and mutual influences of the various motives, forms, and fashions in the poetic life of the rustic Khorasan, references are here also given to the specimens of similar songs from the district of Sabzawar, in my "Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan," published in the XXIst vol., of this Journal, 1925, pp. 233–313. The Birjandi specimens are marked with the letter B, and the Sabzawari specimens with the letter S.

Khorasani *Kurdish* is greatly influenced by Khorasani *Persian*, and it may be useful for a student of Khorasan from a linguistic point of view to refer also to Kurdish poems; an additional index is therefore given, in the appendix, of the specimens quoted in my "Notes on Khorasani Kurdish," JASB, vol. XXIII, 1927, pp. 167–236.

In order to use only one system of transliteration, the å (with a circle at the top) is here rendered by ordinary o.

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A Biography of Ruzbihan al-Baqli.

By W. Ivanow.

In my papers, "The Sources of Jami's Nafahat," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XVIII, 1922, pp. 385–402, and "More on the Sources of Jami's Nafahat," *ibid.*, vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 299–303, I gave a review of those works from which Jami derived the information on which his famous hagiological compilation, the *Nafaḥātu'l-uns min haḍarāti'l-quds* (completed in 883 A.H./1478 A.D.) is based. Many of these original works are referred to explicitly; some of them can be identified with a great degree of probability, but after all there are still a number of biographical notes in the *Nafaḥāt*, the origin of which is uncertain.

While on a tour in Persia in the autumn of 1928, I have found a manuscript in Shiraz, containing a detailed biography of Rūzbihān al-Baqlī. When it was collated with the corresponding passages in the *Nafaḥāt*, dealing with Rūzbihān and his friend Abū'l-Ḥasan Kardūya (notes 320 and 321, according to Nassau-Lees' edition, Calcutta, 1859), it became apparent that Jami perused this work, or at least, some other which was based on it. The biography is extremely interesting not only as a hitherto entirely unknown item of Persian Sufic hagiology, but also on account of its references to the social life in Shiraz on the eve of the Mongol invasion. It would be useful therefore to give a full account of it, even apart from its connection with Jami's *Nafaḥāt*.

Shaykh,—or, as it is still pronounced in Shiraz,—Shīkh Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr al-Baqlī al-Basā'ī (as his name is written on his tomb, not al-Basāsīrī, as one would expect), i.e., of Fasā, died at an advanced age in Shiraz, in the beginning of Muḥarram 606 A.H./the middle of July 1209 A.D. As narrated in the present biography, he was buried in an empty uncovered *dūkān*, a large outer room, in the side of the *raḅāṭ* in which he resided (fol. 29). The place, used for the burial of some of his relations, was regarded as a holy place, and probably had some special decorations, architectural or otherwise, which were so prominent that people who did not know Shiraz could easily recognise it, as can be inferred from a story of two darwishes who at once found it (ff. 30v-31v).[1]

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1 Ibn Batuta, who visited Shiraz about 725/1325, mentions the shrine of Rūzbihān as one of the most important in the city, see vol. II, p. 83 (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853–8).

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Special devotions were offered here on Wednesdays (cf. ff. 35v-36v).

Unfortunately, early works on the *mazārs* of Shiraz, like the *Shaddu'l-izār* (MS Or. 3395 in the British Museum, cf. C. Rieu's Supplement to the Arabic Catalogue, No. 677), and others, are not accessible to me at present, and I cannot trace the history of the holy place. The author of the *Fārs-nāma*, Mīrzā Ḥasan Ḥusaynī Fasā'ī, who was writing about 50 years ago, mentions (II, 157), that the building (*'imārat*—judging from what he says, built of bricks), was in his time a ruin, and that local inhabitants used to carry away the bricks for their own needs. The author of the *Ṭarā'iqu'l-ḥaqā'iq*, a little later, writes (II, 286) that the shrine "needs repair." When I visited the place in September 1928, I found the *maḥalla*, which is called, probably for the last century at least, *maḥalla-i-Darb-i-Shīkh*, prosperous in appearance, but the houses seemed all fairly new. There was no trace whatever of any special building. The grave was situated in a waste space between houses, looking like a very small compound. It is approached by a narrow lane, and has a door, which is usually locked. The ground was covered with rubbish. At the back there was a large slab of grey stone, which had the names of the twelve imams carved round it. The surface was extremely worn, and no amount of brushing and washing helped one to read the name of the person whose grave it was intended to cover. Only the date 926 A.H./1520 A.D. could be read, and that with difficulty. Although I was assured by the local inhabitants that this was the grave of the Shīkh, it was thus impossible to accept this. Trying to clear the rubbish I found near by, a little lower and nearer to the entrance, a broken slab of grey yellowish stone, with a square Kufic *Bismilla* running around. Digging a hole at the head I found an inscription, on which, fortunately, the name of the Shīkh and the date of his death were preserved.[1]

The local people have no memories of the Shīkh except that he was a Sunnite. This fact explains the neglect of his grave.

The manuscript acquired in Shiraz (dating apparently from the beginning of the ix *c.* A.H./xv *c.* A.D.) contains only a portion of the work, and it is impossible to ascertain how much is lost.[2] The biography was written by a great-grandson of the

[1] The inscription is carved in high relief. It is not artistic in its execution. The slab has cracked in several places, and the head-side of it is broken into two in the middle, with a large piece missing at the top. It is strange to see in the date no mention of the day of the month. There were apparently many other tombs in the same enclosure near Rūzbihān's grave, but all of them are covered with a thick layer of earth and rubbish, and could not be examined without special excavations.

[2] It contains 36 leaves, 25 by 16 cm., the text occupying 17,5 by

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Shīkh. His name is not found in this copy; he refers to his father simply as Shaykhu'l-Islām (ff. 34v, 35v, etc.), and he several times mentions his grand-father, Fakhru'd-dīn Aḥmad the son of the Shīkh (ff. 19, 21, 24, 24v, 27v). The work was composed towards the end of the vii th *c.* A.H./xiii th *c.* A.D., in any case later than 678 A.H./1280 A.D. as Shaykh Najību'd-dīn 'Alī Buzghush, who died in that year (cf. the *Nafaḥāt*, p. 548), is referred to as being already dead (f. 3).

Most probably the biography was divided into the usual chapters on the birth and descent of the Shīkh, his early years and school days, early miracles, the miracles of mature age, his compositions, his death and the miracles which took place after it. Of these there are preserved in this fragment: the chapter dealing with the miracles "in the time of life" (*dar zamān-i-ḥayāt*,—this heading is not genuine, and is written by a different hand), containing 28 separate stories (*ḥikāyat*); at the end (f. 26) there is a short poem in praise of Rūzbihān. After this there is only one page (f. 26v), the beginning of the fourth *bāb*, on the Shīkh's instruction on the subjects of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīths* (*dar fawā'id-i-tafsīr wa ḥadīth*), in the spirit of Sufic doctrine. It is divided into three *faṣls*, the first dealing with his works on *tafsīr*, the second with those on *ḥadīth*, and the third with his commentary of the ten paradoxal maxims (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) by some Sufis. Here only the beginning of the first *faṣl* is preserved, giving an extract from his *Tafsīr*.[1]

After an originally blank page, now containing a poetical fragment, begins the last chapter, without any heading. It

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9,5 cm., with 15 lines to a page, without border lines. Hand-made yellowish paper, about 0,09 mm. thick. The handwriting is bold, and appears not skilled, as if the scribe who copied the MS. was a schoolboy or a man who rarely used the pen. Ff. 27–36 are copied by a different hand. The orthography is archaic; the second scribe often introduces more modern usages than those of the copyist of the first half of the MS.

[1] The *Tafsīr*, with the title *'Arā'isu'l-bayān fī ḥaqā'iqi'l-Qur'ān*, or *'Arā'isu't-tanzīl*, is known in many copies: British Museum, 1589; Berlin, Ahlwardt, 807; Cairo, I,180; many MSS in Turkey: Rāghib 197; Yanī 50; Nūrī 'Uthm. 322; Qāḍī 'askar 124; Waliyyu'd-dīn 173; Ḥakīm Oghlu 106, etc. Lith. in Cawnpore, 1883. One copy is with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Ar. 379. The quotation given here contains the beginning of the commentary on the *Fātiḥa*. The commentary on some ten *ḥadīths* by the Shīkh is apparently lost. The commentary on the *Shaṭḥiyyāt*, according to L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris, 1922, vol. II, Bibliographie, No. 1091, exists in the mosque libraries at Constantinople, i.e., Shahīd 'Alī Pāshā, 1342, and Qāḍī 'askar, 1271. Prof. Massignon mentions also two other Persian works by the Shīkh: *Kitāb-i-Qudsiyya*, which is found in Paris, Suppl. Persan, 1356; and *Sharḥu't-Ṭawāsīn*. The work which Jami calls *Kitābu'l-anwār fī kashfi'l-asrār*, and which he may have seen (as he quotes it), is mentioned by Hajji Khalifa, No. 1425, simply as a book on Sufism, without any further details. It is difficult to find in what relation it stands to the work with a somewhat similarly sounding title, the *Manṭiqu'l-asrār bi-bayāni'l-anwār*, mentioned by Prof. L. Massignon (*op. cit.*, No. 380*b*).

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deals with the death of Rūzbihān, and the miracles which were observed on his grave. It contains 10 stories, but there is a lacuna after f. 32. On f. 36v there is *khatm-i-kitāb*, of which only one line is preserved :

ختم کتاب، چنین گوید مؤلف این کتاب اقل عباد ...

It will not take much space to mention briefly the contents of the stories in order to facilitate the identification in case another copy may be found somewhere, or if some traces of this work may be discovered in Persian literature.

1. (f. 1). Rūzbihān miraculously knows and settles the domestic troubles of Faqīhu'l-lah.
2. (f. 1v). Shaykh Abū Bakr refuses R.'s hospitality, and is humiliated.
3. (f. 3). Najību'd-dīn 'Alī Buzghush tells about meeting R. in his childhood.
4. (f. 3v). R.'s servant, 'Alī Kuwārī, tells how the Shīkh guessed his thoughts.
5. (f. 4). Ḥājjī Muḥammad meets two lions on his pilgrimage, as predicted by R.
6. (f. 6). R. knows the dream seen by Kurdān Shāh.
7. (f. 7). Muḥammad Bakhtyār Shīrāzī is directed to get his *khirqa* from Shamsu'd-dīn Ḥaydar Hāshimī. R. prohibits the latter to go on pilgrimage, and his disobedience is punished.
8. (f. 9). Atābek Abū Bakr b. Sa'd (623-658/1226–1260) tells to Maḥmūd Shīrāzī how he met R. and was honoured by him.
9. (f. 9v). Bahā'u'd-dīn Yazdī hands over his money to R., instead of using it for his pilgrimage, and has a holy dream.
10. (f. 10v). Shaykh Mubārak, a relation of Abū'l-Ḥasan Kardūya, tells how R. increased water in the Mā'u'ṭ-ṭayr spring, and after this disappeared for some time in the Masjid-i-Sulaymān.
11. (f. 11v). Imāmu'd-dīn Mih-Kurdī of Shabāngāra becomes the follower of R.
12. (f. 12v). Shamsu'd-dīn Ghassāl, one of R.'s followers, assists the Shīkh in burying one of the *Haft-tan*.[1]
13. (f. 14). Faqīh Muḥammad-i-Aḥmad of Shiraz receives from R. wood for repairs of his house and a money present.
14. (f. 14v). 'Alī Ḥāfiẓ makes Abū Sa'īd a follower of R.

[1] As stated here (f. 13v) : هفت تنان که مدار و قرار جهان بوجود ایشان است

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15. (f. 15v). Aḥmad Sahra shows his ability in arranging a feast.
16. (f. 17). Oilman's lie is punished by R.
17. (f. 17v). A darwish brings precious oil for healing R.'s illness, but the Shīkh refuses to accept it.
18. (f. 18). Ḥāmid b. Abī Ṭālib حندرائي becomes sick, but is healed by R.
19. (f. 19). Fakhru'd-dīn Aḥmad, the Shīkh's son, receives in Kīsh sweet water sent by R. through Khiḍr.
20. (f. 19v). Khiḍr is amazed how correctly R. tells the story of him and of Mūsā.
21. (f. 20). Mu'īnu'd-dīn Karajī, the *mutawallī* of the *rabāṭ* of Sāliba, tells how R. predicted the death of a darwish.
22. (f. 21). R. throws down his son, Fakhru'd-dīn Aḥmad, from the roof of the *rabāṭ*, but he remains unhurt.
23. (f. 21). Abū'sh-Shukūr brings some snow for R.
24. (f. 21v). The thirst of the *zāhid* Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥāwī is miraculously quenched by R. in the desert.
25. (f. 22). Ẓahīru'd-dīn Kirmānī predicts the death of an enemy of R.
26. (f. 23). R. in Shiraz relates a dream of some one at Fīrūzābād.
27. (f. 23v). R. refuses to meet Atābek Sa'd b. Zangī (591–623/1195–1226).
28. (f. 25). R. predicts a victory to Tikla[1] b. Zangī (571–591/1175–1195).

Stories contained in the last chapter of the work:

1. (f. 29v). Abū Ṭāhir recites the Coran, and R. from his grave takes part in his recitation.
2. (f. 30). Abū Bakr b. Ḥāmid tells about another similar case.
3. (f. 30v). Two murīds of Bahā'u'd-dīn Yazdī visit the grave of R.
4. (f. 31v). The vision of 'Izzu'd-dīn Mawdūd.
5. (f. 32). Tāju'd-dīn Ja'far hears a voice from R.'s grave.
6. (f. 32v). Quṭbu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣafiyyi'd-dīn Abī'l-khayr prays on the grave of R.

(lacuna.)

7. (f. 33). Niẓāmu'd-dīn Riḍwān receives promotion after praying on R.'s grave.

[1] So vocalised, usually pronounced Takla.

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8. (f. 34v). Cases of a voice from R.'s grave being heard by different people.
9. (f. 35v). Why special devotions should be offered on R.'s grave on Wednesdays.

To complete the review of the work it would be useful to give here also some remarks as to its historical and philological side.

As is usual in hagiological works, the chronology of different events related here cannot be reconstructed. The historical information which is yielded by the fragment does not go beyond the fact that the Shīkh was apparently a partisan of Tikla b. Zangī, and was not on good terms with the party of the brother of the latter, Sa'd (cf. ff. 23v and sqq.). Some information may be derived concerning the mediæval topography of Shiraz. It appears that even in that remote time, at the close of the xii th century, the city was separated from the village Masjid-i-Bardī by cultivated fields, as it is nowadays (f. 25 sq.). The gate of Isfahan was called at that time Darwāza-i-Iṣṭakhr, and the Muṣallā was lying in that direction, apparently in the extensive cemeteries containing the tomb of Hafiz. The place where the grave of the Shīkh is situated (called nowadays *maḥalla-i-Darb-i-Shīkh*), was within the city walls (f. 13). There are references to the "large" bazar (*bāzār-i-buzurg*), etc.

The orthography of the manuscript is rather archaic, although occasionally there are traces of the scribe being acquainted with more modern usages also. The pronoun and conjunction *ki* are written rarely as كه, but usually as كى (ff. 1–26). *Dhāl* instead of *dāl* appears almost regularly in all cases where it may be expected according to the ancient orthographical rules. Traces of local peculiarities of the language may be seen in the frequent use of the preposition *bā* instead of *ba*: *rūy bā Shīrāz kardīm* (f. 6), etc., although for the expression of "towards" very often no preposition is used at all: *bāz maudi'-i-khūdh raft* (f. 20v), etc. Sometimes the old preposition *farā* is used: *dast farā dast* (f. 2v). The early form of *ba*, *badh* appears occasionally with the pronouns: *badhīshān* (f. 7). The suffix *-i* which may be called the suffix of the verbal cohesion[1] and which is called *yāy-i-istimrārī* by the Persian grammarians, appears here frequently. Lexicological peculiarities are not numerous, and only *ay kāj* (f. 3v), for *ay kāshki* may be noted.

About the orthography of the proper names, which are here often vocalised, it may be noticed that the name of a Sufi, *Sāliba*, is here, as in many old copies of the *Nafaḥāt*, written as *Sāl-i-bih* (بِه سال) (f. 20). It is interesting that the names of

[1] Cf. W. Ivanow, "*Tabaqat of Ansari in the old language of Herat*," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1923, pp. 348-9.

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the root which is written as كرد, here appear as Kurdān Shāh (vocalised, f. 6), Mih-Kurdī (only *Mih* is so vocalised, f. 11v); but the surname of the friend of Rūzbihān, Abū'l-Ḥasan, which is usually "corrected" into the absurd "Kurdawayhi", is given here vocalised as Karadū, and should obviously be read as Karadūya or Kardūya.

The question whether or not Jami did know and peruse the present biography of Rūzbihān cannot be decided definitely on formal grounds. But there is a great degree of probability that the reply would be in the affirmative. Out of six short anecdotes which he gives about the Shīkh, one, as stated explicitly, is derived from the work of Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Futūḥātu'l-Makkiyya*. Of the remaining five, two are found in this biography, as far as it is represented by this fragmentary copy. It seems quite probable that it would have been possible to identify more of them had the copy been more complete.

The anecdotes, as they appear in the biography and in the *Nafaḥāt*, are quoted *in extenso* at the end of this paper, for comparison. It is impossible to deny that they are identical in contents, and that the only difference is in the phraseology. Jami always gives such anecdotes a new form, first in order to abbreviate them, and, secondly, to polish their style.

An additional argument in favour of the admission that Jami derived his information from this biography may be found in the fact that Rūzbihān and his works scarcely possessed any popularity beyond Shiraz. Yāqūt, Ibnu'l-Athīr, Yāfi'ī, etc., do not mention him. The mediæval authors who in their works touched on the matters dealt with by the Shīkh, apparently had no knowledge of him. Niẓāmu'd-dīn, the author of the *Laṭā'if-i-Ashrafī*, who was writing about 825/1422,[1] devoting much space to the *shaṭḥiyyāt*, and Shaykh Ādharī Isfarā'inī, in his *Jawāhiru'l-asrār*, composed in 840/1436-7,[2] do not refer to Rūzbihān at all. He is occasionally mentioned by Persian historians, and Faṣīḥī Khwāfī, who wrote in 845/1441, in Khorasan, in his *Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥī* mentions Rūzbihān under the year 606/1209, adding the "spiritual pedigree" of the Shīkh.[3]

The modern Persian writers in their works derive their

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[1] Cf. W. Ivanow, Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the As. Soc. of Bengal, 1924 (*old collection*), No. 1214. The work was lithogr. in Lucknow.

[2] Cf. W. Ivanow, Cat. of the Persian MSS in the *Curzon collection*, As. Soc. of Bengal (1926), No. 429, where references to other catalogues are given.

[3] MS of the As. Soc., "D 278" (=W. Ivanow's Cat., 1924, No. 9), fol. 430v. Cf. also the *Ta'rīkh-i-guzīda*, p. 793, and *Nuz'hatu'l-qulūb*, p. 116.

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information entirely from Jami, repeating it in an abbreviated form.[1]

I am giving here two extracts from the MS, with their parallel stories in the *Nafaḥāt*. The text is given as it stands, with preservation of all tne peculiarities of orthography (specially with regard to the marking of the *iḍāfat*); only some obvious and indisputable cases of *lapsus calami* are corrected. The text of the corresponding places in the *Nafaḥāt* was collated with an old copy, dated 10. ix. 1561, and transcribed apparently in Samarqand;—the divergencies are, however, insignificant

I (ff. 17v-18) حکایت، آورده اند که شیخ روزبهان (را) قدس الله روحه در آخر عمر زحمتي از مفاصل پیدا شد و طبیبان تجربه آن روغن بلسان مي کردند و آن در شهر یافت نمي شذ، مدت مدیدی (یکی) از جملهٔ مریدان بارادتی هرجه تمام تر بر خاست و قصد مصر کرد و قدری روغن بلسان طلب کرد و بزودی مراجعة کرد، جون بخدمت شیخ آمد و بنهاد شیخ فرمود این جیست، گفت روغن بلسان است که جهة پای مبارک شیخ آورده ام، شیخ فرمود کی بیرون خانقاه رو کی سکی کرکین خفته است و در وی بمال که این بند قدرت است کی بر بای روز بهان نهاده اند و السلام،

Jami in his *Nafaḥāt* (p. 289):

... و کویند که در آخر عمر ویرا فلجي در یافت، بعضی از مریدان بی آنکه با وی بکوید بمصر رفت و از خزاین سلاطین قدری روغن بلسان خالص آورد برای مداوای وی، جون بیش وی آورد گفت جزاک الله عن نیتک از در خانقاه بیرون رو آنجا سکی کرکین خسبیده آن روغن را بر وی بمال و بدان که روزبهان بهیچ روغن نیک نمي شود، این بندیست از بندهای عشق که بخدای تعالی بر بای وی نهاده است تا آن زمان که بسعادت لقای وی برسد،

II (ff. 29v-30) حکایة، و از جمله عزیزان این شهر حافظي بوذ که او را ابو طاهر مي خواندند، این حکایت بسر او ابو بکر بن طاهر حکایت کرذ گفت پذرم هم درس شیخ بوذ مدتها مدید در خدمت شیخ درس خوانده بود، گفت

[1] Cf. *Ṭarā'iqu'l-ḥaqā'iq*, II, 286; *Riyāḍu's-siyāḥat*, 344; *Riyāḍu'l-'ārifin*, 79; *Bustānu's-siyāḥat* (sec. ed.), 390, etc.

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جون شیخ در برده رفت مارا عظیم خستکي ظاهر شد و بیوسته بزیارت مي رفتم ،
شبی مرا کویا الزام کردند بر خاستم و بر سر تربت شیخ آمدم و درس آغاز کردم ،
جون عشری بخواندم از قبر شیخ آوازی شنیدم که عشری دیکر مي خواند ،
مدتی برین طریق بوذ روزی این حکایت با کسی باز کفتم بیآمدم بعد ازان
قرات نشنیدم ،

For this Jami has (pp. 289-290) :

شیخ ابو بکر بن طاهر که از اصحاب شیخ بوده کفته است که هر سحر
بنوبت قرآن میخواندم یک عشر وی و یک عشر من ، جون وی فوت شد دنیا
بر من تنک شد ، آخر شب بر خاستم و نماز کذاردم بس بر سر تربت شیخ
بنشستم و بنیاد قرآن خواندن کردم و کریه بر من افتاد که از وی تنها مانده
بودم ، جون عشر تمام کردم آواز شیخ شنیدم که از قبر مي آمد و عشر دیکر
میخواند تا آن زمان که اصحاب جمع شدند آواز منقطع شد ، و مدتی حال
بدین کونه بود ، روزی بایکی از احباب آنرا باز کفتم بعد ازان دیکر نشنیدم ،

Calcutta, March 15, 1929.

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Tadhkirat aṭ-Ṭālib al-Mu'allam of Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī.

Edited by M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

During my recent visit to the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, my attention was particularly drawn to the treatise entitled :

تذكرة الطالب المعلّم بمن يقال انه مخضرم .

The author[1] is Burhān ad-Dīn Abū'l Wafā' Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin Khalīl ash-Shāfi'ī al-Ḥalabī. He is also called سبط ابن العجمى, the grandson of Ibn al-'Ajamī, as his mother belonged to the al-'Ajamī family of Ḥalab. His forefathers were inhabitants of Tripoli in Syria, but he himself was born on the 12th Rajab A.H. 753 (A.D. 1352) at Jullūm in Ḥalab. During his infancy, he lost his father and was brought up by his mother who went with him to Damascus. Here our author learned some parts of the Holy Ḳur'ān by heart. His mother then brought him back to Ḥalab where he was admitted to the Orphanage School founded by Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭawāshī. Here he became a *Ḥāfiẓ* (one who knows the Ḳur'ān by heart) and recited the entire text of the Ḳur'ān in a mosque during the night prayers in the month of Ramaḍān. He went over to Egypt, first in A.H. 782 (A.D. 1380) and then again in A.H.786 (A.D. 1384) for study. He distinguished himself in many branches of knowledge but he outshone in Ḥadīth (Traditions); and his love for learning and specially for Ḥadīth brought him in touch with the eminent scholars of his time in different parts of Arabia, where he had the proud privilege of sitting at the feet of most of them. We have his own statement to the effect that he was so fortunate as to have received instruction in Ḥadīth from no less than two hundred eminent professors of the time, and to have studied Arabic poetry under about forty scholars, and other branches of learning under thirty other eminent men of letters.

Najm ad-Dīn 'Umar bin Muḥammad bin Fahd al-Makkī, (d. A.H. 885, A.D. 1480) an illustrious pupil of the author, left a work called *al-Mu'jam* (a biographical dictionary of the tradi-

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[1] The following works have been consulted for his Biography:—
(1) as-Sakhāvī, aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Ḳarn at-Tāsi'.
(2) Brockelmann, Gesch. d. Arab. Litter, Vol. II, p. 67.
(3) Wüstenfeld, Gesch. d. Arab. No. 478, and
(4) Moulavi Muinuddīn Nadvi, Cat. of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, vol. XII, p. 55

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tionists, under whom he (al-Makkī) received his education and from whom he obtained certificates of competence) in which he has recorded all information about the teachers from whom our author received his education. We notice among his teachers such noted scholars as al-Fīrūzābādī, Ibn al-'Irāḳī and al-Bulḳīnī. He made a pilgrimage in A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410), visited Madīna, the sacred city of the Prophet, and went over to Jerusalem four times during his life.

When Tamarlane invaded Ḥalab he retired and took shelter in the fort with all his books. But he was soon among those who were captured by that conqueror and was brought as a captive to Damascus where he was set at liberty. Consequently he turned his footsteps towards his motherland, where he was unable to find any trace of his relatives. After a very brief stay at Ḥalab, he retired to a remote village. When Tamarlane removed his troops from Ḥalab, he came back there and was united with the members of his family. The books, which he had deposited in the fort for safe custody, were mostly recovered. Our learned author is a profound scholar of Ḥadīth, and produced several valuable works, some of which were lost during the invasion of Tamarlane. He died at Ḥalab on Monday, the 12th Shawwāl A.H. 841. (A.D. 1438). Below is given a list of his productions as far as I have been able to ascertain :—

(1) نور النبراس في شرح سيرة ابن سيد الناس .

A commentary on the work of Muḥammad bin Muḥammad, known as Fatḥ ad-Dīn bin Sayyid an-Nās al-Undulusī, on the life of the Prophet called Nūr al-'Uyūn fī Talkhīṣ Siyar al-Amīn al-Māmūn. For copies see Berlin Cat., No. 9579; Paris Cat., Nos. 1968/9; Cairo Cat., Vol. V, p. 172. See also Ḥājī Khalīfa Vol. IV, p. 285.

(2) الاغتباط بمن روى بالاختلاط .

Deals with the accounts of those Traditionists who have made confusion in the narration of Ḥadīth due to their old age. For copies see Bankipur Cat., Vol. XII, p. 57; and Berlin Cat., No. 9947. See Ḥājī Khalīfa, Vol. I, p. 368.

(3) التبئين لاسماء المدلّسين .

Contains biographical notices of those Traditionists who, with the set purpose of deceiving others, have pretended to relate Traditions from well-known and reliable authorities, but have not given the names of the inferior scholars from whom they had actually received those Traditions. For copies see Bankipur Cat., Vol. XII, p. 55; Berlin Cat., No. 9946; and Bodl. Cat., Vol. II, No. 379. See also Ḥājī Khalīfa, Vol. II, p. 188.

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(4) التلقيح لفهم قارى الصحيح .

Is a commentary on al-Bakhārī's work called Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ. See as-Sakhāvī's aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi', fol. 22*b*.

(5) الكشف الحثيث .

Gives the names of those people who made spurious Traditions. See aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi', fol. 22*b*.

(6) الهميان في معيار الميزان .

An abridgement of adh-Dhahabī's well-known work called Mīzān al-I'tidāl. See *ibid.*, fol. 22*b*.

(7) نهاية السئول في رواية الستة الاصول .

Deals with the narrators of the six canonical books of Tradition. An autograph copy of this work is in the Rampur State Library, India.

Besides the above he wrote commentaries on the *Sunan* by Ibn Māja and also on the *Sunan* by Abū Dā'ūd. His commentary on Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ by Muslim was lost during the invasion of Tamarlane. See as-Sakhāvī, fol. 22*b*.

The book now published with notes, survives as far as I know, in a unique MS. It gives short biographical notices of the *Mukhaḍramīn* or those traditionists who, though they lived at the time of the Prophet, never met him or embraced Islām after his death. The material for his work has been derived from various sources, especially from Muslim (*d.* A.H. 261, A.D. 875), Ibn Ṣalāḥ (*d.* A.H. 643, A.D. 1245), and the works of Ibn al-'Irāḳī (*d.* A.H. 806, A.D. 1404). The names are arranged alphabetically. From the colophon it appears that at first the book was completed in A.H. 793, A.D. 1391, but that the author subsequently added further materials to it and completed it in its present form in A.H. 818, A.D. 1415.

I am greatly indebted to my esteemed friend Maulavi Muinuddin Nadvi, an eminent scholar, for material help given to me in preparing the text.

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تذكرة الطالب المُعَلَّم بمن يقال انه مخضرم

تاليف

شيخنا الامام العلّامة الحافظ برهان الدين
ابى اسحق ابراهيم بن محمد
ابن خليل سبط ابن العجمى
رحمة الله تعالى عليه

[طبع فى بپٹسٹ ميشن پريس]

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بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحيم

ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله

الحمد لله المتوحّد بكبريائه - المتفضّل بآلائه - احمده على ما صرّف من بلائه - و اشكره على ما منح من عطائه - و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و آله وصحبه و سلّم - و شرّف و كرّم و عظّم - و بعد فهذا كتاب مختصر فيمن هو مخضرم او قيل انه مخضرم - لم اسبق الى افراده بالتاليف فيما علمت - و قد ذكرهم الحافظ ابوالحسين مسلم بن الحجاج فبلّغهم (١) عشرين شخصا وزاد عليه الحافظ (٢) ابو عمرو ابن الصلاح في (٣) علومه اثنين - ثم زاد عليهما شيخنا الحافظ الحميد زين الدين ابوالفضل عبد الرحيم بن الحسين ابن العراقى في شرح (٤) الالفية له ثلاثة اشخاص - وزاد فى (٥) النكت على كتاب ابن

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(١) فى الاصل "فبغلهم" *

(٢) هو تقي الدين ابو عمرو عثمان بن عبد الرحمٰن الشهير بابن الصلاح المتوفي سنه ثلاث و اربعين و ستمائة - قال اليافعي انه كان احد فضلاء عصره فى التفسير و الحديث و الفقه و اسماء الرجال و ما يتعلق بعلم الحديث و اللغة - و كانت له مشاركة في فنون عديدة - و انه صنّف في علوم الحديث كتابا نافعا مبسوطا - انظر مرآة الجنان صفحه ٤٠٤ *

(٣) انظر ذيل فهرس المتحف البريطانى العدد ١٢٣٧ *

(٤) الفية العراقي في اصول الحديث للشيخ الامام الحافظ زين الدين عبد الرحيم بن الحسين العراقى المتوفي سنة ست و ثمانمائة لخّص فيه كتاب علوم الحديث لابن الصلاح و عبّر عنه بلفظ الشيخ وزاد عليه و فرغ عنها بطيبة في جمادي الاخرى سنه ثمان و ستين و سبعمائة - ثم شرحها و فرغ عنه في رمضان سنة احد و سبعين و سبعمائة و سمّاه فتح المغيث بشرح الفية الحديث - انظر كشف الظنون ج ١ ص ٤١٦ *

(٥) كتاب النكت للشيخ ابن العراقي على كتاب علوم الحديث لابن الصلاح انظر كشف الظنون ج ٤ ص ٢٤٩ *

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الصلاح على مسلم و ابن الصلاح عشرين شخصا - فتمّ عددهم فيما ذكره الحفّاظ الثلاثة اثنين و اربعين (١) رجلا و قد كنتُ كتبتهم قديما و زدت عليهم جماعة - و الآن قد افردتهم باختصار التراجم جدّا - ثم ليعلم الواقف على هذا المولّف ان المخضرَم بالخاء المعجمة و فتح الراء هو التابعي الذي ادرك الجاهليةَ و حياةَ رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم و ليست له صحبةٌ لعدم لقيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم - ولم يشترط بعض اهل اللغة نفى الصحبة - قال الجوهري و المخضرم الشاعر الذي ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام مثل لبيد انتهى - و ليس المراد بالمخضرمة عند اهل الحديث ذلك - و قال صاحب المحكم رجل مخضرم اذا كان نصف عمره فى الجاهلية و نصفه في الاسلام - فمقتضى هذا ان يكون حسّان بن ثابت الانصاري و حكيم بن حزام وحويطب بن عبد العزّي و سعيد بن يربوع و (٢) حَمْنَن بن عوف اخو عبد الرحمن بن عوف و مخرمة بن نوفل القرشيون مخضرمين و ليس كذلك من (٣) ب اصطلاح اهل الحديث - و ذلك لان المخضرم متردّد بين طبقتين لا ندرى من ايتهما هو * مدلول المخضرمة * قال صاحبا المحكم و الصحاح لحم مخضرم (٤) لاري .....ام

(١) كذا فى الاصل و لعله خمسة و اربعين رجلا *

(٢) حمنن بن عوف بن عبد عوف بن عبد بن الحارث بن زهرة بن كلاب اخو عبد الرحمن - ذكره الزبير في نسب قريش و قال انه عاش في الاسلام ستّين سنة و اقام بمكة الى ان مات بها - و لم يهاجر و لم يدخل المدينة - و حمنن رايته مضبوطا بفتح اوله و سكون الميم و فتح النون و بعدها نون اخرى - كذا ضبطه الامين وغيره - انظر الاصابة ج ١ ص ٧٣٠ *

(٣) كذا فى الاصل و لعله لفظ "دأب" اى العادة و الشأن فتكون العبارة هكذا "و ليس كذلك من دأب اصطلاح اهل الحديث" *

(٤) كذا فى الاصل - لعل العبارة تكون "لحم مخضرم بفتح الراء لا يدرى آمن ذكر هو ام انثى" - انظر كتاب الصحاح للجوهري صفحه ٢٨٣ *

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انثى انتهى - فكذلك المخضرمون .....[1] ..... التابعين لعدم اللقي - و يحتمل ان يكون من النقص لان فى المحكم رجل مخضرم ناقص الحسب انتهى - و كذلك المخضرم لانه ناقص الرتبة عن الصحابة لعدم اللقاء مع امكانه - و قال صاحب النهاية[2] و اصل الخضرمة ان يُجعَل الشي بين بين - فاذا قُطع بعض الاذن فهي بين الوافرة و الناقصة - قال و كان اهل الجاهلية يخضرمون نعمهم - فلما جاء الاسلام امرهم النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم ان يخضرموا غير الموضع الذي يخضرم منه اهل الجاهلية - قال و منه قيل لكل من ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام مخضرم لانه ادرك الخضرمتين انتهى - قوة كلامه تقتضى ان يكون " امرهم الى آخره" حديثا و فى صحته نظر - و ذلك لانه صلى الله عليه و سلم لا يامرهم بقطع آذان النعم بل تكون مخالفتهم لاهل الجاهلية الترك او غيره و الله اعلم - و اما حديث زُبيب العنبري[3] تصغير مسمّى الذكر و يقال فيه زنيب بالنون ضبطه بهما غير واحد انه قال للنبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قد كنا اَسْلَمْنا و خَضْرَمْنا آذان النعم رواه ابو داؤد فالجواب ان الخطابى[4] قال في معالمه ان اسناده ليس بذلك

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(١) البياض فى الاصل لعل العبارة تكون " اهم داخلون فى الصحابة لكونهم في زمان النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم او" *

(٢) النهاية في غريب الحديث و الاثر في اربعة اجزاء طبع في طهران في جزء واحد كبير الحجم سنة ١٢٦٩ه و هو معجم فى الحديث و طبع ايضا فى القاهرة سنة ١٣٠٨ه *

(٣) الزبيب بن ثعلبة بن عمرو بن سواء العنبري - قال البغوي سكن البادية - و قال غيره نزل البصرة - و هو بموحّدتين مصغّر عند الاكثر - و خالفهم العسكرى فجعل الموحّدة الاولى نونا و اعترف ان اصحاب الحديث يقولونها بموحدة و له حديث اخرجه ابوداؤد روى عنه ابنه دجين و ابن ابنه شعيب و صرّح بسماعه منه في سنن ابي داؤد (انظر الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٦) *

(٤) هو احمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم الخطابي المتوفي سنة ثمان و ثمانين

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انتهى - و قال ابو عمر انه حسن انتهى - و في سنده شعيث بن (١) زبيب - قال الذهبي اعرابي يُكتَبُ حديثُه ما كان حجة - و قد روي عنه النضر بن محمد و ابو سلمة(٢) التبوذكى - و ذكره ابن عدي فساق له حديثين منكرين ثم قال له خمسة احاديث و ارجو ان يكون صدوقا انتهى - و جواب آخر انهم فعلوا المخضرمة من غير امر منه صلى الله عليه و سلم - و لو امرهم لكان يحتمل ان يكون قبل نزول آية النساء(٣)

و ثلاث مائة شَرَحَ سنن ابي داؤد و سمّاه معالم السنن (انظر كشف الظنون ج ٣ ص ٦٢٤) *

(١) الصحيح شعيث بن عبد الله بن زبيب لعل الكاتب ترك ههنا اسم عبد الله سهواً ذكره الذهبى في كاشفه - و قال يروى شعيث بن عبد الله بن زبيب العنبرى عن جده و عنه ابنه عمار و التبوذكي و وثّقه (انظر الكاشف ورق ٥٧) و ذكره ايضا ابن حجر العسقلاني و ضبطه كذا شعيث آخره مثلّثة ابن عبد الله ابن الزبيب بزاء و موحّدتين مصغّر التميمى العنبري مقبول من الرابعة (انظر تقريب التهذيب ورق ٧٢) و قال فى الاصابة ان ابن قانع ذكره فى الصحابة و ضبط آخره بالموحّدة و هو اخر اسم عنده في حرف الشين المعجمة فقال حدّثنا محمد بن يونس ثنا الارزق بن هارون ثنا شعيب بن عبد الله بن شعيب عن ابيه عن جده ان النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم قضى بشاهد و يمين و هذا خطأ فاحش و شعيث بن عبد الله آخره ثاء مثلّثة لا موحّدة (كما ضبطه ابن قانع) و اسم جده زبيب بزاء و موحّدتين مصغّر - انظر الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٤٦٤ *

(٢) هو موسى بن اسمعيل المنقري بكسر الميم و سكون النون و فتح القاف ابو سلمة التبوذكي بفتح المثنّاة و ضم الموحدة و سكون الواو و فتح المعجّمة مشهور بكنيته و باسمه ثقة ثبت من صغار التاسعة مات سنة ثلاث و عشرين و مائتين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١٨٣) *

(٣) وَلَأُضِلَّنَّهُمْ وَلَأُمَنِّيَنَّهُمْ وَلَآمُرَنَّهُمْ فَلَيُبَتِّكُنَّ آذَانَ الْأَنْعَامِ وَلَآمُرَنَّهُمْ فَلَيُغَيِّرُنَّ خَلْقَ اللّٰهِ ط (سورة النساء الآية ١١٩) *

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فَلَيُبَتِّكُنَّ آذَانَ الْأَنْعَامِ و الله اعلم - و عن ابن حبان في صحيحه(١) موافقة لصاحب المحكم فانه قال و الرجل اذا كان فى الكفر له ستون سنة و في الاسلام [ستون] سنة يُدعى مخضرما لكنه ذكر ذلك عند ذكر ابي عمرو الشيباني سعد بن اياس (٢) و انه كان من المخضرمين - قال شيخنا ابن العراقي فكانه اراد ممن ليست له صحبة - و حكى الحاكم عن بعض مشايخه يعني من الادباء ان اشتقاق ذلك من ان اهل الجاهلية كانوا يخضرمون آذان الابل اى يقطعونها ليكون علامةً لاسلامهم اذا اغير عليها و حوربوا انتهى فقوله ذلك يحتمل ان يكونوا يفعلون ذلك من عند انفسهم لا بامر - و يحتمل ان يكون قبل نزول الآية كما تقدّم - قال شيخنا ابن العراقي فعلى هذا يحتمل ان يكون المخضرِم بكسر الراء كما حكاه عنه بعض اهل اللغة لانهم خضرموا آذان الابل - و يحتمل انه بالفتح و انه اقتطع عن الصحابة و ان عاصرهم لعدم الرؤية - و عن ابي موسى المدينى فى الصحابة نحو ما حكاه الحاكم عن بعض شيوخه و قالوا فسمّوا مخضرمين - قال و اهل الحديث يفتحون الراء - و اغرب(٣) ابن خلكان فقال قد سمع

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(١) الصحيح لابن حبّان (المتوفى سنة ٣٥٤) كشف الظنون ج ٣ ص ٩٩ *

(٢) سعد بن اياس بن ابي اياس ابو عمرو الشيباني ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و قدم بعده ثم نزل الكوفة و اتفقوا على توثيقه و يقال ادرك من حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم اربعين سنة و قال ابن حجر الاصح دون ذلك - سماه ابن حبّان سعيدا و قال ابو نعيم سعدا و سعيدا و الاصح عند ابن حجر سعد و هو مشهور بكنيته ذكره ابن حجر العسقلاني فى الاصابة.(ج ٢ ص ٣٣١) و في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٥٧) و قال الذهبي فى الكاشف (ورق ٣٥) ان سعد بن اياس مخضرم ثقة معمّر - روى عن على و عبد الله و عنه الاعمش و ابو منصور و توفي سنة ثمان و تسعين عاش مائة و عشرين سنة *

(٣) قوله و اغرب اي اتى بضبط غريب لا يعرف عند اهل الحديث و اللغة *

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مخضرم بالحاء و بكسر الراء ايضا - ثم هل يشترط في المخضرم من حيث الاصطلاح ان يكون اسلامه في عهده صلى الله عليه و سلم حتى لا يدخل فيهم من ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام ثم اسلم بعد وفاته عليه الصلاة و السلام او لا يُشترَط وقوع اسلامه في حياته حتى لو اسلم بعد ذلك يسمى مخضرما - اطلق ابو عمرو بن الصلاح الاسلام و لم يقيّده بحياته عليه الصلاة و السلام - قال شيخنا و يدل لذلك ان مسلما عَدَّ في المخضرمين جُبير بن نُفير(١) و انما اسلم في خلافة الصديق انتهى ثم ما المراد بادراك الجاهلية تقدّم في كلام صاحب المحكم ان يكون نصف عمره فيها و نصفه فى الاسلام - و هذا ليس بشرط فى المخضرمة من حيث اصطلاح اهل الحديث - و لم يشترط اهل اللغة ايضا كونهم ليست لهم (٢) صحبة - فالصحابة الذين عاشوا ستين سنة فى الجاهلية و ستين فى الاسلام ممن ذكروهم مخضرمون من حيث اصطلاح اهل اللغة لا اهل الحديث - و المراد بادراك الجاهلية على ما قاله الشيخ محي الدين النووي في شرح ديباجة كتاب مسلم عند قول مسلم و هذا ابو عثمان (٣) النهدي و ابو رافع (٤) الصائغ و هما ممن ادرك الجاهلية - ان معناه كانا

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(١) ضبطه ابن حجر العسقلاني في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٢٤) جبير بن نفير بنون و فاء مصغّرا - و قال انه ثقة جليل من الثانية مخضرم و لابيه صحبة و قال الذهبي فى الكاشف (ورق ٢١) انه توفي سنة خمس و سبعين و في تقريب التهذيب سنة ثمانين و قيل بعده *

(٢) فى الاصل "لوبهم ليست لهم صحبة" *

(٣) هو عبد الرحمن بن ملّ بفتح الميم و يجوز ضمها و كسرها بعدها لام ثقيلة مشهور بكنيته ابى عثمان - قال ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٦ : ١) انه مخضرم من كبار الثانية ثقة - مات سنة ست و تسعين و قيل بعدها و عاش مائة و ثلاثين سنة و قيل اكثر *

(٤) هو نفيع الصائغ ابو رافع مشهور بكنيته مدني نزل البصرة و هو مولي بنت النجار و قيل بنت عمّه ذكره ابن سعد فى الطبقة الاولي من

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رجلين قبل بعثة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم - قال و الجاهلية ما قبل بعثة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم - و لذا قال في غير موضع من مصنفاته ان الجاهلية ما قبل المبعث - قال شيخنا ابن العراقي و فيما قاله نظر - و المراد بادراك الجاهلية ادراك قومه او غيرهم على الكفر قبل فتح مكة - فان العرب بادروا بالاسلام بعد فتح مكة و زال امر الجاهلية - و خطب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم في الفتح بابطال امور الجاهلية الا ما كان من سقاية الحاج و سدانة الكعبة - و قد ذكر في المخضرمين يُسير بن عمرو (١) و انّما ولد بعد الهجرة و كان له عند موته عليه الصلاة و السلام دون العشر سنين - فادرك بعض زمن الجاهلية في قومه انتهى - و مما يرد على النووي ما في البخاري منفردا به في ايام الجاهلية - قال ابن عباس سمعت ابي يقول في الجاهلية اسقنا كاساً دهاقا فهذا قد اطلق الجاهلية علي زمان بعد المبعث بلاخلاف - و من عرف مولد ابن عباس عرف ذلك - و قد اختلف في سنّه يوم توفّي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم - و لا خلاف انه ولد بعد (٢) المبعث على كل قول بسنين و اذا قلنا بما قاله شيخنا و هو الظاهر يجتمع من المخضرمين جماعة كثيرة - و قد ذكرت انا بعضهم - و ما امكنني استيعابهم لكثرتهم - و قد رتّبتهم على حروف المعجم في الاسم و اسم الاب و قد اعلمت على من ذكره مسلم م و على من ذكره

اهل البصرة - و قال خرج قديما من المدينة و هو ثقة - قال العجلي ثقة من كبار التابعين - و رجّح الطبراني ان اسمه كنيته و وثّقه و قال ابو عمر مشهور من علماء التابعين ادرك الجاهلية (الاصابة ج ٤ ص ١٣٤) *

(١) يسير بالتصغير بن عمرو او ابن جابر الكوفي و قيل اصله اسير فسهلت الهمزة - مختلف في نسبته - قيل كندي و قيل غير ذلك - و له رواية - مات سنة خمس و ثمانين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٢٠٦) *

(٢) في الاصل " ولد بعث المبعث " *

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ابن الصلاح ص و على من ذكره شيخنا العراقي عق و تركت من زدته بالعلامة - و ترك العلامة لعم علامة - و الله اسأل ان ينفع به انه قريب مجيب *

الاخنف(١) (عق) بن قيس اسمه الضحاك و قيل صخر و قيل الحرث - مخضرم قاله الذهبي في تجريده و كذا في المستدرك في ترجمته(٢) كما رأيته في تلخيص الذهبي *

أسلم(٣) (عق) مولي عمر ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و اشتراه عمر رضي الله عنه سنة احدي عشرة لما حج بالناس *

الاسود(٤) (م) بن هلال المحاربي كوفي قتل يوم الجماجم - قيل ادرك الجاهلية *

الاسود(٥) (م) بن يزيد بن قيس بن عبد الله بن مالك النخعي لم ير النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و هو احد الفقهاء(٦) *

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(١) كذا وجد في الاصل الصحيح الاحنف بالحاء المهملة ذكره ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ١١) و قال مخضرم ثقة مات سنة سبع و ستين و قيل اثنين و سبعين *

(٢) في الاصل " رحمته " *

(٣) توفي سنة ثمانين (الكاشف ورق ١١) *

(٤) قال الذهبي ثقة توفي سنة اربع و ثمانين (الكاشف ورق ١٤) *

(٥) قال الذهبي له ثمانون حجة و عمرة و كان يصوم حتى يحصر و يختم في ليلتين مات سنة اربع و سبعين (الكاشف ورق ١٤) *

(٦) وجدنا على الهامش الاسمين الاتيين فنقلنا هما تتميما للفائدة من التقريب لشيخ الاسلام ابن حجر افلح مولى ابى ايوب الانصارى ابو عبد الرحمن و قيل ابو كثير مخضرم ثقة من الثانية - مات سنة ثلاث و ستين - اقرع مؤذن عمر بن الخطاب مخضرم ثقة من الثانية *

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امية بن الاشكر[1] الجُندعي ادرك الاسلام و قد شاخ و كان شاعرا قال الذهبي في صحته[2] نظر و قد حمّره فهو[3] تابعي عنده و هو مخضرم على ما قالوه في تعريف المخضرم و الله اعلم *

اوس (م) بن[4] مِغر القريعي مدح النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم ببيت و هو مخضرم *

اوس (م)[5] بن ضمعج الحضرمي كوفي ادرك الجاهلية ارسل حديثا فتوهّم ابوموسى[6] صحّته فاستدركه قال الذهبي يحوّز من طبقات ابن سعد *

اوسط (عق)[7] البَجلى و هو ابن عمرو قدم المدينة بعد النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فسمع ابابكر يخطب *

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(١) ضبطه ابن حجر فى الاصابة (ج ١ ص ١٢٥) الاسكر بالسين المهملة فيما صوّبه الجيّاني و قال ضبطه ابن عبد البرّ بالمعجمة - روى على بن مسهر عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه قال ادرك امية بن الاسكر الاسلام و هو شيخ كبير و كان شريفا في قومه و كان له ابنان فقرّا منه و كان احدهما يسمّى كلابا فبكاهما باشعار فردّهما عليه عمر بن الخطاب و حلف عليهما ان لايفارقاه حتى يموت *

(٢) كذا فى الاصل و في تجريد الصحابة للذهبي (ورق ٢٩ ج ١) "في صحبته نظر" *

(٣) اى هو تابعى عند الذهبي لانه وضع عليه علامة بالمداد الاحمر *

(٤) كذا وجد فى الاصل ضبطه ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٢٢٤) معير - بكسر الميم و سكون المهملة و فتح التحتانية قال الذهبي فى الكاشف (ورق ٢٥٨) اوس صحابى مات سنة تسع و خمسين *

(٥) اوس بن ضمعج بفتح المعجمة و سكون الميم بعدها مهملة مفتوحة ثم جيم الكوفي حضرمي او نخعي ثقة مخضرم من الثانية مات سنة اربع و سبعين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١٧) *

(٦) كذا فى الاصل و في تجريد الصحابة للذهبي (ورق ٣٨ ج ١) "صحبته" و ايضا فيه "يحرز" في موضع "يحور" و لعله "يحمّر" *

(٧) اوسط بن اسماعيل او ابن عامر ابو عمرو البجلي ابو اسماعيل او ابو عمرو مخضرم من الثانية مات سنة تسع و سبعين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١٧) *

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اويس [1] (عق) القرني هو ابن عامر بن جزء بن مالك ابن عمرو بن مسعدة المرادى الزاهد *

بشير بن زيد الضبعى روى عنه ابوالاشهب الضبعى و هو جاهلي مخضرم ارسل حديثا قاله الذهبي *

بشير بن يزيد الضبعي ادرك الجاهلية و نزل البصرة له حديث كذا جعل هذا و الذي قبله الذهبي ترجمتين [2] و الله اعلم - و قد ذكر بشيرَ بن يزيد ابنُ حبان في ثقاته فقال شيخ قديم ادرك الجاهلية يروى المراسيل روي عنه ابو الاشهب الضبعي انتهى فيحتمل ان يكونا ترجمتين و يحتمل انهما واحدٌ اختلف في اسم ابيه - و قد ذكر ابو عمر فى الاستيعاب بشير بن يزيد الضبعي فقال ادرك الجاهلية له صحبة روي عنه اشهب الضبعي - و قال فيه خليفة بن خياط مرةً يزيد بن بشير و الصحيح عنه و عن غيره بشير بن يزيد ثم ذكر حديثا باسناده يدلّ على صحبته ان لم يكن ارسله *

بُشَيْر مصغّر ابن كعب بن ابى الجميرى [3] العدوي ابو ايوب البصري ثقة مخضرم [4] من الثانية من التقريب لابن حجر *

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(١) هو سيد التابعين روى له مسلم من كلامه مخضرم قتل بصفين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١٧) مع على رضي الله عنه (تجريد للذهبي ورق ٤٠ جلد ١) *

(٢) بشير بن زيد الضبعي الذي سبقت ترجمته و بشير بن يزيد الضبعي هذا هما رجل واحد عند بعض المحدثين قال ابن حجر العسقلاني فى الاصابة (ج ١ ص ٣٢٧) بشير بن يزيد الضبعي وقع عند البغوي بشير بن زيد - قال ابن السكن حديثه فى البصريين و قال ابن ابي حاتم عن ابيه له صحبة - و ذكره ابن حبّان فى التابعين فقال شيخ قديم ادرك الجاهلية يروى المراسيل *

(٣) في نسخة تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٧٠) لابن حجر الكائنة ببانكي فور "الحميري" بالحاء المهملة *

(٤) في نسخة التقريب (ورق ٧٠) الكائنة ببانكي فور "من الثالثة" *

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تبيع (١) الحميري ابن امرأة كعب يكني اباعبيدة صدوق عالم بالكتب القديمة من الثانية مخضرم *

ثمامة (٢) (م) بن حَزن بن عبد الله بن مسلمة بن قشير القشيرى ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و رأى عمر *

جبير (عق) بن الحويرث كذا ذكره شيخي العراقي فيمن زاده على مسلم و ابن الصلاح و قد قال الذهبي جبير بن الحويرث بن نفير القرشي قتل ابوه الحويرث يوم الفتح و لهذا روية انتهى و قال العلائى فى المراسيل ذكره الضعفاى ؟ مع من تقدم يعني انه مختلف في صحبته و لم ار غيرهٗ ذكره انتهى و ذكره ابن عبد البرّ فى الاستيعاب و قال في صحبته نظر انتهى و ذكره ابن حبّان في ثقات التابعين *

جبير (٣) (م) بن نُفير الحضرمي اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم باليمن - و روي عن ابي بكرٍ و عمر - لابيه صحبة و قال ابو زرعة جُبير بن نُفير عن ابي بكر مرسل *

جشيش الديلمي قال ابن ماكولا كان باليمن و اعان علي قتل الاسود العنسي انتهي *

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(١) تبيع بن عامر الحميري اسلم زمن ابي بكر و روى عن كعب و ابي الدرداء و عنه مجاهد و المعافري وعدة و كان قد قرأ الكتب و اكثر عن زوج امه كعب و عمّر دهرا توفي سنة احدى و مائة بالاسكندرية (الكاشف ورق ١٩) *

(٢) ثمامة بن حزن بفتح المهملة و سكون الزاى ثم نون القشيرى البصرى ثقة مخضرم وفد علي عمر بن الخطاب و له خمس و ثلاثون سنة (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٢٣) *

(٣) جبير بن نفير بنون و فاء مصغّر ابن مالك بن عامر الحضرمى الحمصى ثقة جليل من الثانية مخضرم و لابيه صحبة مات سنة ثمانين وقيل بعدها (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٢٤) *

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جعدة بن هاني الحضرمي جاهلي عداده في اهل حمص . له ذكر في حديث غريب حمزة الذهبي *

جفينة الجهني و قيل النهدي الذي كتب اليه النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم كتابا فرقع به دلوه .ثم اسلم قال الذهبي لكن الخبر واهٍ *

جويرية (١) بن قدامة التميمي ثقة من الثانية مخضرم و قيل جارية بن قدامة المدني من التقريب لابن حجر *

حابس (٢) (عق) اليماني كذا اقتصر شيخي العراقي عليه و هو حابس بن سعد الطائى فخرج حديثه عنهم و يعرف فيهم باليماني فذكر ترجمته في الاستيعاب - و قد ذكره ابن حبّان في ثقاته فى الصحابة - و قال الذهبي حابس بن سعد و يقال ابن ربيعة الطائى نزل حمص و ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم في دمشق يعني مذكورا في تاريخ دمشق و قال في الميزان عن الدارقطني انه سأل عنه البرقانى (٣)

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(١) جويرية بن قدامة و يقال جارية - عن عمرو و عنه ابو حمزة الضبعي (الكاشف للذهبي ورق ٢٢) *

(٢) قال الذهبي فى الكاشف (ورق ٢٢) حابس بن سعد الطائى و قيل ابن ربيعة صحابي - عن ابي بكر و عنه جبير بن نفير و ابو الطفيل و كان من العبّاد و من امراء معاوية يوم صفين فقتل يومئذ - و قال ابن حجر العسقلاني فى الاصابة (ج ١ ص ٥٥٦) هو حابس بن سعد بن المنذر بن ربيعة بن سعد بن بثرى الطائي ذكره ابن سعد و ابو زرعة الدمشقى فيمن نزل الشام من الصحابة و ذكره ابن سميع فى الطبقة الاولى من الصحابة - و قال البخاري ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و ذكر ابن عبد البرّ انه كان يعرف في اهل الشام باليماني *

(٣) البرقاني احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن غالب الخوارزمي تلمّذ فى الحديث الدارقطني وغيره ولد سنة ست و ثلاثين و ثلاث مائة و مات سنة خمس وعشرين و اربع مائة (سمعاني ورق ٧٣) *

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فقال مجهول متروك - ثم تعقّبه الذهبي بان ذا مقال له صحبة - روى عنه ابوالطفيل و جبير بن نفير و هو من كبار امراء معوية يوم صفّين موصوف بالعلم و التعبّد - و في الكاشف جزم بصحبته - كمالم (١) لحمن فى التجريد و فى التذهيب قال يقال له صحبة انتهى و قد ذكر مغلطائى انه صحابى عن جماعة كثيرة عدّد بعضهم في التقريب *

الحارث (م) (٢) بن عبد كلال اليماني كتب اليه النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قال الذهبي قلت ولا صحبة له انتهى *

حارث (م) بن كعب جاهلى اتت عليه مائة و ستون سنة اوصى بنيه خصالا حسنة *

الحارث(٣) ابن لقيط النخعي الكوفي ثقة مخضرم من الثانية *

حازم بن ابى جازم الاحمس اخو قيس قد اسلما في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و قد ذكر اخاه قيسا في المخضرمين شيخنا العراقي وغيره و لم يذكر هذا *

حجر ; عق) بن العنبس (٤) وقيل ابن قيس ابو العنبس

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(١) كذا فى الاصل لعله "لم يعمره" *

(٢) الحارث بن عبد كلال بن نصر بن سهل الحميري احد اقيال اليمن - كتب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم اليه و الى اخيه شرحبيل وغيره - و قال الهمداني فى الانساب كتب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم الى الحارث و اخيه و امر رسوله ان يقرأ عليهما "لم يكن" و وفد عليه الحارث فاسلم فاعتنقه و افرشه ردائه (الاصابة ج ١ ص ٥٧٩) *

(٣) تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٢٨) *

(٤) حجر بن العنبس بفتح المهملة و سكون النون و فتح الموحدة الحضرمي الكوفي صدوق مخضرم (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٢٩) *

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وقيل ابو السكن الكوفى ادرك و لا رواية له شهد الجمل و صفّين مخضرم *

حسّان بن الضميرى[1] هو ابو عبد الله الشامى ثقة مخضرم من الثانية من التقريب *

حسّان بن عتاهية بن حُرَز مخضرم قاله الذهبي في المشتبه *

حنظل بن ضرار بن الحصين ادرك الجاهلية روي عنه حميد بن عبد الرحمن الحميري *

خافز بن التوءَم الحميري احد كهّان حمير اسلم على يد معاذ و لا رواية له قاله الذهبي *

خالد[2] (م) بن عمير العدوي ادرك الجاهلية و شهد خطبة عتبة[3] بن غزوان بالبصرة *

خباب المدني صاحب المقصورة وقيل له صحبة وقيل مخضرم من الثانية من التقريب *

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(١) في نسخة التقريب الكائنة ببانكي فور "الضمرى" (ورق ٣١) *

(٢) خالد بن عمير العدوى البصرى مقبول من الثانية يقال انه مخضرم و وهم من ذكره فى الصحابة (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٤٢) *

(٣) قال الذهبي فى الكاشف عتبة بن غزوان المازني بدري اسلم بعد ستة رجال و كان احد الرماة و هو اختطّ البصرة مات على المشهور سنة سبع عشرة وله سبع و خمسون سنة *

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دغفل (١) بن حنظلة الشيباني الذهلى النشابة (٢) قال احمد لا ارى له صحبة و قال ت(٣) فى الشمائل لا نعرف له سماعا من النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و كان فى زمنه رجلا *

ذو عمرو اقبل من اليمن مع ذي الكلاع (٤) مسلمَيْن فتُوفّي رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم و هما فى الطريق *

ذوالكلاع (٥) اَسْمَيفَع و يقال سَميفع بن ناكور [باكورا ؟] و قيل اسمه ايفع [و كنيته] ابو شرحبيل الحميري اسلمْ فى حياة النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم *

ذو مِرّان عمير الهمدانى اسلم و كتب اليه النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم كتابا ياتي فى العين باطول من هذا *

ذويب (٦) بن كليب الخولاني اول من اسلم من اليمن [سمّاه] النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم عبدَ الله و كان الاسود العنسي قد القاه في النار لتصديقه النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم فلم تضرّه -

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(١) دغفل بغين معجمة و فاء على وزن جعفر *

(٢) فى الاصابة (ج ١ ص ٩٧٥) " النسابة " بالمهملة *

(٣) اى الترمذي *

(٤) ذي الكلاع (الاصابة ج ١ ص ١٠٠٧) *

(٥) ذو الكلاع اسمه اسميفع بفتح اوله و سكون المهملة و فتح ثالثه و سكون التحتانية و فتح الفاء بعدها مهملة و يقال سميفع بفتحتين و يقال ايفع بن ناكورا (الاصابة ج ١ ص ١٠٠٧) *

(٦) ذويب بن كليب بن ربيعة و يقال ذويب بن وهب الخولاني اسلم في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و يقال ان النبي سمّاه عبد الله (الاصابة ج ١ ص ١٠٠٩) *

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رُوى ذلك فى حديث مرسل من طريق ابن لهيعة قال الذهبى ولا يعلم له روية ولا رواية انتهى فعلى هذا هو مخضرم و الله اعلم *

رافع ابو الجعد الغطفانى الكوفى والد سالم مخضرم وثّقه ابن حبّان وقيل له صحبة من التقريب لابن حجر *

ربعى (١) بن خراش يقال ادرك الجاهلية و اكثر عن الصحابة *

الربيع بن خُثيم بضم المعجمة وفتح المثلّثة ابن عابد الله ابن عبد الله الثوري ابو يزيد الكوفي ثقة عابد مخضرم من الثانية قال له ابن مسعود لو رآك رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم لاحبّك - مات سنة احدي وقيل ثلاث و ستين *

الربيع بن زياد الحارثى البصري مخضرم من الثانية ذكر صاحب الكمال انه ابو فراس المدنى روي عن عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه و ردّ ذلك المزني من التقريب لابن حجر *

رُحَيل (٢) بن زهير بن خيثمة و هو جدّ زهير بن معوية الجعفى رحل هو و سويد بن غفلة فقدما يوم دُفن النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم *

رفيع ابو العالية ياتي فى الكنى *

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(١) ربعي بكسر اوله و سكون الموحّدة بلفظ النسب ابن حراش بمهملة مكسورة ابن جحش ذكره ابن حجر فى الاصابة و قال انه مات سنة مائة و يقال بعدها بسنة وقيل باربع (الاصابة ج ١ ص ١٠٧٣) *

(٢) رحيل بالمهملة مصغّر (الاصابة ج ١ ص ١٠٧٩) *

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الزبير(١) بن عبد الله الكلابى ادرك الجاهلية و يقال انه رأى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم *

زر بن حبيش بن حباشة الاسدي ادرك الجاهلية و روى عن عمر رضى الله عنه *

زر(٢) بكسر اوله و تشديد الراء ابن ابي حُبيش بمهملة موحّدة و معجمة مصغر ابن حُباشة بضم المهملة بعدها موحّدة ثم معجمة الاسدي الكوفي ابو مريم ثقة جليل مخضرم مات سنة احدى اواثنتين او ثلاث و ثمانين و هو ابن مائة و سبع و عشرين سنة - من التقريب لابن حجر *

زرعة بن سيف بن ذي يزن الحميري قَيلٌ من اقيال اليمن اسلم و كتب اليه النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم حمّره الذهبى *

زهير بن (٣) خيثمة و هو جد زهير بن معوية الكوفى وفد قبل دفن النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم تابعى *

زياد [ة] (٤) بن جهور والد نائلٍ ورد عليه كتاب النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم لا روية له *

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(١) ذكره يعقوب بن سفيان فيمن لقى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و قال ابو عمر لا اعلم له لقاء الا انه ادرك الجاهلية و عاش الى خلافة عثمان (الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٧) *

(٢) هذا و الذي قبله هما رجل واحد قال الذهبي فى الكاشف (ورق ٤١) انه ادرك الجاهلية - عاش مائة و عشرين سنة و توفي سنة اثنتين و ثمانين *

(٣) هو جدّ المحدّث الشهير ابي خيثمة زهير بن معوية ذكر ابو احمد العسكرى انه قدم المدينة مسلما فى الليلة التي توفي فيها النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فنزل على ابي بكر الصديق (الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٨١) *

(٤) ذكره ابن حجر فى الاصابة (ج ٢ ص ٨٦) و قال هو زيادة بن جهور اللخمي عداده في اهل فلسطين *

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زيد بن جدير الاسدي الكوفي اخو زياد ثقة مخضرم له فى البخاري ذكر *

زيد (١) بن وهب الجهني هاجر الى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فبلغته وفاته فى الطريق مشهور *

زيد بن يثيع بضم التحتانية و قد تُبدَل همزة بعدها مثلثة ثم تحتانية ساكنة ثم مهملة الهمداني الكوفى ثقة مخضرم من الثانية من التقريب لابن حجر *

سباع (٢) بن ثابت روي عنه عبيد الله بن ابى يزيد انه ادرك الجاهلية *

سعد بن اياس ابو عمرو الشيباني الكوفى ثقة مخضرم من الثانية مات سنة خمس او ست و سبعين (٣) و هو ابن عشرين و مائة سنة *

سعد بن شعبة الكناني الدؤلي روي عنه ابنه جابر و اتاه رسولُ رسولِ الله صلى الله عليه و سلم مخضرم ذكره فى الكاشف *

سعر بفتح اوله و اخره راء ابن سوادة او ابن ديسم الكناني الدئلي مخضرم وقيل له صحبة من التقريب لابن حجر *

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(١) ذكره ابن حجر فى التقريب (ورق ٥٥) و قال هو مخضرم ثقة جليل لم يصب من قال في حديثه خلل - مات بعد الثمانين و قيل سنة ست و تسعين *

(٢) ذكره البغوي و ابن قانع فى الصحابة و اخرجا له من رواية عبيد الله ابن ابي يزيد (الاصابة ج ٢ ص ١٢٢) *

(٣) خمس او ست و تسعين (تقريب التهذيب لابن حجر ص ٧٦) *

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سعيد بن حميدة (١) روي عنه ابنه كنديز انه رأي عبدالمطلب تابعي و ذكره ابن حبّان فى الصحابة و فى الاستيعاب حَيوة بدل حميدة *

سعيد بن وهب الخيوانى (٢) الهمداني ادرك الجاهلية و روي عن الكبار *

سفيان والد النصر (٣) بن سفيان البذلي وقيل الدؤلى جاهلي روي عنه ابنه *

سفيان بن هاني المصرى ابو سالم الجَيشاني بفتح الجيم و سكون التحتانية بعدها معجمة تابعى مخضرم - شهد فتح مصر و يقال له صحبة - مات بعد الثمانين من التقريب لابن حجر *

سليم بن عامر ادرك الجاهلية روى عن ابى [بكر] و عمر رضى الله عنهما و ليس هو بالخبايرى (٤) *

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(١) فى الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٣٣٤ " حيدة " *

(٢) فى الكاشف للذهبي ورق ٤٩ - الحيواني بالحاء المهملة بدل الخيواني بالخاء المعجمة - سعيد بن وهب الحيواني كان هذا احد اشراف همدان سمع من معاذ باليمن و من علي و ابن مسعود و عنه ابنه عبد الرحمن و ابو اسحق وثّقه الذهبي فى الكاشف *

(٣) فى الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٣٣٧ " النضر " بالمعجمة بدل النصر بالمهملة *

(٤) ضبطه ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب وقال (ورق ٦٥) " و يقال له الخبائرى " بخاء معجمة و موحدة و هكذا وجد فى الكاشف للذهبي (ورق ٥١) هذا الخبائرى هو سليم بن عامر الكلاعى الخبائرى الحمصى روى عن ابي الدرداء و عوف بن مالك و عنه ثور و معوية بن صالح مات سنة ثلاثين و مائة - فرق ابن عساكر بينه و بين سليم بن عامر الشامي و قال ابن حجر فى التقريب غلط من قال ان الخبائرى ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم *

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سويد (١) (م) بن غفلة بن عوسجة الجعفى اسلم فى حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و قدم [المدينة] بعد موته و مولده عام الفيل - و روي انه رأى و صحب *

سيف (٢) بن ذى يزن اهدي الى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم حلّة و هو مشهور تابعي *

سيف (٣) بن مالك الرُعيني الجيشاني اسلم فى حياة النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و نزل مصر تابعي *

شبث بفتح اوله و الموحدة ثم المثلثة ابن ربعى التميمى اليربوعى ابو عبد القدوس الكوفى مخضرم كان مؤذن سجاح ثم اسلم ثم كان ممن اعان على عثمان ثم صحب عليا ثم صار من الخوارج عليه ثم تاب فحضر قتل الحسين ثم كان ممن طلب بدم الحسين مع المختار ثم ولّى شُرطة الكوفة ثم حضر قتل المختار و مات بالكوفة في حدود الثمانين(٤) من التقريب لابن حجر *

شبيل (م) بن عوف ابو الطفيل البجلى الاحمسى ادرك الجاهلية و روى عن عمر و عنه ابن ابى خالد شهد القادسية *

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(١) سويد بن غفلة بفتح المعجمة و الفاء ابو امية الجعفى مخضرم من كبار التابعين قدم المدينة يوم دفن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و كان مسلما في حياته ثم نزل الكوفة و مات سنة ثمانين و له مائة و ثلاثون سنة (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٦٩) *

(٢) قال ابن حجر فى الاصابة (ج ٢ ص ٣٨١) ان سيف بن ذى يزن مات قبل المبعث و الذي اهدى الى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم هو كاتبه و ولده زرعة *

(٣) ذكره السيوطى في طبقة الصحابة فيمن دخل مصر و قال اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و نزل مصر (حسن المحاضرة ورق ٩٦) *

(٤) و مات شبث في حدود السبعين (الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٤٤٥) *

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شتير(١) بن شكل العبسى الكوفي مخضرم روي عن ابيه و روى عن عمر *

شداد بن الازمع روى عن ابن مسعود يقال ادرك الجاهلية س يعنى ذكره الحافظ ابو موسى المدينى *

شرحبيل بن عبد كلال احد من كتب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم اليهم بحديث الصدقة *

شرحبيل بن مرثد ابو عثمان الصنعاني مخضرم ثقة شهد اليمامة لم يثبت ان مسلما روى له من التقريب لابن حجر *

شريح (عق) بن(٢) الحرث بن قيس و قيل ابن الحرث بن المنتجع الكندى وقيل هو حليف كندة ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و ولّى القضاء لعمر و طال عمره *

شريح (٣) (م) بن هانى بن يزيد بن الحارث و قيل نهيك بدل الحارث الحارثى *

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(١) شتير بمثناة مصغّرا ابن شكل بفتح المعجمة و الكاف العبسي بموحدة الكوفى يقال انه ادرك الجاهلية ثقة من الثانية (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٧٠) *

(٢) شريح بن الحرث القاضي ابو امية الكندي ولّاه عمر قضاء الكوفة و ولّى قضاء البصرة سمع عمر و عليا و عنه ابراهيم و ابو حصين وقيل انه تعلّم من معاذ باليمن توفي سنة ثمان و سبعين وقيل سنة ثمانين (الكاشف ورق ٥٦) و في خلاصة التذهيب (ص ١٤٠) انه مات سنة ثمانين على الاصح *

(٣) شريح بن هاني ابو المقدام الحارثي صاحب على و له عن عمر و عنه الحكم و القسم ثقة معمر عابد قتل في سنة ثمان و خمسين (الكاشف ورق ٩٦) *

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شريّة بن عبد الله الجعفى معمّر ادرك الاسلام فاسلم زمن عمر يقال عاش ثلاثمائة سنة *

شقيق بن ثور بن عقير السدوسى ابو الفضل البصرى صدوق مخضرم مات سنة اربع و ستين من التقريب لابن حجر *

شقيق بن سلمة ابو وائل ياتى فى الكنى *

شهر (١) بن بادام استعمله النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم على صنعاء قتله الاسوَد و هو تابعى ذكره الذهبى *

صُبَيّ (٢) بضم الصاد المهملة ثم موحدة مفتوحة ثم ياء مثناة مشدّدة ابن معبد بالموحدة روى عن عمر رضى الله عنه فى الحج قارنا و عنه ابو وائل و ابراهيم النخعى و الشعبى و جماعة فى الثقات لابن حبّان ذكر بعض الحفّاظ المتاخرين القاهريين انه مخضرم *

صعصعة (٣) بن صوحان العبدي سيد شريف كبير اسلم فى زمن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره *

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(١) شهر بن بادام الفارسي استعمله النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم على صنعاء بعد موت ابيه - روى ذلك سيف بسنده و قال الطبرى لما غلب الاسود الكذاب على صنعاء و قتل شهر بن بادام تزوّج زوجته فكانت هى التي اعانت على قتل الاسود بقصاصه (الاصابة ج ٢ ص ٤٥٥) *

(٢) صبى بالتصغير ابن معبد التغلبي بالمثناة و المعجمة و كسر اللام ثقة مخضرم نزل الكوفة من الثانية (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٧٤) *

(٣) صعصعة بن صوحان بضم المهملة و بالحاء المهملة العبدي نزيل الكوفة تابعي كبير مخضرم فصيح ثقة مات في خلافة معوية (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٧٥) *

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صعصعة بن معوية بن حصين التميمى السعدى عم الاحنف له صحبة وقيل انه مخضرم مات في ولاية الحجاج على العراق من التقريب لابن حجر *

ضغاطر الاسقف الرومى اسلم على يد دحية الكلبى وقت الرسليّة فقتلوه *

طريح بن سعيد بن عقبة ابو اسمعيل الثقفى جاهلي روى عنه ابنه اسمعيل *

طفيل بن زيد الحارثي اتت عليه ايام عمر مائة و ستون(١) سنة لكن سنده ساقط *

طلق بن معوية النخعى ابو عتاب الكوفي جدّ الذي قبله(٢) - تابعى كبير مخضرم مقبول من التقريب لابن حجر *

عابس بن ربيعة القطيفى(٣) [روى] عن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و عمرو عنه ابنه عبد الرحمن وغيره - مخضرم وقيل صحابى *

عابِس بموحّدة مكسورة ثم مهملة ابن ربيعة النخعى الكوفي ثقة مخضرم من الثانية *

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(١) فى الاصابة (ج ٢ ص ٥٧٥) سبعون و مائة سنة *

(٢) اى طلق بن غنام بمعجمة و نون ابن طلق بن معوية النخعي ابو محمد الكوفى الذي هو مذكور فى التقريب (ورق ٧٨) قبل جده هذا طلق بن معوية *

(٣) ضبطه ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٧٨) الغطيفى بمعجمة مصغرا و قال ان عابس بن ربيعة الغطيفى صحابى شهد فتح مصر و وهم من خلطه بعابس بن ربيعة النخعى الكوفى الذي هو مخضرم من الثانية *

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عاصم بن حميد السكوني الحمصي صدوق مخضرم من الثانية *

عامر بن ابي عامر الاشعري و اسم ابيه عبيد بن وهب تابعي مخضرم من الثانية و قد قيل له صحبة مات في خلافة عبدالملك *

عبد الله (١) بن خليفة الهمداني رأيته بخطي مثبتا فيهم و لا اعلم اين رايته منهم و ترجمته مشهورة و هو ثقة ثم رايته في الميزان و قال لانكاد نعرف *

عبد الله بن ابي رُهم يماني له شعر مخضرم *

عبد الله (٢) بن سخبرة ابو معمّر ذكر الذهبي في مختصر الكني (٣) للحاكم ابي احمد انه مخضرم *

عبد الله بن سلَمة(٤) الهمداني ذكره (٥) وثمة ؟ مخضرم و هو بفتح اللام *

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(١) عبد الله بن خليفة الهمداني مقبول من الثانية (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٨٥) *

(٢) عبد الله بن سَخْبَرَة بفتح السين و سكون المعجمة و فتح الموحدة الازدي ابو معمر الكوفي ثقة من الثانية مات في امارة عبيد الله بن زياد (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٧٨) *

(٣) كتاب الكني للحاكم ابي احمد و اختصره الذهبي و سماه مختصر الكني *

(٤) عبد الله بن سلمة الهمداني شيخ لابي اسحاق السبعي يكني ابالعالية من الثالثة و وهم من خلطه بعبد الله بن سلمة المرادي (تقريب التهذيب ورق ٨٧) *

(٥) لعله "وثيمة" (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢١٤) *

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عبد الله بن سلمة المرادى كوفي تابعي ادرك الجاهلية سمع عليا و هو بكسر اللام *

عبد الله بن عُلَيم ابو معبد كوفي ادرك رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره بل سمع كتابه و سمع من ابى بكر و عمر و حذيفة - في مختصر الكني للذهبي الذي اختصرها من كني ابى احمد الحاكم انه مخضرم *

عبد الله بن عميرة يُعدُّ فى الكوفيين ادرك الجاهلية روي عنه سمّاك بن حرب حديث الاوعال عن العباس *

عبد الله بن فضالة ابو عايشة الليثى قال ولدت فعقّ ابى عنى بفرس فى الجاهلية ولا يصح [سنده] ولابيه وفادة - و قال خليفة كان عبد الله على قضاء البصرة - فى الكنى المشار اليها انه مخضرم انتهى و قال ابن ابى حاتم فى الجرح و التعديل فى "عقّ ابى عنى بفرس" اسناده مضطرب مشايخ مجاهيل *

عبد الله بن قيس الكندي السكوني التراغمي بمثناة ثم معجمة ابو بحرية بفتح الموحدة و سكون المهملة و تشديد التحتانية حمصى مشهور بكنيته مخضرم ثقة مات سنة سبع و سبعين من التقريب لابن حجر *

عبد الله بن ابى قيس و يقال ابن ابى موسى الاسود النصري الحمصي ثقة مخضرم من الثانية *

عبد الله بن لُحي بضم اللام و المهملة مصغّر ابو عامر الهوزني الحمصى ثقة مخضرم من الثانية *

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عبد الله بن مالك بن ابى الاسحم بمهملتين ابو تميم الجيشانى بجيم و ياء ساكنة بعدها معجمة مشهور بكنيته المصري ثقة مخضرم من الثانية مات سنة سبع و سبعين من التقريب لابن حجر *

عبد الله بن هانى اخو شريح بن الحارث ادرك النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم *

عبد خير (م) بن يزيد الخيواني ادرك الجاهلية و اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم مخضرم *

عبد خير بن يزيد الهمداني ابو عمارة الكوفي مخضرم ثقة من الثانية لم تصح له صحبة من التقريب لابن حجر *

عبد الرحمن (عق)[1] بن عسيلة ابو عبد الله الصنابحى من كبار التابعين مشهور مخضرم *

عبد الرحمن (عق) بن غنم الاشعرى[2] اسلم فى زمن النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و صحب معاذا و قال ابن عبد البرّ جاهلى كان مسلما على عهده صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره و لم يفد عليه و قال بعضهم قدم مع جعفر اذ هاجر من الحبشة و الصحيح انه تابعى على ان احمد اخرج حديثه فى المسند و ذكر ابن يونس ان له صحبة و كذلك حكى ابن مندة ذلك عن يحيى بن بكير و الليث و ابن لهيعة *

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(١) عبد الرحمن بن عسيلة الصنابحي المرادى ابو عبد الله العابد قبض النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم فقدم بعد خمس ليال فسمع ابابكر و معاذا و عنه مكحول و كان عبد الملك يجلسه معه على السرير (الكاشف ورق ٨١) و مات في خلافة عبد الملك (خلاصة التذهيب ص ١٩٦) *

(٢) عبد الرحمن بن غنم مات سنة ثمان و سبعين (خلاصة التذهيب ص ١٩٧) *

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عبد الرحمن بن مُلٍّ بلام مثقّلة و ميم مضمومة ابو عثمان النهدي (١) من التقريب لابن حجر *

عبد الرحمن بن النعمان بن سُرْرُجَ ذكره سيف بن عمر في الفتوح و انه اسلم في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم *

عبد الرحمن (عق) (٢) بن يربوع ذكره شيخنا العراقي كذا مختصرا ولا اعلمه مخضرما - و قد جزم بصحبة عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع ابو عمر - فقال عبد الرحمن المخزومي هو عبد الرحمن ابن سعيد بن يربوع كان اسمه الصُرم فسمّاه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم عبد الرحمن - وقيل ان اباه هو الذي كان اسمه الصرم فغيّر رسول الله اسمه و سمّاه سعيدا - و هذا هو الاصح - و قال الذهبي عبد الرحمن ابن يربوع من المؤلّفة قلوبهم من بني مخزوم ذكره يحيى بن كثير انتهى - و في عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع المخزومي قال كان اسمه

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(١) بفتح النون و سكون الهاء هذا عبد الرحمن بن مل النهدي مخضرم من كبار الثانية ثقة ثبت عابد مات سنة خمس و تسعين وقيل بعدها و عاش مائة و ثلاثين سنة وقيل اكثر (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١٠٥) *

(٢) اختلف فيه كبار المحدثين ذكره البغوي في الصحابة لكنه لم ينسبه و قال ابو نعيم انه كان من مؤلّفة بني مخزوم و صرّح البزار بانه ادرك الجاهلية و اخرج البغوي و الباوردي في ترجمة هذا من طريق محمد بن المنكدر عن سعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن يربوع عن ابيه عن ابي بكر حديثا في فضيلة الحج لكن الدارقطني قال ان الصواب في ذلك الحديث عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع عن ابيه عن ابي بكر (الصديق) و ان من قال سعيد بن عبد الرحمن عن ابيه فقد قلّبه و كذا قال احمد و البخاري و الترمذي في تخطئة من قال سعيد بن عبد الرحمن عن ابيه - فالظاهر ان عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع و سعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن يربوع هما رجل واحد *

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الصُرم وقيل اسم ابيه فغُيّر انتهى - و مقتضى ما فى التذهيب انهما اثنان - لانه قال عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع بن عُنكثة بن عامر ابن مخزوم عن ابيه و له صحبة و عثمانَ و مالكِ الدار - و علّم عليه د - و قال فى ابن يربوع [روى] عن ابى بكر الصحّ و علم عليه ر و الظاهر انه كذلك فى تهذيب المزي و كذا فى الكاشف كما رايته فيه - و عبد الرحمن بن سعيد بن يربوع فى كتاب ابن حاتم و فى ثقات ابن حبّان و ابوه سعيد فى الثقات انه كان اسمه صُرما و جعله من المولّفة و كذا فى التذهيب - و من قبله ابو عمر فى استيعابه *

عبيد (١) بن شَرِم وقيل عمير بن شبرمة الجرهمى جاهلي معمّر و قدم على معوية و قيل له صحبة عاش ثلاثمائة سنة *

عبيد (عق) (٢) بالفتح بن عمرو بن قيس السلماني وقيل ابن قيس الفقيه اسلم زمن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم *

عدى بن عمرو بن سويد الطائى الشاعر جاهلي اسلامي يعرف بالاعرج *

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(١) عبيد بن شرية بمعجمة على وزن عطية احد المعمّرين روى ابو موسى من طريق معوية بن سليم عن هشام بن محمد عن ابيه محمد بن السائب الكلبي - قال عاش عبيد بن شرية الجرهمي مائتين و اربعين سنة وقيل ثلاثمائة سنة و اسلم و وفد على معوية (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢٠١) *

(٢) عبيدة بن عمرو السلماني بسكون اللام و يقال بفتحها المرادى ابو عمرو الكوفي تابعي كبير مخضرم فقيه ثبت كان شريح اذا اشكل عليه شيء سأله مات سنة اثنتين و سبعين او بعدها و الصحيح انه مات قبل سنة سبعين (تقريب التهذيب ورق ١١٧) *

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عقبة (١) بن النعمان العتكى من اهل عمّان وفد عند وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فيما قيل - هو تابعى عند الذهبى *

علبة (٢) بن زيد بن صفى الانصارى الاوسى احد البكائين روى عنه محمود بن لبيد - جزم ابن عبد البرّ بصحبته و كذا غيره و كذا الذهبي في تجريده و قال فى المشتبه له انه مخضرم - و الصحيح انه صحابى - و قد فعل علبة هذا كما فعل ابو ضمضم (٣) فجعل عرضه صدقة كما رواه البزار *

علقمة (عق)(٤) بن قيس كذا ذكره شيخنا العراقي مختصرا و هو علقمة بن قيس النخعى الفقيه صاحب ابن مسعود ولد في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و هو احد الاعلام مشهور *

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(١) عقبة بن النعمان العتكى ابو النعمان من اهل عمّان ذكره وثيمة فى الردة و انه ثبت على اسلامه و شيع عمرو بن العاص في جماعة من قومه حتى قدموا على ابي بكر فشكر لهم ابو بكر (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢١٤) *

(٢) علبة بضم اوله و اسكان اللام بعدها موحدة ابن زيد بن عمرو بن زيد بن جشم بن حارثة الانصاري الاوسي - روى ابن مندة من طريق محمد ابن طلحة عن عبد الحميد بن ابي عبس بن جبر عن ابيه عن جده قال كان علبة بن زيد بن حارثة رجلا من اصحاب النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم فلما حُضّ على الصدقة جاء كل رجل منهم بطاقته و ما عنده فقال علبة بن زيد اللهم انه ليس عندي ما اتصدّق به اللهم انى اتصدّق بعرضى (انظر الاصابة ج ٢ ص ١١٨٩) *

(٣) روى ثابت عن انس ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم قال الا تعجبون ان تكونوا كابي ضمضم قالوا يا رسول الله من ابو ضمضم قال أن ابا ضمضم كان اذا اصبح قال اللهم اني قد تصدقت بعرضى على من ظلمني قال فاوجب النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم انه قد غفر له - اخرجه البزار و الحاكم (الاصابة ج ٤ ص ٢٠٥) *

(٤) علقمة بن قيس بن عبد الله بن مالك بن علقمة بن سلامان

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عمر بن مالك بن عتبة بن نوفل بن عبد مناف بن زهرة ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و شهد فتح دمشق و ولى فتوح الجزيرة و لم يذكره فى الصحابة ابن مندة ولا ابو نعيم ولا ابو موسى المدينى ولا ابن عبد البرّ - و الصحيح عند الذهبى انه تابعى - لانه حمّر عليه و شهد فتح دمشق و هي سنة اربع عشرة - الظاهر انه كان موجودا فى الفتح و ادرك قومه فى الجاهلية على ما ذكره شيخنا العراقى في ايام الجاهلية و هو الظاهر و الله اعلم *

عمرو بن الاسود العنسى ادرك الجاهلية و روي عن عمر سكن داريا و يقال له عُمير و قد عمّر دهرا طويلا(١) *

عمرو بن احيحة بمهملتين مصغر ابن الجلاح بضم الجيم و تخفيف اللام الانصاري المدني مقبول من الثالثة و وهم من زعم ان له صحبة و كان الصحابى جد جده وافق هو اسمه و اسم ابيه من التقريب لابن حجر *

عمرو (٢) بن ثُنّي بثاء مثلّثة مضمومة ثم موحدة مفتوحة ثم ياء مشددة بوزن قُصَيّ - شهد بهاوند (٣) (؟) و كان فتحها سنة احدى و عشرين و اميرها النعمان بن مقرن و استشهد فيها الامير المشار اليه

النخعي ابو سبل الكوفى الفقيه مخضرم - ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام و لازم ابن مسعود - مات سنة اثنتين و سبعين و له تسعون سنة و المشهور انه مات سنة اثنتين و ستين و قال قابوس بن ابي ظبيان عن ابيه ادركت ناسا من الصحابة يسألون علقمة و يستفتونه (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢١٨) *

(١) مات في خلافة معاوية (تقريب التهذيب ص ١٧٠) *

(٢) فى الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢٢٢ "ثبى" بمثلّثة مضمومة بعدها باء *

(٣) و في تجريد الصحابة للذهبي نهاوند (ص ٤٣٣ ج ١) *

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كان عمرو شيخا فاستشاروه يومئذ - قال سفين عُمِّرَ [و] له صحبة انتهى و قد حمّره الذهبى فهو عنده تابعي على الاصح و الله اعلم *

عَمرو بن ثعلبة الخشنى اخو ابى ثعلبة اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره *

عمرو بن سعد البدلي جاهلي اسلم و روي عنه ابنه سعيد حكاية *

عمرو بن شرحبيل الهمداني ابو ميسرة الكوفى ثقة عابد مخضرم - مات سنة ثلاث و ستين *

عمرو بن عتبة بن فرقد السلمى الكوفى مخضرم استشهد فى خلافة عثمان من التقريب *

عمرو (م) (١) بن ميمون الأَوْدي (٢) ادرك الجاهلية و توفى سنة خمس و سبعين مشهور *

عُمير (٣) ذو مران تقدّم فى الذال مختصرا و هو عمير ذومران القَيْل بن افلح بن شراحيل الهمداني جدّ لمجالد بن سعيد كتب اليه النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم كتابا *

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(١) عمرو بن ميمون الازدى يكنى ابا عبد الله او ابا يحيى ادرك الجاهلية و اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم على يد معاذ و صحبه ثم قدم المدينة و صحب ابن مسعود وحدّث عنهما و وثّقه ابن معين و النسائى و قال ابو نعيم مات سنة اربع و سبعين و قيل مات سنة خمس و سبعين (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢٣٢) *

(٢) فى الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢٣٢ " الازدى " *

(٣) عمير ذو مران بن افلح بن شراحيل (شرحبيل) بن ربيعة الهمداني

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عياض بن عمرو الاشعرى صحابى له حديث و جزم ابو حاتم بان حديثه مرسل و انه راي ابا عبيدة بن الجراح فيكون مخضرما *

عياض بن غطيف مخضرم (١) فى ترجمة غضيف (٢) بن الحرث الكوفى من التقريب *

غُنيم (م)(٣) بن قيس كذا ذكره مسلم و هذا الرجل في تذهيب الذهبي انه مازنى كعبى ادرك الجاهلية و قدم على عمر و غزا مع عتبة بن غزوان و روي عن ابيه و له صحبة سعد بن ابى وقّاص و ابى موسي و غيرهم - وثّقه س (٤) وغيره - و في تجريد الذهبى ولد فى حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره انتهى - و لم يذكره ابو عمر في استيعابه و في ثقات ابن حبّان انه روي عن سعد و ابى موسى و ابيه و له صحبة - و انه توفي سنة تسعين و فى الجرح و التعديل لابن ابي حاتم ذكره مختصرا *

جد مجالد بن سعيد المحدّث المشهور كان مسلما في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم و كاتبه (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٢٣٩) *

(١) اى قال ابن حجر في ترجمة غضيف او غطيف ان عياض بن غطيف كان مخضرما *

(٢) غضيف بالضاد المعجمة مصغر و يقال بالطاء (تقريب التهذيب ١٤٢) *

(٣) غنيم بن قيس المازني قال ابن ماكولا تبعا لعبد الغني بن سعيد ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم و رآه و روى عن سعد بن ابي وقّاص وغيره و كذا ذكره ابن فتحون و قال ابن مندة روى عنه جناح ولا يصح له صحبة و لا رؤية و قال ابن حجر يقال له ايضا الكعبى كنيته ابو العنبر و له رواية ايضا عن ابيه وله صحبة و وثّقه ابن سعد و النسائي و ابن حبّان و قال مات سنة تسعين من الهجرة (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٣٨٢) *

(٤) لعل المؤلف اراد بهذا الرمز الحافظ ابا موسى المدينى انظر صفحة ٢٧ و الله اعلم *

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فراس (م) (١) الخزاعي مخضرم له شعر *

فستح (م) (٢) بن دحروج وقيل ابن يرجح اسلم باليمن في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و له حديث في المسند و غيره - قال عبد الغني بن سعيد انما هو فنّج بالنون و الجيم انتهى و على هذا فنونه ثقيلة مفتوحة و الفاء قبلها مفتوحة - كذلك حمّر الذهبى - فهو تابعى عنده - و كذا قال ابو عمر ان حديثه مرسل و ذكر فيه الضيطى (؟) ثم ذكر حديثه باسناده و في حديثه انه فارسي و ذكره ابن حبّان في ثقات التابعين *

فيروز مولى عمرو [بن عبد الله] الوادعى ادرك الجاهلية و هو جدّ [يحيى بن] زكريا ابن ابي زائدة بن ميمون بن فيروز و الله تعالى اعلم *

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(١) فراس الخزاعي ذكره المرزباني في معجم الشعراء و قال هو حجازى مخضرم يعني ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام و انشد له شعرا يدل على ان له صحبة و هو قوله

اذا ما رسول الله فينا رأيتنا كلجة بحر عام فيها سريرها
و ان حوربت كعب فان محمدا لها ناصر عزت و عز نصيرها

و ذكر الواقدى عن حزام بن هشام الخزاعي عن ابيه ان خالد بن الوليد كان يتمثل بهذه الابيات يوم فتح مكة لكن الواقدى عزاها لخارجة بن خويلد الكعبى و تبعه ابن سعد على ذلك (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٤٠٠) *

(٢) فَنّج بفتح اوله و تشديد النون بعدها جيم ابن دحرج و يقال مدجج بجيمين التميمي ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم و لم يره - ذكره جعفر المستغفري وغيره في الصحابة - و قد ذكره في الصحابة ايضا على بن سعيد العسكرى و كذا يحيى بن يونس الشيرازى في كتابه المصابيح في الضحابة و نبّه جعفر المستغفرى على انه صحّفه فقال فتح بسكون المثناة الفوقانية بعدها حاء مهملة و انما هو بتشديد النون بعدها جيم و عداده في التابعين و قال ابو عمر ذكره قوم ممن الف في الصحابة بالمثناة و المهملة و ذكره عبد الغني بن سعيد بالنون و الجيم (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٤٢٥) *

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قبيصة (١) بن جابر ادرك الجاهلية هو في كتاب ابي موسى المدينى *

قرثع بمثلثة وزن احمد الضبى الكوفى صدوق من الثانية مخضرم قتل في زمن عثمان قاله الخطيب *

قيس (٢) (ع ق) بن ابي حازم البجلى الاحمسى ادرك الجاهلية و لم ير النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم مشهور *

قيس بن عُباد بضم المهملة و تخفيف الموّحدة الضُبَعى بضم المعجمة وفتح الموّحدة ابو عبد الله البصري ثقة من الثانية مخضرم مات بعد الثمانين - و وهم من عدّه فى الصحابة من التقريب لابن حجر *

كعب (م) بن عدى بن حنظلة العبادي الذي يقال له التنوخي احد وفد الحيرة و كان من العبّاد و كان شريك عُمر فى الجاهلية فارسله سنة خمس عشرة الى المقوقس - و عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب عن ناعم اي عبد الله هو ابن أُجَيل عن كعب بن عدي قال كان

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(١) قبيصة بن جابر بن وهب ابو العلاء الاسدى الكوفى له ادراك وصحب عمر بن الخطاب و شهد خطبته بالجابية وله معه قصة قال يعقوب هو يعدّ فى الطبقة الأولى من فقهاء اهل الكوفة و كان اخا معاوية من الرضاعة و قال ابو عبد الله بن اعرابى فى النوادر انه كان احد الفصحاء و قال خليفة بن خياط مات سنة تسع و ستين من الهجرة و ذكره فى الطبقة الاولى من التابعين (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٥٣٥) *

(٢) قيس بن ابي حازم ابو عبد الله البجلى تابعى كبير هاجر الى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم ففاتته الصحبة بليال توفي سنة ثمان و تسعين (الكاشف ورق ١١٢) *

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ابى اسقف الحيرة - فاشار عليهم [ان يذهب نفر منهم الى محمد فتسمعوا من قوله] فبعثوا اربعة - فقلت لابى انا انطلق معهم فانظر - فقدمنا على رسول الله عليه و سلم فكنا نجلس اليه اذا صلى الصبح و نسمع كلامه - و ذكر الحديث و هذا تابعى لا صحبة له لانه لم يلقه و هو مسلم - و قد سمع النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و ادرك قومه و غيرهم على الكفر فهو مخضرم - و يحتمل (١) ان لا يذكر معهم - و الله اعلم - لانه كان على النصرانية و ان كان تنوخيا لكنه ادرك غير قومه على الجاهلية *

كعب (م) (٢) بن سور بن بكر الازدي قاضى البصرة قال ابو عمر كان مسلما على عهد النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و لم يره و هو معدود في كبار التابعين و قال الذهبي قيل ادرك النبي صلى

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(١) قال ابن حجر ان في كعب بن عدي روايتين و بينهما من المخالفة - في رواية سعيد بن عفير انه اسلم عند النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم - و في رواية يزيد بن ابي حبيب انه لم يسلم الا في عهد ابى بكر - فمن اعتمد على رواية سعيد بن عفير عدّه فى الصحابة - و من رجّح رواية يزيد بن ابي حبيب كتبه فى المخضرمين (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٥٩٩) *

(٢) كعب بن سور بضم المهملة و سكون الواو هو معدود في كبار التابعين - و بعثه عمر قاضيا على البصرة لخبر عجيب مشهور جرى له معه في امرأة شكت زوجها الى عمر - فقالت ان زوجى يقوم الليل و يصوم النهار و انا اكره ان اشكوه اليك و هو يعمل بطاعة الله - فكان عمر لم يفهم منها - و كعب بن سور جالس معه - فاخبره انها تشكو انها ليس لها من زوجها نصيب - فامره عمر بن الخطاب ان يقضى بينهما - فقضى للمرأة بيوم من اربعة ايام او ليلة من اربع ليال - فسأله عمر عن ذلك - ففرّع بان الله تعالى احلّ له اربع نسوة لا زيادة - فلك ليلة من اربع ليال - فاعجب ذلك عمر فاستقضاه - قال البخاري انه قتل يوم الجمل - و كانت وقعة الجمل في جمادي سنة ست و ثلاثين (ملخصا من الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٦٣٤) *

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الله عليه و سلم و قتل يوم الجمل قال ابو عمر هو آخذ بخطامه و فى ثقات ابن حبّان يوم صفين *

كعب (عق) بن ماتع (١) ابو اسحق كعب الاحبار اسلم زمن عمر رضى الله عنه *

كعب (٢) بن يسار بن ضبّة العبسى ثم المخزومي من بني مخزوم بن غالب بن قطيعة شهد فتح مصر و ولى القضاء و هو اول قاض بمصر و كان قاضيا فى الجاهلية و اما عمارة بن سعد فروي ان عمر كتب الى عمرو بن العاص ليولّيه القضاء فقال كعب لا و الله لا ينجينى الله من ذلك فى الجاهلية ثم اعود فيها و ابي ان يقبل *

لبيد (٣) بن ربيعة قال الجوهري في صحاحه و المخضرم الشاعر الذي ادرك الجاهلية و الاسلام مثل لبيد انتهى هذا الظاهر انه ابن ربيعة كما ذكرته و فى الصحابة جماعة يقال لكل منهم لبيد و المشهور عند اهل الحديث غير ما ذكره الجوهري *

لهب بن الخندق ادرك الجاهلية روي عنه العوام بن حوشب تابعي *

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(١) ماتع بكسر المثناة من فوق (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٦٣٥) قال ابن سعد توفي سنة اثنتين و ثلاثين (خلاصة التذهيب ص ٢٧٣) *

(٢) روى ابو عمرو الكندي في قضاة مصر ان كعبا ولّى القضاء يسيرا حتى اعفاه عمر رضي الله عنه و فى الاستيعاب (ج ١ ص ٢٢٦) عمار بن سعد *

(٣) الشاعر المشهور قال الشعر فى الجاهلية دهرا ثم اسلم و يقال انه ما قال فى الاسلام الا بيتا واحدا مات بالكوفة سنة احدى و اربعين (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٦٥٦) *

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مالك بن الحرث (١) بن عبد يغوث بن سلمة النخعي الملقّب بالاشتر بالمعجمة الساكنة و المثناة المفتوحة مخضرم نزل الكوفة بعد ان شهد اليرموك وغيرها و ولّاه على مصر فمات قبل ان يدخلها سنة سبع و ثلاثين *

مالك بن عامر ابو عطية الوادعي تابعى كوفي يقال ادرك الجاهلية في كتاب (٢) ابى موسى *

مالك بن عمير الحنفي كوفي ادرك الجاهلية لا صحبة له لقي عليا *

مالك بن يخامر (٣) بفتح التحتانية و المعجمة و كسر الميم الحمصي صاحب معاذ (٤) مخضرم و يقال له صحبة مات سنة سبعين من التقريب *

متمم بن نويرة بن حميرة التميمى اليربوعي اخو مالك الذي قتله خالد زمن الصديق فرثاه - له شعر مليح - اسلم مع اخيه ولم يذكر انه وفد فهو تابعي و الله اعلم *

محرز القصّاب ادرك الجاهلية قاله البخاري - قال الذهبي في تجريده انه مخضرم لا يعرف - و ذكره ابو عمر في استيعابه و ذكر

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(١) في تهذيب التهذيب (ج ١٠ ص ١٢) مالك بن الحارث بن عبد يغوث بن مسلمة *

(٢) اي استدركه ابو موسى في كتابه *

(٣) في جامع الأصول بضم الياء *

(٤) في الاصل "صاحب مغاز" قال الهيثم مات سنة اثنتين و سبعين و قال ابن ابي عاصم مات سنة سبعين (الأصابة ج ٣ ص ٧٢٥ و تهذيب التهذيب ج ١٠ ص ٢٤) *

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حديثه عن البخاري عن موسى بن اسمعيل عن اسحاق بن عثمان عن جدّته ام موسى ان ابا موسى الاشعري قال لا يذبح للمسلمين الا من يقرأ ام الكتاب فلم يقرأها الا محرز القصّاب مولي بني عدي احد بني ملكان و كان من سبى الجاهلية فذبح وحده و قال في اول ترجمته ادرك الجاهلية *

المختار بن ابي عُبيد [بن] مسعود غير مختار - ابوه من الصحابة من ثقيف و ولد المُختار عام الهجرة و ليست له صحبة اخباره مشهور [ة] (١) *

مرة (عق) بن شراحيل الطبيب كذا ذكره شيخى العراقي مجردا و هو مرة بن شراحيل الهمداني الطبيب عن عمر و ابن مسعود وغيرهما و عنه عمرو بن مرة و طلحة بن مصرف و[اسمعيل] بن ابي خالد وغيرهم و كان من العابدين وثّقه ابن معين وغيره توفّي [زمان الحجاج] بعد الجماجم قاله ابن سعد وغيره و قيل توفي سنة ست و سبعين *

مَركبود (٢) من ابناء الفرس بصنعاء اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم ذكره سيف بن عمر تابعي *

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(١) اخباره غير مرضية حكاها عنه ثقات مثل الشعبى وغيره و كان قد طلب الامارة و غلب على الكوفه حتى قتله مصعب بن الزبير بالكوفة سنة سبع و ستين - و كان قبل ذلك معدودا فى اهل الفضل و الخير الى ان فارق ابن الزبير - و كان يتزين بطلب دم الحسين و يُسِرّ طلب الدنيا و كانت امارته ستة عشر شهرا (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٠٦٦) *

(٢) فى الاصابة (ج ٣ ص ١٠٠٦) هو مركنود بالنون *

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مستظل (١) بن حصين تابعى جاهلي ذكره ابو موسى *

مسروق (عق) (٢) بن الاجدع ابو عايشة الهمداني ادرك الجاهلية و سمع عليا *

مسروق بن الحارث رثى النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم تابعى مخضرم *

مسعود (م) بن (٣) حراش اخو ربعى ادرك الجاهلية يقال له صحبة قال ابو حاتم لا - روي عن عمر *

مسعود (٤) الثقفى ادرك الجاهلية و هو تابعى ذكره ابو مسعود *

المسيب (٥) نجبة بفتح النون و الجيم و الموحدة الكوفى مخضرم من الثانية مقبول قتل سنة خمس و ستين من التقريب *

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(١) فى الاصابة (ج ٣ ص ١٠١١) هو المستطيل بن حصن البارقي ابو المثنى *

(٢) قدم من اليمن بعد النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم - قال الشعبى ما رأيت اطلب للعلم منه - و قال عبد الملك عن الشعبى انه كان اعلم بالفتوى من شريح - و كان شريح ابصر بالقضاء منه - قال ابو نعيم مات سنة اثنتين و ستين و ارّخه غيره سنة ثلاث و ستين و هو قول الجمهور (ملخصا من الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٠١٢) *

(٣) فى الاصابة (ج ٣ ص ٨٣٥) و الاستيعاب (ج ١ ص ٢٨٢) خراش بالمعجمة من فوق *

(٤) هو مسعود بن عمرو بن عمير الثقفي (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ٨٤١) *

(٥) في خلاصة التذهيب (ص ٣٢٣) و فى التقريب (٢٤٦) المسيب ابن نجبة *

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مطرف (١) بن عبد الله بن الشخير فى اواخر مسلم قال لقتادة لقد ادركتهم فى الجاهلية الى اخر كلامه و هو تابعى كبير ادرك حياته عليه الصلوة و السلام - و ذكره بعضهم فى الصحابة والله اعلم - قال النووي فى شرح مسلم يريد اواخر امرهم اي امر الجاهلية و الا فمطرف صغير عن ادراك زمن الجاهلية حقيقة و هو يعقل انتهى *

معاذ (٢) بن يزيد وعظ بنى عامر حين الردّة و ثبّتهم و هو تابعى لم ير*

معرور بن سويد الاسدي ابو اميّة عن عمر و ابن مسعود و ابى ذرّ و عنه واصل الاحدب و الاعمش و جماعة - وثّقه ابن معين و ابو حاتم قال الاعمش رايته و هو ابن عشرين و مائة سنة اسود الراس و اللحية *

معضد بن يزيد كوفى ادرك الجاهلية وقتل بآذربيجان زمن عثمان و هو شيباني *

معمّر (٣) بن كلاب ممن وعظ مسيلمة و نهاه - قال الغسّاني مستدركا انتهى و لم ير النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم *

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(١) ولد في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم و كان من عبّاد اهل البصرة و زهّادهم و قال الذهبي فى التجريد تابعى ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم و ذكر له ابن سعد مناقب كثيرة مات سنة خمس و تسعين (تقريب التهذيب ص ٣٣٥) *

(٢) معاذ بن يزيد بن الصعق العامرى ذكره وثيمة في كتاب الردة - و انه كان له في قومه شان - قال فجمعهم حين عزموا على الردة و خطبهم خطبة طويلة يحرضهم على الرجوع للاسلام (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٠٢١) *

(٣) معمر بن كلاب الرماني ذكره وثيمة فى الردة و قال كان ممن وعظ مسيلمة و بني حنيفة و نهاهم عن الردة - قال و كان جار الثمامة بن أثال فلما عصوه تحوّل الى المدينة فمنعه ثمامة حتى ردّه و شهد قتال اليمامة مع خالد و استدركه ابو على الغساني (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٠٢٦) *

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منظور بن الفزاري الذي تزوّج (١) بامرأة ابيه فانفذ اليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم من يقتله - ذكره ابن ماكولا و قال لو لم يكن مسلما لما امر النبى صلى لله عليه و سلم بقتله لنكاحه امراة ابيه - فهذا تابعى لم ير و هو مخضرم لادراكه الجاهلية و عمله بعمل بعضهم *

نضلة بن ماعز راى ابا ذر يصلّى الضحى - روي عنه عبد الله ابن بريدة قال الذهبى لعله ادرك الجاهلية انتهى *

النعمان بن بُرْدج (٢) ادرك الجاهلية له حديث طويل غريب ذكره ابن مندة *

النعمان (٣) بن حميد ادرك الجاهلية كذا ذكره الحافظ ابو موسى مختصرا *

نعيم بن قعنب الرياحى بتحتانية مخضرم - و يقال له صحبة و ذكره ابن حبّان في ثقات التابعين من التقريب لابن حجر *

النمر بن تولب [العلكى الشاعر] ذكره ابن عبد البرّ وغيره فى الصحابة و ذكر ابو عمر عن الاصمعى انه مخضرم *

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(١) قال ابو الفرج الاصفهاني في الاغاني تزوج منظور بن زبانى امرأة ابيه وهي مليكة بنت خارجة بن سنان بن ابي حارثة المرّى فولدت له هاشما وعبد الجبار وخولة - و لم تزل معه الي خلافة عمر - فرفع امره الي عمر - فاحضره و سأله عما قيل فيه من شربه الخمر و نكاحه امرأة ابيه - فاعترف بذلك و قال ما علمت ان هذا حرام - فحبسه الى قرب صلوة العصر ثم احلفه انه لم يعلم ان الله حرّم ذلك - فحلف فيما ذكروا اربعين يمينا ثم خلّى سبيله - و فرّق بينه و بين مليكة - و هذا يدل ان منظورا لم يقتل في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم - فلعل الذي بعثه رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم بقتله لم يظفر به *

(٢) فى الاصابة (ج ٣ ص ١٢٠٥) "برزج" *

(٣) ذكره البخاري و ابن ابي حاتم و ابن حبّان فى التابعين *

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نهارس (١) الحرث شاعر بني حنيفة مخضرم *

هاني المخزومي يروي عن ابيه مخزوم و هو مخضرم له حديث طويل فى المولد *

هذيم (٢) من عبد الله التغلبى بفتح المثناة و سكون المعجمة و كسر اللام و يقال اسم ابيه ثرملة بضم المثلثة و الميم - بينهما راء ساكنة و ربما قيل له هو اذيم تبدل الباء همزة - مخضرم مقبول من الثانية *

الهرمزان (٣) بضم الهاء و سكون الراء ثم زاء وقع فى البخارى عنه كلام موقوف و هو مخضرم من الثانية - اسلم على يد عمر و قتل يوم قتله من التقريب *

هزيل بن شرحبيل [الازدى] كوفي يقال ادرك الجاهلية ذكره ابو موسى *

هوذة (٤) اسلم بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و يقال شهد بدرا مشركا تابعي *

يزيد بن ضرار [الاسدى] شاعر مخضرم *

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(١) نهار بن الحارث (تجريد الصحابة ج ٢ ص ١٢٢) *

(٢) و في تقريب التهذيب (ورق ٢٦٦) هذيم بذال المعجمة بن عبد الله التغلبي *

(٣) في نسخة التقريب الكائنة ببانكى فور (ورق ١٩٢) "الهرمز" بضم اوله و ثالثه و سكون الراء ثم زاء *

(٤) شهد بدرا مع المشركين و قال ابو نعيم لا تصح له صحبة لانه اسلم بعد وفاة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٢٧٩) *

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يزيد بن الاسود الجُرَشي تابعى مخضرم يكنى ابا الاسود سكن الشام و استسقوا به فسقوا للوقت حتى كادوا لايبلغون منازلهم *

يسير (١) بن عمرو مشهور *

الكني

ابو أُمَيّة الشعباني (٢) جاهلي روي عنه عبد الملك بن سيّار *

ابو تميم الجيشانى (٣) يروي انه تعلّم القرآن باليمن من معاذ ابن جبل و هو مخضرم *

ابو الجلال العتكى و اسمه ربيعة بن زرارة بصرى يروى عن عثمان روى عنه هشيم و قد قيل ان اسم ابى الجلال زرارة بن ربيعة قاله ابن حبّان في ثقاته *

ابو ذويب الهذلي الشاعر كان مسلما على عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم ولم يره و قدم فشهد سقيفة بني ساعدة و الصلاة على النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم والدمن (٤) ؟ فيما قيل تابعى قال ابو عمر جاهلي اسلامى *

ابو الاسود الدِيلّمي بكسر المهملة و سكون التحتانية و يقال الدُؤلى بالضم بعدها همزة مفتوحة البصرى اسمه ظالم بن عمرو بن سفيان و يقال عمرو بن ظالم و يقال بالتصغير فيهما و يقال عمرو بن

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(١) هو يقال ايضا اسير بن عمرو بن يسار التجيبى (الاصابة ج ١ ص ٩٦) *
(٢) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ٢٣) "الشيباني" *
(٣) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ٤٥) "الحساني" اسمه عبد الله بن مالك *
(٤) فى تجريد الصحابة (ج ٢ ص ١٧٧) والدفن *

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عثمان او عثمان بن عمرو - ثقة فاضل مخضرم مات سنة تسع و ستين من التقريب لابن حجر *

ابو رافع (١) الصائغ اسمه نفيع عن عمر و ابى هريرة اكل لحم السبع فى الجاهلية *

ابو رجا العطاردي (٢) و اسمه عمران بن ملحان اسلم في حياة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم جاهلي مشهور *

ابو زيد قيس بن عمرو الهمداني حالف الحُصَين الحارثي علي قتال مراد ثم ادرك الاسلام فاسلم و كتب اليه النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم تابعى *

ابو شداد الذماري العمّاني اتاهم كتاب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قاله موسى بن اسمعيل حدثنا عبد العزيز بن شداد الحبطى (٣) حدثني ابو شداد - و قوله الذماري قال بعضهم انما هو من ذما [ر] موضع بعمّان كذا قاله غير واحد - و قوله عبد العزيز بن شداد صوابه ابن زياد كذا اخرجه ابن ابي حاتم *

ابو صفرة الازدي (٤) والد المهلب هو ظالم بن سارق و قيل غير ذلك اسلم و لم ير رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم و وفد علي عمر و يقال انه وفد على ابي بكر مع بنيه و اخرج ابن السكن انه وفد على النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و الصحيح انه تابعي *

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(١) ذكره ابن سعد فى الطبقة الاولى من اهل البصرة و قال خرج قديما من المدينة و هو ثقة *

(٢) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ١٣٤) "العُطارد" *

(٣) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ١٩١) "الحنظلى" *

(٤) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ١٩٨) "ابو صفرة" *

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ابو العالية (١) الرياحي [اسمه] رفيع و هو مشهور بالاسم و كذا عمله المزي في الاسماء و كذا الذهبي وغيره - مشهور من كبار التابعين ادرك الجاهلية *

ابو عثمان النهدي و اسمه عبد الرحمن بن ملّ (٢) وقيل مَلي ابن عمرو بن عدي بن وهب [بن ربيعة] بن سعد بن خزيمة بن كعب ابن رفاعة بن مالك بن نهد بن زيد بن ليث بن سواد بن اسلم ابن الحاف بن قضاعة النهدي - اسلم في عهد النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و ادّى اليه صدقات ولم يره ذكره عمرو بن علي ثنا المعتمر [قال] سمعت ابى يقول سمعت ابا عثمان النهدي يقول ادركت الجاهلية فما سمعت صوت صبيح (؟) (٣) ولا بربط ولا مزمار احسن من صوت ابى موسى بالقران [و] الحديث - و هو من كبار التابعين مشهور *

ابو عَنَبة (عق) (٤) الخولاني قال شيخي فيه و في ابى فالج الانماري الآتى لا يعرف اسم واحد منهما كما قال ابو احمد الحاكم

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(١) ابو العالية الرياحي بكسر الراء بعدها تحتانية مثناة خفيفة اسمه رفيع بفاء ثم مهملة مصغّر ادرك الجاهلية - اسلم بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم قال العجلى تابعى ثقة من كبار التابعين - قال ابو خلاة مات سنة تسعين و قيل سنة ثلث و تسعين (الاصابة ج ٤ ص ٢٦٨) *

(٢) عبد الرحمن بن ملّ بفتح الميم و يجوز ضمها و كسرها بعدها لام ثقيلة مشهور بكنيته قال عمرو بن علي مات سنة خمس و تسعين و قال ابن معين سنة مائة و قال خليفة بعد سنة مائة (الاصابة ج ٣ ص ١٩٦) .و كتاب المعارف ص ٢١٧ *

(٣) (؟) لعله "صنج" *

(٤) ذكره ابن سعد فى الصحابة الذين نزلوا الشام و ذكره خليفة فى الصحابة و ذكره فى الطبقة الثالثة من اهل الشام و قال مات سنة ثمان عشرة و مائة *

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و قيل اسم ابي عنبة عبد الله و قيل عمارة - و ابو عنبة و ابو فالج كلاهما اكل الدم فى الجاهلية و كلاهما مختلف في صحبته انتهى ما قال - و في ابن ماجة التصريح بسماع ابى عنبة من النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و انه ممن صلّى معه القبلتين لكن باسناد فيه جهالة انتهى - و الذي وقفت عليه فى السند في ابن ماجة بكر بن زرعة ولا اعلم حاله لكن روي عنه اثنان - و قد ذكره ابو عمر في استيعابه الى ان قال قد اختلف اهل الشام في صحبة ابى عنبة و الذي فهمته مما ساقه بعد قوله و اهل الشام انه لا صحبة له لانه لم يذكر بعد ذلك بالاسناد الا انه لم يصحب و منه الى شرحبيل بن مسلم الخولاني قال رايت سبعة نفر خمسة قد صحبوا النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و اثنين قد اكلا الدم فى الجاهلية و لم يصحبا النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم - فاما اللذان لم يصحبا فابو عنبة و ابو فالج انتهى و اما ابن حبّان في ثقاته فجزم بصحبة ابي عنبة و تابعيّة ابي فالج - و فى تذهيب الذهبي قال مختلف في صحبته ثم قال و قيل صلّى معه القبلتين - و فى الكاشف مختلف في صحبته - و في تجريد الذهبى قيل انه صلّى القبلتين جميعا و قيل لم ير النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم بل صحب معاذا *

ابو عمرو السبائى بالسين المهملة تابعى مخضرم من اهل الشام و اسمه زرعة و هو عم الاوزاعي و والد يحيى بن ابي عمرو و له عند خ (١) في كتاب ادب المفرد لا في الصحيح حديث واحد موقوف على عقبة بن عامر *

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(١) اى البخارى *

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ابو عمرو (١) الشيباني بالمعجمة سعد بن اياس مشهور مخضرم *

ابو فالج الانماري تقدّم عليه بعض كلام في ترجمة ابي عِنَبة اعلاه (٢) و ذكر ابو عمر في ترجمته انه ادرك زمن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فى الجاهلية و قدم حمص اول ما فتحت و صحب معاذ بن جبل ثم ذكر عن شرحبيل بن مسلم الكلام الذي تقدّم ذكره عنه اعلاه (٣) و اما ابن حبّان فذكره في ثقات التابعين - و اما الذهبي في تجريده فعنده انه تابعي لانه حمّره و قال [ما] ادرك النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و اكل الدم فى الجاهلية *

ابو مسلم (ص) (٤) الخولاني عبد الله بن ثُوَب *

ابو وائل (٥) شقيق بن سلمة [الاسدى] هو بالاسم اشهر و لذا عمله المزّي و الذهبي فى الاسمآء و هو مخضرم قال ادركت سبع سنين من سني الجاهلية و هو مشهور *

الابنـــاء

ابن عَيّاش روى له احمد و روى عنه مجاهد و قال هو شيخ

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(١) انظر سعد بن اياس *

(٢) اى في ذكر ابو عنبة *

(٣) اى في ذكر ابو عنبة *

(٤) هو ابو مسلم الخولاني الزاهد عبد الله بن ثوب لقى ابا بكر و عمر و معاذا و مناقبه كثيرة مات سنة اثنتين و ستين (الكاشف ورق ٢٥٩) *

(٥) قال الذهبي هو توفي سنة اثنتين و ثمانين و كان من العلماء العاملين (الكاشف ورق ٥٧) *.

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ادرك الجاهلية و الذي رايته فى المسند و هو انه ساق احمد (١) بسنده الى مجاهد قال ثنا شيخ ادرك الجاهلية و نحن في غزوة رُوَيْس يقال له ابن عيس قال كتب اسوق (٢) لآلٍ لنا لعرة قال فسمعت من جوفها بال ذرح قول فصيح رجل يصيح ان لا اله الا الله قال فقدمنا مكة فوجدنا النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم قد خرج بمكة *

ابن عفيف راى ابا بكر يبايع الناس و قد احتلم - فهذا تابعى و قد ادرك ما قبل الفتح على ما قاله شيخنا فى الجاهلية و هو الظاهر و الله اعلم *

النســـاء

أُسَيّسة (٣) النخعية قالت قدم علينا معاذ باليمن - قال الذهبي في تجريده قلت فهي من المخضرمين انتهى *

معاذة زوج الاعشى المازني الذي نشزت عليه فقال (٤) يا سيد الناس و ديان العرب - لم تر النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم *

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(١) قال الامام احمد ثنا محمد بن بكير ثنا ابن ابي زناد ثنا ابن كثير الدارمي ثنا شيخ ادرك الى آخر الحديث *

(٢) كذا وجد فى الاصل لعله يكون كذا "كنت اسوق لآلٍ لنا بعرة قال فسمعت من جوفها كأنّ رجلا يقول فصيح يصيح" (انظر مسند احمد بن حنبل) *

(٣) فى الاصابة (ج ٤ ص ٤٦٩) انيسة النخعية ذكرت قدوم معاذ بن جبل عليهم باليمن رسولا لرسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم و قالت و هو يومئذ ابن ثمان عشرة سنة كذا ذكرها ابو عمر - قال ابن الاثير في قدر عمرة نظر فان ارساله كان سنة تسع ويلزم ان يكون اسلم و هو ابن تسع و ليس كذلك و انما بايع و هو رجل - قال ابن حجر الصواب ابن ثمان و عشرين و قد ورد ذلك في سن معاذ من وجه آخر *

(٤) في الاصل "فقالت" و قصتها مع زوجها مذكورة في الاستيعاب (ج ١ ص ٣٥٠) *

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قال شيخنا المؤلّف فسح الله في مدته فهذا آخر من رايته من المخضرمين و الحقته بهم - علّقه قديما في سنة ثلاث و تسعين و سبع مائة ثم افرده و زاده في سنة ثمان عشرة و ثمان مائة في وسطها ابراهيم بن محمد بن خليل سبط ابن العجمى جامعه عفا الله عنه *

فرغ من تعليقه بالمدرسة الرفية بحلب في ثاني عشر المحرم الحرام عام ثمان و ثلاثين و ثمان مائة عمر بن محمد بن عمر بن خضر الحلبى الشافعي عفا الله عنه و عن المسلمين *

قد فرغت من ترقيم هذه النسخة الشريفة خامس عشر من شهر رجب المرجب سنة ١٢٩٠ تسعين بعد الالف و مائتين و انا المفتقر الى الله احمد بن محمد صبغة الله بن محمد غوث كان الله لهم امين *

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The Afghan Weights and Measures.

By L. BOGDANOV.

On the 23rd of Pisces A.H. 1304 (=12th March, 1925)[1] a law introducing the metric system in Afghanistan was promulgated by the Afghan Government. The first suggestion of the advisability of such a step happened to be made[2] early in 1923, and after the necessary preliminary elucidations on the subject were obtained[3] by the Afghan authorities concerned, the new law was proclaimed without any further delay.

The law in question was published in the form of a small quarto booklet of six pages in the series of law-books (*Niẓām-nāma*) published by the Afghan Government since the beginning of the present reign and comprises, besides the articles of the law itself, a brief exordium on the importance of weights and measures in the economical life of a people, showing at the same time the difficulties entailed by the great variety of units of weights and measures in use in the different parts of the country.

The system, as it is introduced by the above law, is a truncated one, taking into account only l e n g t h s, w e i g h t s and c o i n s: no mention is made of the measures either of surfaces, liquids, solids or temperature, in spite of the latter being one of the essentials on which the metric system is based. An acquaintance with the fundamental principles underlying the metric system is taken for granted and no explanation whatever is given with regard either to the derivation of the units or to their inner correlation, which are the factors forming the backbone and the spirit of the system. Why, in the circumstances,

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[1] Since the beginning of the present reign the official Afghan calendar has been a solar one, the year beginning at the vernal equinox, that is to say, on or about the 21st of March. The months of the year are the zodiacal months derived from the corresponding Signs of the Zodiac: *Ḥamal* ("Aries") 30 days; *Thawr* ("Taurus") 31d.; *Jawzā* ("Gemini") 32d.; *Saraṭān* ("Cancer") 31d.; *Asad* ("Lion") 31d.; *Sunbula* ("Virgo", lit. "an ear of corn") 31d.; *Mīzān* ("Libra") 31d., *Aqrab* ("Scorpio") 29d.; *Qaws* ("Sagittarius") 30d.; *Jady* ("Capricorn") 29d.; *Dalv* ("Aquarius") 30d., and *Ḥūt* ("Pisces") 30 days. That era is reckoned from the Flight of the Prophet (A.D. 622, 16th July) like the lunar one used in Afghanistan nowadays only in connection with religious obligations.

[2] By P r o f. A. F o u c h e r, Chief of the French Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan.

[3] From the French Government through the medium of the members of the French Educational Mission to Afghanistan.

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preference was given to French measures instead of adopting any other European measures and weights or any of the weights and measures already in use in some parts of the country itself, —remains an open question. Furthermore, all the countries who have, up to the present day, adopted the metric system for daily use have accepted the system as a whole, as a system, and have very becomingly preserved the Latin particles *deci-*, *centi-*, *milli-*, for the fractionals and the Greek particles *deca-*, *hecto-*, *kilo-*, etc. for the multiples of the units. The case of Afghanistan, where the two classic languages are unknown and their very existence hardly suspected, is a unique one. A quite appropriate solution was found in substituting for the Latin parts of the words Persian fractionals and for the Greek particles Pashtū words of the same meaning.

The law itself consists of four Sections (*faṣl*) containing in all fifteen articles. The first three Sections deal with the names and values of the new measures, weights and coins respectively, whilst Section IV (art. 5–15) is devoted to the legal side proper of the question, *i.e.* to the manner in which the new units are gradually to be substituted for the old ones actually in use.

The old measure of length is the *gaz*[1] which is of three kinds:

gaz-i shāh ("the King's *gaz*")[2] equal to 1,0666 m.[3] which is divided into 4 *chārak* ("quarters") or 16 *girih* (lit. "joint" or "knot" roughly taken to be equal to "three finger-breadths"), each *girih* being again divided into 4 *bār*[4] ("part");

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[1] Or *ẕar'* (lit., "cubit") which is the official (Arabic) name of that measure. The word *gaz* altogether superseded by the Arabic term has become obsolete in Persia, but is still used colloquially in Afghanistan.

[2] Used by drapers, linen-merchants, etc.

[3] The correspondences of the Afghan measures and weights with the metric values are quoted from Ḥisāb by A. H. Arjmand, a manual of arithmetic published by the Afghan Ministry of Public Instruction in 1305 A.H. (1926/27 A.D.).

[4] Both the text of the law (Introduction, p. 1) and the above-quoted Manual of Arithmetic by Arjmand (pp. 3, 111 and elsewhere) have got the spelling *bār*. as above. Wollaston's English-Persian Dictionary, when speaking about the Persian measures of length, gives, however, (Appendix, p. 438; see also Phillott, Higher Persian Grammar, p. 213, who probably merely repeats Wollaston) as one of the subdivisions of the *gaz*, —"*bahar, length of one joint of the thumb, or about* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *inch,*" and further—"2 *bahar*=1 *girah* (!), *or about* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *inches.*" The spelling *bahar* with the intercalation of an unnecessary vowel between the two last consonants points to the Indian pronunciation of the Persian word *bahr* "part, portion." In the colloquial Kābulī-Persian the sound *h* in the middle of a word has, however, a tendency to disappear in pronunciation, producing a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, so that the word *bahr* in Kābulī-Persian would sound *bār*, though not necessarily being spelt in that way; the appearance of such a spelling could, however, be explained by the frequent colloquial use of the word, whereat the correct spelling was little by little relegated to oblivion. On the other hand, that confusion in writing of the words *bahr* and *bār*

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gaz-i-mi'mār ("the *gaz* of the builder"), the use of which is implied by its very name, is divided into 3 *fūt* (English "foot") or 36 *inch* (English "inch")[1] and is a little less in length (0,915 m.) than the preceding;

gaz-i jarīb ("the *gaz* for measuring land") has no subdivisions, the latter being not needed as its use is restricted to the purpose expressed by its name. The *gaz-i jarīb* is the shortest of the three measuring only 0,736 m. and is considered to be the legal *gaz*, that is to say the one recognized as such by the Islamic law. It is therefore also called *gaz-i shar'ī*.[2]

Certain expressions, rather than actual measures, which convey an approximate idea of length are still in use whenever no special precision is required. Such are: *mūy* ("a hair-breadth"); *nākhun* ("a nail-breadth"); *angusht* ("a finger-breadth"); *bilist*, *bālisht*[3] or *vajab* ("a span"); *dast* ("a hand-breadth")[4]; *zirā'* ("a cubit"); *gām* ("a step"); *qulāch* ("a fathom"),—all of them derived either from the members of the human body or some peculiar position of the same.

An Afghan road-measure is the *kurūh* equal to 4000 *gaz-i jarīb* or 2769 *gaz-i shāh* approximately, that is about 2944 metres, or nearly three kilometres

The unit of the land-measures is the *jarīb*, a square each side of which is equal to 60 *gaz-i jarīb*, thus representing a surface of 3600 square *gaz-i jarīb*. Its subdivisions are *bisva* of which a *jarīb* contains twenty, further subdivided in 20 *bisvāsa* each. Roughly speaking, one *bisvāsa* is equal to 5,055 square metres; one *bisva* to 101 square metres, and one *jarīb* to 2022 square metres or about half an English acre.

No measures of capacity or liquids exist in Afghanistan, everything of the kind being measured by weight.

The old weights are:

kharvār ("an ass-load") equal to 559 kgs.,[5] which is divided

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can be traced as far back as the Sasanian period: the words *bahr* and *bār* are pretty often confused in writing in Pahlavī Mss.; see for it Bartholomae' Zum sasanidischen Recht, Part I, p. 41, footnote 1.

As regards the exact length of that measure and its relation to the *girih*, Wollaston (and, for that sake, also Phillott, l.c.) makes certainly a mistake, the *bār* being just the half in length of what he gives for his *bahar*.

[1] This *gaz* is merely the English yard borrowed from India. The English yard, under the name *vār*, is also used for measuring cloth (especially by the Afghan Customs when assessing duty).

[2] Other variants of the *gaz* of less current use are: *gaz-i jūlāh* ("the weaver's *gaz*") and *gaz-i khayyāṭ* ("the tailor's *gaz*").

[3] cf. Ind. "vitasti".

[4] cf. the English "hand" with reference to horses' height.

[5] In Kābul. Other cities and districts have under the same names other weight-values used only within their special area. The name must not be taken too literally. The word means "a donkey's load" (*kharwār* < *khar-bār*=*bār-i khar*) and was probably loosely used at its origin in that general sense. Later on, when it became a measure of weight, it might

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into 10 *mann* or 80 *sēr*, the latter containing 4 *chārak* or 16 *pāw* (whether English "pound," or Indian "paw" meaning "a quarter," or a confusion of both ?) The latter is a little lighter than the English pound-avoirdupois (0,4368 kg.). The *paw* contains 4 *khurd* (lit. "small, minute") or 24 *mithqāl*, further subdivided into 24 *nukhud* ("pea") each, the weight of the latter being equal to 0,19 grm.[1]

More minute subdivisions of the *nukhud*, as used by goldsmiths, jewellers and druggists, are: *surkh*[2] (of which the *nukhud* contains four) equal to 8 *birinj* ("rice-grain"); one *birinj* contains 8 *kunjid* ("sesamum seed"); one *kunjid* is ultimately subdivided into 8 *khashkhāsh* ("poppy-seed").

As has been stated above with regard to lengths, some other measures of weight (or rather of capacity) are still in existence and in use along with the officially recognized measures and are freely used in private transactions where no great precision is the object, for instance: *musht* ("a handful"); *lapp* ("a double-handful," *i.e.* as much as can be held between the two palms placed together at a certain angle); *kāsa* ("a bowlful"); *dāman* ("a skirtful"), and so forth.

The old monetary unit is *rūpiya-i kābulī* ("the Kabuli rupee"), as opposed to the Indian rupee which is called *rūpiya-i kalladār* or vulgarly *r. kaldār* (*i.e.* "the rupee with a head on it"—meaning the effigy).

Up to the reign of Amīr Ḥabībullāh Khān two kinds of the Kabuli rupee were distinguished: *rūpiya-i khām* ("raw rupee") [see 1][3] and *rūpiya-i pukhta* ("boiled" or "tempered" r.) [see 2],[4] the values attributed to them slightly differing from

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have corresponded in the beginning to a weight-value of that kind. Nowadays, however, although differing in value according to local conceptions (in Persia a *kharvār* contains 100 *mann-i tabrīz* and is equal to 294,4 kgs., that is to say, a little more than a half of the *kharvār* of Kabul) a *kharvār* cannot in any way be considered as a load to be tackled by a donkey who could hardly be expected to carry even a quarter of a *kharvār* which is the average load of a camel. The name *kharvār* has, therefore, to be taken nowadays rather symbolically as expressing "a great weight" not for a man to lift.

[1] It is a very peculiar fact that the weights of the lower denominations, *viz.* the *mithqāl* and the *qirāṭ* (more currently called in Afghanistan and in Persia *nukhud*) are fixed quantities and remain such throughout the Muhammadan world, whereas the higher units of weight have under one and the same name most various values attributed to them even in the different towns of the same country. The *mithqāl* might therefore be considered as the real standard unit of weight in Muhammadan countries.

[2] The seed of the Abrus precatorius, a measure obviously borrowed from India ("rattī").

[3] The legend on the right side of the coin represented here runs: *zarb-i daru-s-saltana* ("coinage of the capital"). The reverse side (invisible on our photo) bears the name of the ruler: *Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān.*

[4] The right side of the coin on our photo represents a mosque with its *mimbar* surrounded by flags and bayonets (on right and left) and

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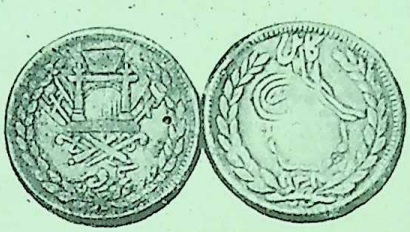

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each other. That difference and the appellation *khām* were cancelled by the late Amīr Ḥabībullāh Khān, but the name *pukhta* remained in use for both kinds of rupee, and the official denomination of the Kabuli rupee (in receipts and other official documents) is even in our days *rūpiya-i pukhta-i kābulī*.

As can be seen from the photographic reproduction given here, the "boiled" rupee is just an ordinary coin made in the way usual for all countries in the world, that is by means of special coining machinery, whereas the shapeless "raw" rupee is made by hand by pouring molten silver from a teapot-shaped vessel into small hollows made of clay, the coin being stamped by hand when still hot.[1] The weight of a one-rupee piece is officially supposed to be equal to 2 *mithqāl*.

Owing to the scarcity of coin in the country, Persian coins (chiefly "double krans"—*du-hazārī* of the new coinage, see footnote) illicitly imported from Persia (which country prohibits the export of silver) are largely used in Afghanistan at a "cours forcé" with the value of one Kabuli rupee attributed to the Persian "double kran" (a "double kran" is, in fact, worth $1\frac{1}{4}$ Kabuli rupees).

The half-rupee (*nīm-rūpiya*) [see 3, 4*a*, 5][2] is labelled as such, but is colloquially called *qirān*. The monetary unit in the city of Qandahar and its district is the *qirān-i qandahārī* the value of which is 20% higher than that of the Kabuli half-rupee".[3]

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by crossed swords and cannons (underneath). The words *yak rūpiya* appear at the bottom and the whole is enclosed in a (laurel-?) wreath, The reverse side bears the *ṭughrā* "*Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān*" with the title of that sovereign *Ẓiyā'u-l-milla wa-d-dīn* inscribed in *thulth* characters underneath the same. The word "*Kābul*" can be read above the *ṭughrā*. The year 1314 (A.H., lunar=1896/1897) is marked at the very bottom and the whole is again enclosed in a wreath.

[1] A similar distinction between the machine-made and the hand-made coins is observed in Persia, the coins of the two kinds being called respectively "old" and "new": *qirān-i qadīm* and *qirān-i jadīd* (or, in writing,—*qirān-i jadīdu-ẓ-ẓarb-i sulṭānī*: "krans of the new coinage of the realm").

[2] The coin under No. 3 on our photo is a *qirān* of the present reign. The right side represents the traditional mosque, but enclosed in a seven-pointed star. The words *nīm-rūpiya* can be read above the mosque and the whole is surrounded by a wreath similar to the one on the rupee-pieces. The reverse side is occupied by the *ṭughrā* of the present ruler Amīr Amānullāh Khān, on the right of which is inscribed his title *ālr Ġhāzī*. The year is 1302 (A.H., solar, see footnote on p. 1=A.D. 1921/22).

Coin No. 4 is a *qirān* of Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān, and its right side, besides the mosque and the wreath as above, bears on top the word *Kābul*" and at the bottom *nīm-rūpiya*. The reverse side has the usual *ṭughrā* inscribed in a wreath as above, but without the title; the date 1313 (A.H., lunar= A.D. 1895/96) can be read above the *ṭughrā* at the place where the two ends of the wreath meet.

The two coins No. 5 are "raw *qirān*-coins" of the reign of Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān Khān.

[3] The "boiled" Kabuli half-rupees of the present reign [see 3] contain

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A silver coin of the value of one-third of a rupee is the *'abbāsī* [1](popularly also called *tanga*).

The smallest silver coin (nowadays very rare) is the *sannār* [see 6] [2] (abbr. from *ṣad dīnār*) of the value of one-sixth of the rupee.

Coins of a higher denomination are of the value of 2½ rupees Kabuli[3] [see 7][4] and of 5 rupees Kabuli [see 8][5].

A rupee is divided into 60 *paysa* (commonly also called *pūl*, both of these words, especially the former, being used in Afghanistan for "money" in general). A *paysa* is a yellow-coloured coin made of latten brass [see 9 and 10]. In the reign of Amīr Ḥabībullāh the *paysa* was coined exactly of the size and thickness of the "boiled" half-rupee. The *paysa* of the last few years is not thicker than the paper on which these lines are being written. During the reign of Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān and previous to it the one-*paysa* pieces were coined in red copper [see 11].

Further small change coins are of the value of 5 *paysa* (commonly called *yak-shāhī*—"one shāhī"), of 10 *paysa* (*du-shāhī*)[6] [see 12], of 15 *paysa* (*si-shāhī* [see 13] and of of 20 *paysa*

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a great percentage of alloy, whereas all the other Afghan silver coins are made of pure, or almost pure silver. The alloy in these half-rupees (which gives them a greenish-yellow colouring) is so great that the money changers of the N.-W. Frontier do not accept them at all.—

[1] The name *'abbāsī* as well as those of its subdivisions is borrowed from Persia: the name of that coin is derived from Shāh 'Abbās the Great (1587–1628) by whom it was introduced in Persia, where it still exists, though nowadays not as a coin, but as a mere name. That coin must have either remained in use in Afghanistan from the days of Shāh 'Abbās at whose time Herat and Qandahar were Persian cities, or else was imported later during the XVIII century, as in Persia itself it had entirely disappeared as far back as the beginning of the reign of Fatḥ-'Alī Shāh (1797–1834). Anyhow the *'abbāsī* in Afghanistan, as well as in Persia, contains four shāhī, a coin also introduced by Shāh 'Abbās. And yet the Persian standard unit (*qirān*) contains twenty shāhī, whereas its Afghan namesake (the half-rupee also called *qirān*) numbers only six shāhī, of which the rupee contains twelve.—

[2] The name *sannār* is also borrowed from Persia, where it is now adays a nickel coin of the value of two *shāhī*.—

[3] Persian five-*qirān* pieces are also used as equivalents of 2½ rupees Kabuli.—

[4] These 2½ rupee-coins are struck more or less on the same pattern as the one-rupee pieces already described. The legend *du nīm rūpiya* (meaning "two *and* a-half rupees") is visible above the already mentioned Afghan coat-of-arms (a mosque enclosed in a seven-pointed star) where the two ends of the encircling wreath meet. The reverse side bears the *ṭughrā* of Amīr Amānullāh Khān, with his title "*al-Ghāzī*" to its right. The *ṭughrā* is surmounted by a small five-pointed star. Underneath the *ṭughrā* one can read the year: 1299 (A. H., solar, see footnote on p. 1=A.D. 1920/21.).

[5] Of the two five-rupee coins No. 8, the first one belongs to the reign of Amīr 'Abdurraḥmān and the second is a coin of his successor Amīr Ḥabībullāh.

[6] Also called *sannārī* (from the Persian *sannār—ṣad dīnār*).

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(*chahār shāhī* or *yak tanga*,[1] popularly also called *yak 'abbāsī*) [see 14].

The Afghan currency being strictly monometallic, the gold coins (*ṭilā*) of 40, 20 [see 15], 10 [see 16] and 5 rupees-[see 17] value have never had any circulation as such, being chiefly used for distribution to the people on some festive occasions by the rulers or as gifts from the people to the ruler on similar occasions. Their value is in consequence always fluctuating a little, but always averaging a premium of about 50% above their nominal value.

There being no bank in Afghanistan, no bank-notes or treasury-notes are issued and the currency is limited to the silver and copper coins above described. That state of things

is very trying when larger sums are involved in some transaction. The usual method of avoiding that drawback is by having recourse to some foreign currency (English gold and treasury-notes, Indian currency notes, and the like) or to cheques on some bank in India, the amount being calculated in accordance with the rate of exchange of the day.

A timid attempt at introducing s u b r o s a some kind of currency-note into circulation was, however, made some time ago. A kind of promissory note was issued by the Treasury of *Dāru-l-Amān* (the new capital of Afghanistan, still under construction, some ten miles to the South of Kābul). These notes were to serve for the payment of the workmen employed on its construction, but not being accepted as money

[1] The *tanga* in circulation in Northern Afghanistan (Turkestan, Qataghan, Badakhshān) which is called *tanga-i bukhārāyī* ("the Bokhara *tanga*") is worth 22 *paysa*.

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in the bazar of Kābul (or anywhere else), these notes very soon died a quiet, natural death.

The legend on the note represented here is as follows :—

In the four corners of the note is written the same word "one" in four languages: *yaw* (Pashtū), *yak* (Persian), *ēk* (Hindustānī) and *bir* (Turkish). The upper middle-part of the frame bears the arms of the Afghan Government (inscribed in a seven-pointed star a mosque, with a minaret and a flag on each side and the *miḥrāb* and *mimbar* visible in the middle, above two crossed swords). The inscription in large *thulth* characters runs: *Shahr-i Dāru-l-Amān* ("The City of Dāru-l-Amān") on both sides of which is written in small *nasta'līq* characters: *mudīr-i muḥāsaba-i shahr-i Dāru-l-Amān* ("The Director of Accountancy of the City of D.A."). Facing these words, on each side of the frame the date of issue 1301 (A.H., solar, see footnote on p. 1=A D. 1922/23) is inscribed. The number 8005 of the note is repeated twice in its upper corners. The last line is occupied by the statement that "this note will be accepted by the Treasury of the City of Dāru-l-Amān for the value mentioned thereon."

The note is ornamented by a design representing carpenter's, mason's and builder's tools, all in a line at the bottom of the note.

In the middle of the inferior part of the frame the words *yak rūpiya-i kābulī* ("one Kabuli rupee") are inscribed in fine *nasta'līq* characters. The colour of the note is pink on a white surface and the other side of the note is blank.

*

* *

The new measures as they are defined by the law in question are:

Measures of Length (Section I, Art. 1).

The unit of length is the *mītar* (English "metre") called also, on the same page, a few lines further *matar* (French "mètre").

The measures derived from it are explained literally as follows:

"one-tenth of a *mītar*"	=	"one tenth part of the m."
"one-hundredth" of a *mītar*	=	"one hundredth of the m."
"one-thousandth" of a *mītar*	=	"one thousandth of the m."
"*lasmatrī*	=	10 *mītar*
"*salmatrī*	=	100 *mītar*
"*zarmatrī*	=	1000 *mītar*
"*laszaramatrī*	=	10000 *mītar*

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Weights (Sect. II, Art. 2).

The unit of weight is the *girām* (French "gramme"). Its fractionals are: "One-tenth of a *girām*" equals "one tenth part of a *girām*" etc., etc., etc. Its multiples are:

"*lasgirāma*	=	10 *girām*
"*salgirāma*	=	100 *girām*
"*zargirāma*	=	1000 *girām*
"*laszaragirāma*	=	10000 *girām*

Coins (Sect. III, Art. 3).

The monetary unit, although not specially defined in the text of the law seems to be the silver *afghānī*.

That part of the law runs:

"The weights and the values of the new coins, in which the prices of commodities are to be calculated and transactions are to be effected, are as follows:

(1) *Gold Coins.*

	Name.	Weight.	Value.
(*a*)	one *amānī*	6 *girām*	20 *afghānī*
(*b*)	half *amānī*	3 *girām*	10 *afghānī*

(2) *Silver Coins.*

	Name.	Weight.	Value.
(*a*)	one *afghānī*	*lasgirāma*	100 *pūl.*
(*b*)	half *afghāni*	5 *girām*	50 *pūl.*
(*c*)	20-*pūlī*	2 *girām*	20 *pūl.*

(3) *Copper Coins.*

	Name.	Weight.	Value.
(*a*)	2-*pūlī*	2 *girām*	2 *pūl.*
(*b*)	5-*pūlī*	3 *girām*	5 *pūl.*
(*c*)	10-*pūlī*	6 *girām*	10 *pūl.*

Art. 4 of the law gives a comparative table of the values of the old and the new currency, namely:

11 rupees Kabuli = 10 *afghānī*.
1 rupee Kabuli = 91 *pūl.*
one Kabuli *qirān* = 45 ,,
one '*abbāsī* = 30 ,,
si-shāhī = 22 ,,
sannārī = 15 ,,
yak-shāhī = 7 ,,
du-paysa = 3 ,,

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The names *afghānī*, given to the silver unit, and *amānī* designating the gold coin of the realm, are adaptations on the pattern of the French "franc" and "louis d'or" or "napoléon," the former derived from the name of the country, the latter—from the name of its ruler. The value on par of the *afghānī*, is exactly the same as that of the gold franc, and yet, there is a strange discrepancy in weight between the two: the French, silver coin weighs only 5 grammes, whereas the weight of the *afghānī*, as seen above, is exactly double of this But that, of course, is a question of higher finance and exchange with which the present brief sketch is not meant to deal. It might be merely mentioned here that the seeming discrepancy is obviously due to the fact that France is a country with a gold standard, whereas the standard of the Afghan currency is silver.

Art. 4 of the law concludes by an explanation to the effect that the values of the above comparative table from the *qirān* downwards hold good only in cases where the value of a single old coin has to be reduced into the new fractionals. Wherever larger sums are concerned they are to be converted into the new currency by means of multiplying the figure of rupees by 10 and dividing the result by 11, and the balance of fractionals has to be dealt with in accordance with the table, thus reducing the necessary error to ½-a *pūl* which is an altogether negligible quantity. As a matter of fact, in the whole descending scale, from the *qirān* downwards, an error amounting to ½-a *pūl* had to be consciously admitted, as there is no coin of such a denomination. Beginning with the Kabuli rupee, we may notice that its value is marked in the table as that of 91 *pūl*, though in reality it amounts to 90, (900) .... only, and the value of the *qirān* would in consequence be 45, (450) .... or thereabouts, and not 45 *pūl* only, as shown by the table, giving a loss of about ½-a *pūl*. That loss is again repeated in the case of the 15-*paysa* coin, once more for the 5-*paysa* coin and finally in the countervalue of the 2-*paysa* coin.

Thus, the loss throughout the table amounts to about 2 *pūl*, which is not compensated by the 0,1 *pūl* in excess adopted by the table for the value of one rupee Kabuli. Should we, therefore, when reducing some large sum into the new currency calculate that reduction on the base of the value of some of the smaller coins, the error and the loss might be considerable, hence the necessity of calculating such larger sums on the base of 11 rupees for 10 *afghānī* and having recourse to the fractional values of the table only for the indivisible balance of the calculation.

We can see from the above, that the reform, besides its other advantages, has certainly attained the purpose of simplifying the currency and reducing the number of the coins expressing the same. Instead of five copper coins of the old currency,

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we have now to deal with three coins only, *viz.* 2-*pūl*, 5-*pūl*, and 10-*pūl* coins [see 18, 19, 20].

All the three coins represented on our photo are struck on the same pattern: the figure expressing the value of the coin is surrounded by a thin circle partly enclosed in a wreath, and the word *pūl* is inscribed in the upper part of the coin. The reverse side of all the three coins alike bears the *tughrā* of the present ruler enclosed in a circle together with his title "*al-Ghāzī*" and the date 1304 (A.H., solar, see footnote on p. 419=A.D. 1925-26) again partly enclosed in a wreath exactly similar to the one seen on the obverse side. The word "*Afghānistān*" occupies the uppermost part on this side of the coin.

The number of silver coins is reduced in the new system of currency to three, [see 21, 22, 23] as against four (or even seven if we take into consideration the "raw" coins and the differently shaped coins of previous reigns) of the old currency.

What has been said here with regard to the new copper-coins applies to the silver coins in so far as their uniformity is concerned: they all have a mosque in a wreath on their obverse side with the year of the reign in which they were struck (7th, 8th, or 9th, as it may be) inscribed underneath. The reverse side bears the usual *tughrā* with the title of the king to its right, with the solar Muhammadan date below the same and the value of the coin inscribed at its topmost part.

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Sect. IV of the law comprising Art. 5–15 deals with the legal side proper of the reform, *viz.* the regulations regarding its gradual introduction and the conditions under which the substitution of the new weights, measures and coins for the old ones is to be completed.

Government Offices are expected to introduce the new system inside of three years: during the year 1305 (ending on March 21st, 1927) the entries in their ledgers are to bear as far as possible a mention of the new values along with the old ones; during 1306 (ending on March 20th, 1928) the mention of the new values becomes obligatory, whereas during the year 1307 (ending on March 21st, 1929) the old measures are no more officially recognized and only tolerated along with the new values in Government ledgers, whenever the officials in charge of the accountancy departments may feel the need of their preservation throughout the year. Henceforward, however, all the accountancy of the Government Offices is to be drawn up in the new terms only (art. 5).

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"The new weights[1] and metres will be manufactured "by the Government and distributed to all parts of Afghanistan "(art. 6).

"The distribution of the new weights[1] and metres to the "population will be done by the municipalities wherever such "exist. In other localities they will be distributed by the "prefects of police or by the local district officers or sub-district "officers, wherever the functions of the prefect of police are "discharged by them (art. 7).

"An equitable price,[2] the same for all parts of the realm, "for the new weights and metres will be established by the "Minister of Finance. Persons unable to disburse the full value "of the same in cash will be allowed to pay by instalments "within a period of six months (art. 8).

"Old weights in iron, cast-iron and brass, and old measures in "iron will be accepted from the population at the above mentioned "centres of distribution for the value of the metal contained "therein on the purchase of the new weights and measures "(art. 9).

"Permits for manufacturing the new weights and measures "according to the prescribed models will be granted by the "Government in the provinces to private persons on application. "These weights and measures will have, however, to be stamped "at the office of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the "province before being permitted to be used (art. 10).

"Until the necessary numbers of sets of the new weights "can be provided for all villages, the population of the same "will be allowed to continue using their old weights after having "had them compared with the new models (art. 11).

"Private persons in cities who will manufacture and use "their own weights will be liable to prosecution according "to the terms of art. 14 (art. 12).

"Weights and measures without the aforesaid official mark "will be considered as null and void in the seats of Governors, "Lieutenant-Governors and Commissioners of Divisions. The "Municipal Officers and the prefects of police will prevent "any transactions being carried on in such centres by means of "weights and measures devoid of the official mark. Persons

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1 Lit. "stones": the prevailing custom in Afghanistan of using ordinary cobble-stones for weighing purposes (especially when weighing bulky commodities like wood, coal, grain, potatoes, etc.) has resulted in the habit of applying the word "stone" as a generic name for any kind of weights, whether they be actually raw-stones or real weights cast in metal. Cf. the English "stone" equalling 14 pounds, the origin of which might be due to similar reasons.

2 The price charged by the Government Workshop ("*Māshīnkhāna*") of Kābul for a full set (in iron) of the new weights is 320 rupees Kabuli, that is to say, roughly speaking about 150 rupees Indian.

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"using such weights and measures will be liable to prosecution "under the penal law (art. 13).

"Should any deviation from the prescribed models be "discovered in weights and measures bearing the official mark "or in the weights and measures manufactured in villages on "the pattern of the prescribed models, the persons using such "weights and measures will be liable to a correctional punish- "ment under the penal laws (art. 14).

"The new weights and metres will be gradually introduced "during the period beginning 1305 to end 1307. From the "beginning of 1308 (March 22nd, 1929) the old weights and "measures will be abolished altogether. Persons who will "carry on transactions by means of the old weights and "measures after that date will be liable to correctional punish- "ment (art. 15).

"The present regulations constitute a part of the laws "of the realm, and we hereby order the articles of the same to "be forthwith put into force. [L. S. Amīr Amānullāh Khān "al-Ghāzī]."

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A few days after the promulgation of the law in question, more exactly on the 29th day of Pisces (=18th March, 1925), at 2 p.m., representatives from the various Government Offices, merchants, artisans and agriculturists were assembled in the Conservatory Hall (*Gulkhāna*) of the Palace, where they were addressed by the King on the subject of the new measures. Having pointed out in his speech the drawbacks connected with the old weights and measures and the old currency and the advantages offered by the new decimal units, the King explained to the assembly the correlations between the new standard units and their multiples and fractionals and the manner of converting the old values into the new decimal weights and measures.

When speaking about the new currency the King pointed out that there are three units (*vāḥid*) in it: the copper-unit—*pūl*, the silver-unit—*afghānī* and the gold-unit—*amānī*, and that no other determinative words should be added to these names: one must not call the new copper-coin *pūl-i naw* ("new *pūl*"), nor the silver-coin *rūpiya-i afghānī*, nor the gold-coin *ṭilā-yi amānī*, but simply *pūl*, *afghānī*, *amānī*.[1]

That warning, however, did not altogether dispel the natural tendency of the population to apply a two-worded name to the coins, especially to the silver one on the analogy of the *rūpiya-i kābulī* and *rūpiya-i kalladār*. The fact that the

[1] "*Amān-i Afghān*" No. 50 dated 30th of Pisces 1304 (=17th March, 1925).

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old copper unit was formerly indiscriminately called either *paysa* (Indian word for "money") or *pūl* (Persian word meaning "money") resulted in a natural desire amongst the population to distinguish somehow the new coin from the old one by applying to the former the qualificative *naw* ("new"). As regards the word *ṭilā* (lit., "gold", "golden coin") being added to the word *amānī*, the reason for it might lie in the gold coins of Bokhara of the name which are freely circulated in Northern Afghanistan.

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A few words remain to be said concerning the material facts connected with the introduction of the new weights and measures and coinage and its immediate results on the economical life of the country.

A revaluation of the currency and similar operations are not a new thing for Afghanistan. H. W. Bellew, who visited the country during the reign of Dost-Muḥammad, mentions four instances[1] within the space of six months when the Governor of Qandahār, Sardār Ghulām Ḥaidar Khān, the then heir-apparent, withdrew from circulation twice all the copper coin of the city (end of July 1857 and January 26th, 1858), once all the silver coin (November 20th, 1857) and once both the copper and the silver coin (December 31st, 1857), after having declared each time the coin "depreciated to one half its previous value". In the first of these cases the copper coin called in and bought at half its original value by the Sardār's Treasury "*was re-stamped, and after a few days, again issued at the usual value of the coin*". In the cases of the silver coin there does not seem to have been any restamping, as Bellew merely states that "*after a few days detention the coin was again circulated at its original value*". Which of these two courses was adopted on the two other occasions,—is not mentioned.

Such operations might have been, and probably were, going on throughout the country and throughout the last century. Their object, however, was wholly one-sided and did not go beyond a sporadic increase of the funds of the Treasury of a city.

The present reform widely differs in many ways from the above described acts of the local rulers which were always performed ad hoc and without any further effect. Still the advantages of the reform for the Afghan Treasury cannot be, and certainly were not, wholly ignored, if we only judge by the rapidity with which the idea of the reform was adopted by the Government. The profits of the Treasury on this occasion

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[1] H. W. Bellew, Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857, London, 1862, pp. 283-4, 332, 372 and 383.

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could not have been so high as to their percentage, but certainly were quite appreciable in their amount.

The weight of a one-rupee piece, as seen above, is equal to 2 *mithqāl*, *i.e.* 9,1 grammes. Now, the *afghānī* weighs 10 grammes. Thus, on the face of it, no material profit could have been derived from recoining eleven old coins into ten new ones. The percentage of the alloy in the old coin is, however, exceedingly small, especially in the older "raw" rupees, whereas in the *afghānī* the alloy, though probably not exceeding the limit considered as legal, is an unknown quantity[1] and is certainly comparatively high. That difference in standard, minute as it may be for a single coin, might be very considerable whenever the whole currency of the realm is concerned.

During the period mentioned in the law (art. 5), *i.e.* up to March 21st, 1929, the old coin ought to be absorbed gradually by the Treasury, that is to say all the old coin flowing in there in its normal course will be duly recoined and thrown into circulation under its new shape. At the same time the population is supposed to hand over of their own accord all the old coin to the Treasury, where it will be exchanged for the new currency. Taking into consideration that the conditions of the exchange are thoroughly fair and laid down in the body of the law itself (eleven *rūpiya-i kābulī* for ten *afghānī*) and that there is very little use for silver (except as coin) in Muhammadan countries,[2] we have ground to presume that all the old coin will duly find its way to the Treasury in order to be restamped.

All the above holds good with regard to the copper coin as well, with the exception of the 15-*paysa* pieces which were declared worthless[3] from the very first day after the publication of the new law. It is not quite clear what fate is in store for the one-*paysa* pieces made of latten brass, though on the face of it they ought to be exchanged in the general manner. Still it is possible that they may remain in circulation as a kind of additional coin.

The profits which the Afghan Government might expect to derive from the propagation of the new weights among the population are not inconsiderable. One has only to take into

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[1] No mention of the standard of the metal used for the new coin is made anywhere in the new law.

[2] The Islamic law does not encourage the use of silver spoons, dishes, etc.

[3] The amount of false 15-*paysa* coins in circulation was at a certain moment far greater than the real coin of that denomination and the false coins were accepted by the population without any objection owing to the scarcity of the real coin of that value. The false coins differ from the real ones only as regards their thickness: the false coin is very thin, the real one has normal proportions (see No. 13, where the first of the two coins is a false one and the second a good one).

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consideration the fact mentioned above regarding raw stones being used throughout the country as weights and the very elevated price of the new metal weights, to see that the clause about the old weights "in iron, cast-iron and brass" being accepted in part payment at the purchase of the new weights is but an euphemism.

The immediate results of the introduction of the new currency were twofold. In the first instance the reform resulted in the depreciation of the Kabuli rupee on the foreign market (that is to say in Peshawar which is the only place where the Kabuli rupee is quoted): immediately after the new law was published the rate of the exchange for the Kabuli rupee dropped by 10% thus lowering the *afghānī* on the market to the position formerly occupied by the Kabuli rupee. On the other hand the prices of the ordinary commodities of life in Afghanistan itself gradually went up, and there is every reason to presume that at the expiration of the period stipulated by the new law the prices for these commodities will be calculated in *afghānī* instead of so many Kabuli rupees, which will mean a general rise in prices of 10%.[1]

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To sum up,—after the reform will have been completed the situation which will present itself will be as follows:—

For coins	..decimal.
,, measures of length	.. ,,
,, measures of surface	..old Afghan.
,, measures of capacity	.. nil.
,, measures of liquids	.. nil.
,, measures of temperature	.. nil.
,, weights	..decimal.

Certain minor points have to be also taken into consideration, namely, that although most of the measures and weights introduced by the law, like the metre, all the weights and all the coins, will have to be accepted by the population and have come to stay as their old equivalents will be withdrawn from circulation by the Government, still certain of the old measures, especially those which do not require material symbols to express them, will survive. The names *shāhī*, *sannār* and *'abbāsī* will most probably stick to the new coins to denote combinations analogous to those formerly expressed by them. It is hardly probable that the old *kurūh*, neither abolished nor even mentioned by the new law, should cede its place as road-

1 An almost immediate favourable result of the introduction of the metric system in Afghanistan was, however, its recent premature (since April, 1928) and unexpected admission into the Universal Postal Union.

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measure to the new and unwonted *zarmatrī*. We must not forget as well that the surface or land-measure (*jarīb*), along with its fractionals, is based also on the old *gaz*, which certainly will survive at least in connection with the *jarīb*. The English yard (*vār*) will certainly continue to co-exist with the *mītar* in the customs, whenever cloth, etc., of British origin, with lengths calculated in yards, is imported. The builders, carpenters, joiners, etc., will not so easily part with the *fūt* and the *inch* to which they are accustomed. In short, we shall meet with a peculiar state of symbiosis in the domain of measures.

A similar (as far as currency is concerned) reform in Persia due to the efforts of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Shāh, by whom in 1877 the coinage was concentrated at the Government Mint in Tehran under a fixed form obligatory for the whole country, had a most salutary effect on its economical life.

The reform in Afghanistan with which we are concerned represents, however, a step towards the simplification not only of the currency, but of the measures and weights as well, at least in so far as it means a unification of the same throughout the realm, and has consequently more far-reaching effects. We may therefore consider that, with all its limitations, the introduction of the metric system in Afghanistan marks an epoch in the history of the country and brings it one step nearer modern civilized life.

September, 1928.

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Lunar and Solar Eclipses in Hindu Astronomy.

By Sukumar Ranjan Das.

Lunar and Solar eclipses played an important part in the superstitions of all the ancient nations of the world, amongst all of whom the eclipses of the sun and the moon had a terrible import, being supposed to presage dreadful events. By the common people of the Romans, as also by the Hindus, a great noise was usually set up with brazen instruments, and loud shouts during the eclipses of the moon. The Chinese, like the Hindus, supposed eclipses to be occasioned by great dragons on the point of devouring the sun and the moon, and it was thought by the ignorant, nay the common people, that the monsters, terrified by the noise of the drums and brass vessels, let go their prey. The eclipses were looked upon with such a feeling of mysterious awe and apprehension that in 2159 B.C., the Chinese Royal Astronomers, Hi and Ho, were executed for their failure to predict a solar eclipse beforehand. The sudden occurrence of an eclipse without previous prediction was supposed to be attended with a cataclysm and was recognised as an event of serious portent. In the Mahābhārata[1] we are told that when at the time of the battle between the gods and the demons (asuras) the sun became crimson (āditye lohitāyati), both the gods and the demons raised a hue and cry. There is another reference to a solar eclipse in the Mahābhārata,[2] Indra observed that the sun was rising in the east and the moon was entering the sun and the dawn was growing crimson, and further the tithi was a new moon, hence Indra thought that it predicted a terrible war between the gods and the demons which was to take place on the morrow.

The cause, however, of eclipses, notwithstanding the superstition of the people generally, was well understood by the Hindu astronomers. The Hindus were at a very early date well acquainted with these facts relating to an eclipse. They had rules for calculation of the various phases of both the lunar and solar eclipses, the times of beginning, middle and end, as set forth in their various astronomical works. Even in the Rg Veda which probably dates from 2,000 B.C. at the latest, we get references to an eclipse and the calculation of its duration. The fortieth hymn in the fifth mandala of the

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1 *Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva,* chapter 19.
2 *Mahābhārata, Vana parva,* chapter 213.

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Rg Veda is very important in this connection.[1] It shows that an eclipse of the sun was then first observed with any pretensions to accuracy by the sage Atri. The last verse in the hymn which, after describing the eclipse, says "Atri alone knew him (the sun) and none else could." This observation of the solar eclipse is noticed in the Sāṃkhyāyana (24.3) and also in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (iv.5.2; 6.13), in the former of which it is said to have occurred three days previous to the viṣuvan (the autumnal equinox). The observation thus appears to have attracted considerable attention in those days. It seemed to have been a total eclipse of the sun, and the stars became visible during the time, for the expression "*bhuvanāny adīdhayuḥ*" in verse 5 of the fortieth hymn in the fifth mandala is interpreted in that way.[2] There are several references to the solar eclipse in the Brāhmaṇas. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of the Soma Veda there are references to an eclipse in five places (iv. 5. 2; iv. 6. 13; vi. 6. 8; XII, 11. 14, 15; XXIII. 16. 2); in two of these places (vi. 6. 8 and XII. 11. 14, 15) it is mentioned that darkness having enveloped the sun, Atri by his power removed the darkness and in the remaining three places it is mentioned that the gods removed it. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Śukla Yajur Veda there is one reference to the eclipse (v. 3. 2. 2) where it is said that darkness having prevailed upon the sun, Soma and Rudra cleared it. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda there is one reference to an eclipse (VIII. 19) where it is mentioned that darkness having come upon the sun, Atri removed it. Hence it can be inferred that Atri knew how to calculate the duration and the different phases of the eclipse.[3] There are in addition to those mentioned before three other references to an eclipse in the Mahābhārata. In the Saṗhā-parva, chapter 39, it is stated that Rāhu devoured the sun [4]; in the Bhīṣma parva, chapter 2, it is observed that in the Kārtikī full-moon tithi the moon became invisible and pale and also crimson in the lotus-coloured sky [5]; evidently by this a lunar eclipse is meant; the third reference is in the same parva, third chapter, where a lunar and a solar eclipse are mentioned [6].

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1 *Rg Veda*, 5-40-6.

स्वर्भानोरधयदिंद्र माया अवो दिवो वर्त्तमाना अवाहन् ।
गूळ्हं सूर्य्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविंददत्रिः ।

2 *Vide Orion*, pp. 159-160 and Tilak's interpretation of the passage.

3 *Vide Bhāratīya Jyotiḥ Śāstra*, pp. 62, 63, by S. B. Dikshit.

4 राऽग्रसदादित्यमपर्वणि विशांपते । Sabhā parva, 79 chap. verse 19.

5 ग्रहेण्यः प्रभया हीनः पौर्णमासीं च कार्त्तिकीं ।
चन्द्रो ऽभवद्ग्निवर्णश्च पद्मवर्णे नभस्तले ॥
Bhīṣma parva chap. 2.

6 चन्द्रसूर्य्यावुभौ ग्रस्तौ Bhīṣma parva, chap 3, verse 32.

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Having gone through the references to solar and lunar eclipses in the Vedic and Paurāṇic literature we come to the period of the Siddhāntas. The Jyotiṣ Vedānga and the Sūrya Prajñapti of the Jains, which belong to an earlier date, do not give any detailed method for the calculation of an eclipse. Āryabhaṭa, the first among the systematic writers on Hindu Astronomy, who was born in 398 Saka or 476 A.D., rejected altogether the Paurāṇic idea of the demon Rāhu devouring the sun or the moon at the time of an eclipse. He said that Rāhu and Ketu were no other than the ascending and descending nodes. He tried to give a mathematical interpretation of the whole matter and suggested a method for calculating the eclipses. Varāhamihira (born, saka 427 or 505 A.D.) gave a crushing retort to the Paurāṇic idea of Rāhu and Ketu. "Some argue," says Varāhamihira, "that Rāhu is a demon; formerly Viṣṇu finding Rāhu drinking nectar cut off his head with Sudarśaṇa chakra, but Rāhu having taken some nectar did not die and was converted into a planet." If Rāhu has become a planet, why then does he not, like the sun and the moon, cast his shadow? The Purāṇas say that Rāhu has got his shadow. Why then is not that shadow seen in the sky? The Purāṇas reply, "By virtue of a boon from Brahmā, Rāhu has become black, hence he is not seen in any tithi other than the full-moon or the new-moon." Varāhamihira says, "the āchāryas describe Rāhu as divided in the upper and lower parts of his body, some describe him as a serpent and some other as formless darkness."[1] Varāhamihira does not accept these old ideas. He asks, "if Rāhu has got any form and moves among the stars, why does he then devour the moon and the sun at a distance of six signs? If you argue that Rahu's motion does not conform to any principle, why is it then possible to calculate his motion? If you say that Rāhu has got only a head and a tail, why does he then devour the moon and the sun at a distance of six signs and why not at a distance of two or three signs? If Rāhu has got the form of a serpent and devours the sun or the moon with the head or the tail, why does not the serpent-like body cover the space of the Zodiac between the head and the tail?" Thus has Varāhamihira tried to controvert the current popular belief and has established his theory of the eclipses; "at the time of a lunar eclipse the moon enters the earth's shadow and at the time of a solar eclipse the moon enters the sun. The earth's shadow moves in the seventh sign from the

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[1] Utpala has quoted a passage from *Vaśiṣṭha Siddhānta* to say that the Rāhu is serpent-like in form; it remaining at a distance of six signs from the sun and the moon covers them by virtue of a boon received from Brahmā. Devala says, "Rāhu is dark, and like a cloud it overtakes the sun and the moon at a new-moon and a full-moon respectively."

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sun and in a full-moon the moon arrives there. The moon and the earth's shadow both move in the east; but the moon moves faster. Hence the moon enters the earth's shadow by the east side. At the time of a solar eclipse, the moon and the sun move in the same sign; but the moon moving in a plane lower than that of the sun and at a more rapid rate covers the sun from the west. For this reason an eclipse never begins in the *western* half of the moon or in the *eastern* half of the sun." Why does not a lunar eclipse take place at every full-moon? Varāha says, "as the shape of the earth's shadow is larger at the beginning and smaller at the end (*i.e.*, the shape is a cone), the moon, moving in the seventh sign from the sun, passes off either to the north or to the south of the shadow. If the moon does not pass a long way off, it then enters the earth's shadow by the east side." A lunar eclipse is the same in every place. But a solar eclipse is visible in some places and in other places it is not. The reason is this, the moon moving below the sun overtakes the latter like a cloud from the west side, hence the solar eclipse is total in some places and in other places it is partial, and in some other places it is not at all visible Just as a man below the sun cannot observe the sun's disc when covered by a cloud, but another man situated in a different place can see either the half, quarter or the whole of the sun's disc, similar is the case with a solar eclipse. Varāhamihira gives another proof and he says, "The Earth's shadow which covers the moon is much larger than the moon, hence the horns of the moon when half-eclipsed are seen flattened (*i.e.* form very obtuse angles, *vide* Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Chapter VIII, verse 7); but the moon which covers the sun is much smaller than the sun, hence the horns of the sun when half-eclipsed are seen pointed (*i.e.*, form very acute angles, *vide* Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Chap VIII, 8). Rāhu, the demon, is not the cause of an eclipse, this is the truth." Why then is this popular belief? Varāhamihira says, "Rāhu is the name given to the node [1] of the moon's path and at a new-moon or a full-moon unless the moon is near one of the nodes, an eclipse can never take place. Hence the popular belief connects the Rāḥu with an eclipse." Varāhamihira then goes on to describe ten kinds of eclipse [2]. If the eclipse begins in the right side of the moon's or sun's disc, it is called *sabya*; if in the left, it is then *apasabya*; if the disc becomes dark for a while and immediately clear, it is called *leha* (lit. licking); if half or one third or one fourth of the disc is obscure, the eclipse is called *grasana*; if the eclipse begins at one side of the disc and then the whole disc being obscured,

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1 Head of Rāhu is the ascending node and tail is the descending node.

2 Sabyāpasabya lehagrasana nirodhābamardanārohāḥ
Āghrātaṃ madhyatamastamohantya iti te daśagrāsāḥ

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the middle is seen as a black mass, it is called *nirodha*; if the whole disc is totally obscured for some time, it is called *abamardana*; if after release the disc is again obscured, it is called *ārohaṇa*; if one side of the disc is seen partly obscured just like a glass partly obscured by the moisture of breath, it is called *āghrāta*; if the middle is obscured, but the sides are clear, it is called *madhyatama*; and lastly if the middle is slightly obscured and the rest very thickly obscured, the eclipse is called *tamohantya*. This description of the ten kinds of eclipse surely presupposes minute and careful observations carried on for a considerable length of time. Not that Varāhamihira observed them all, but, as Utpala has shown by quotations, Varāha got some of the nomenclatures from Kāśyapa and Pārāśara Saṃhitās.

Varāhamihira has also described ten kinds of release of an eclipse and has given separate nomenclatures for them.[1] If the release is in the south west, it is called dakṣiṇahanu; if in the north-west, it is called vāmahanu; if in the south, it is dakṣiṇakukṣi; if in the north, it is vāmakukṣi; if in the south-east, it is dakṣiṇapāyu; if in the north-east, it is vāmapāyu; if the eclipse begins in the east and ends in the same side, the release is called sañchardana, and if the eclipse ends in the west, it is called jaraṇa, if the middle of the disc becomes first clear, it is called madhyavidaraṇa; if the middle is obscured while the end of the disc is clear, the release is called antyavidaraṇa. The above description is for the release of a lunar eclipse; but it is also intended for the release of a solar eclipse, the only difference being that in place of the east side of the moon, the west side of the sun will have to be taken and similarly all the opposite sides are to be taken in the case of the release of a solar eclipse.

After Varāhamihira came Brahmagupta (520 Śaka or 598 A.D.) who in his Brāhmasphuta Siddhānta went into further details and gave more precise scientific methods for the calculation of solar and lunar eclipses. He followed in some places the old Śūryasiddhānta and tried to give a clear exposition of the whole matter.[2] But the methods are more clear and worked out in greater details in the present Śūrya Siddhānta which we shall discuss at a considerable length later on. Lalla (560 Śaka or 638 A.D.), in his Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, tried to combine the methods of Āryabhata and Brahmagupta. But he has committed some mistakes in the calculation of the Ākṣa and Āyana Valana (mentioned later on), and has not given the detailed working for the calculation of a solar eclipse. He has, however, explained clearly the process of finding the parallax in

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1 Hanukukṣipāyubhedā dvirdviḥ sañchardanaṃ ca jaraṇaṃ ca madhyāntyayośca vidaraṇamiti daśa Śaśisūryayormokṣāḥ

2 Brāhmasphuta siddhānta, Golādhyāya, Āryā 34–38.

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latitude and longitude without which the calculation of an eclipse is impossible.[1]

Further details of scientific explanation and mathematical calculation of an eclipse are obtained from Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi and the Sūrya Śiddhānta. That the cause of eclipses, notwithstanding the superstition of the people generally, was well understood by the Hindu astronomers, is shown by the following extracts taken from the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi of Bhāskara[2] :—

"The moon, moving like a cloud in a lower sphere, overtakes the sun, hence it arises that the western side of the sun's disc is first obscured, and that the eastern side is the last part relieved from the moon's dark body; and to some places the sun is eclipsed, and to other places he is not eclipsed. At the change of the moon it often happens that an observer placed at the centre of the earth, would find the sun, when far from the zenith, obscured by the intervening body of the moon; while another observer on the surface of the earth will not, at the same time, find him to be so obscured, as the moon will appear to him to be depressed from the line of vision extending from his eye to the sun. Hence arises the necessity for the correction of parallax in celestial longitude and parallax in latitude in solar eclipses, in consequence of the difference of the distance of the sun and the moon. When the sun and the moon are in opposition, the earth's shadow envelopes the moon in darkness. As the moon is actually enveloped in darkness its eclipse is equally seen by every one on the earth's surface, and as the earth's shadow and the moon which enters it are at the same distance from the earth, therefore, there is no call for the correction of the parallax in a lunar eclipse. As the moon moving east-ward enters the dark shadow of the earth, therefore its eastern side is first obscured and its western side is the last portion of its disc to emerge out of darkness, as it advances in its course. As the sun is a body of vast size, and the earth insignificantly small in comparison, the shadow made by the sun from the earth is, therefore, of a conical form, terminating in a sharp point. It extends to a distance considerably beyond that of the moon's orbit. The length of the earth's shadow and its breadth at the part traversed by the moon may easily be found by projection."

Now let us discuss the method of calculating the occurrence of the eclipses of the moon as described in the Sūrya Siddhānta. To find the day on which a lunar eclipse takes place we compare the longitudes of the moon and her node on the day of the moon's opposition with the sun, when the eclipse

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1 Śiṣyadhīvṛddhida, Sūryagrahaṇādhyāya, page 34, edited by Pandit Sudhākara Dvivedi.

2 Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, chapter VIII, verses 1-6.

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is expected to occur, and if at the time of the opposition the difference of the longitudes of the moon and her node is within about $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, an eclipse is bound to take place. In the Sūrya Siddhanta the sun's mean diameter is assumed to be equal to 6,500 yojanas and the moon's mean diameter to be 480 yojanas. But on account of the variable distances of the sun and the moon, their apparent diameter are greater when near than when more remote, and a correction is applied on the hypothesis that the apparent magnitudes vary with the daily motions which are in the inverse ratio of the distances. The mean daily motions of the sun and the moon are given by the division of the revolutions made by each in a Mahāyuga by the number of days in that Yuga, given in chapter I of the Sūrya Siddhānta. Thus, the mean daily motion of the sun $=\frac{4,320,000}{1,577,917,828}$, this reduced to minutes $=59{\cdot}13616'$; and the mean daily motion of the moon $=\frac{57,753,336'}{1,577,917,828}=790{\cdot}56'$. The daily motions of the sun and the moon on the day of an eclipse are called their true daily motions. Then the Sūrya Siddhānta finds the sun's diameter at the Moon and their diameters in minutes. "The diameters of the Sun and the Moon multiplied by their true diurnal motions and divided by their mean diurnal motions become the Sphuta or rectified diameters." (Rule 2, chap. IV.) That is, the sun's rectified diameter is $\frac{6500\times A}{59{\cdot}13616'}$ and the moon's rectified diameter is $\frac{480\times B}{790{\cdot}56}$, where A and B are taken to denote the true diurnal motions of the sun and the moon. "The rectified diameter of the Sun multiplied by his revolutions (in a kalpa) and divided by the Moon's revolutions (in that cycle), or multiplied by the periphery of the Moon's orbit and divided by that of the Sun, becomes the diameter of the Sun at the Moon's orbit. The diameter of the Sun at the Moon's orbit and the Moon's rectified diameter divided by 15, give the numbers of minutes contained in the diameters of the discs of the Sun and the Moon respectively" (Rule 3). That is, the diameter of the Sun at the Moon's orbit $=$

$$\frac{6500\times A}{59{\cdot}13616}\times\frac{4,320,000}{57,753,336}$$

$$=\frac{6500\times A}{\frac{4,320,000}{1,577,917,828}}\times\frac{4,320,000}{57,753,336}=\frac{6500\times A}{\frac{57,753,336}{1,577,917,828}}$$

$$=\frac{6500\times A}{790{\cdot}56}\ \text{Yojanas}=8{\cdot}222\times A.$$

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The circumference of the moon's orbit is reckoned to be 324,000 Yojanas, and the number of minutes of arc in the same circumference is $360 \times 60 = 21600$. Hence, 15 Yojanas correspond with one minute of arc, and the above diameter of the sun, divided by 15, gives the apparent diameter in minutes of arc $= \frac{8 \cdot 222 \times A}{15} = \cdot 54813 \times A$.

Therefore, the mean apparent diameter of the sun's disc $= \cdot 54813 \times 59 \cdot 13616$ (where $A = 59 \cdot 13616$) $= 32 \cdot 40685'$ nearly.

The rectified diameter of the moon, divided by 15, gives the apparent diameter of the moon's disc in minutes $= \frac{480 \times B}{790 \cdot 56 \times 15} = \cdot 04048 \times B$ and the mean apparent diameter of the disc of the moon $= \frac{480}{15} = 32'$, where $B = 790' 56$.

Next, the Sūrya Siddhānta finds the diameter of the earth's shadow at the moon. "Multiply the true diurnal motion of the moon by the earth's diameter (or 1600) and divide the product by her mean diurnal motion; the quantity obtained is called the Sūchī. Multiply the difference between the earth's diameter and the rectified diameter of the sun by the mean diameter of the moon (or 480) and divide the product by that of the sun (or 6500); subtract the quotient from the Sūchī, the remainder will be the diameter (in Yojanas) of the earth's shadow (at the moon); reduce it to minutes as mentioned before (*i.e.* by dividing it by 15)." (Rules 4 and 5.)

That is, the Sūchī $= \frac{1600 \times B}{790 \cdot 56}$ Yojanas $= 2 \cdot 024 \times B$ nearly.

The diameter of the earth's shadow at the moon is $\frac{1600 \times B}{790 \cdot 56} - \left\{ \frac{6500 \times A}{59 \cdot 13616} - 1600 \right\} \frac{480}{6500}$ Yojanas, and by the division by 15, the Yojanas are converted into minutes which

$$= 106\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{B}{790 \cdot 56} - 32 \times \frac{A}{59 \cdot 13616} + 7\frac{57}{65}.$$

Now make $A = 59 \cdot 13616'$ and $B = 790 \cdot 56'$, the mean motions of the sun and the moon; therefore, the mean diameter of the earth's shadow $= 106\frac{2}{3} + 7\frac{57}{65} - 32 = 82\frac{106}{195}$ minutes or 82 minutes nearly.

A similar method for finding the diameter of the earth's shadow is given in chapter X of the Pañcha Siddhāntikā, *i.e.*, the old Sūrya Siddhānta included in Varāhamihira's Pañcha Siddhāntikā.

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"The earth's shadow is always six signs from the sun. When the place of the moon's node is equal to that of the shadow, there will be an eclipse (of the sun or the moon) or, when the node is some degrees within, or beyond, the place of its shadow, the same thing will occur." (Rule 6.)

The longitudes of the sun and the moon being computed for the mid-night preceding, or after conjunction or opposition, proportional parts are to be applied for the changes of their places in the interval between. The moon moving like a cloud in a lower sphere, covers the sun in a solar eclipse; but in a lunar eclipse the moon moving eastward enters the earth's shadow, and the shadow obscures her disc.

The Sūrya Siddhānta next proceeds to find the magnitude of an eclipse. It says that the quantity of the eclipsed part of the diameter will be $=\frac{1}{2}(D \pm d) - \lambda$, where D is the diameter of the coverer, d the diameter of the body eclipsed, λ the latitude of the moon at the time of syzygy (*i.e.* when the sun, the earth, the moon, and the node of its orbit are in one line). If this quantity be greater than the diameter of the disc of the body to be eclipsed, the eclipse will be total; otherwise it will be only partial. But there will be no eclipse when λ is greater than

$$\frac{D+d}{2}.$$ (Rules 10 and 11.)

To find the half duration of the eclipse and that of the total darkness we are to find the halves, separately, of the sum and difference of the diameters of that which is to be covered and that which is the coverer. We are then to subtract the square of the moon's latitude from the squares of the half sum and the half difference and to take the square roots of the results. These roots, multiplied by 60 and divided by the diurnal motion of the moon from the sun, give the *Sthityardha*, the half duration of the eclipse and the Mardārdha, the half duration of the total darkness, in Ghatikās (respectively). (Rules 12 and 13.)

This can be explained thus: Suppose V_1EN represents a portion of the ecliptic, and M_1MN a portion of the moon's path cutting the ecliptic at the ascending node N. Let E and M be the centres of the earth's shadow and of the moon, at the instant of opposition, that is, at the time of the full moon, then EM will be the latitude of the moon, at that time (say H), and $EM=\lambda$.

Then suppose V and M_1 are the places of the centres of the earth's shadow and of the moon respectively, at the beginning of the eclipse, *i.e.*, at the moment of the first contact of the moon with the shadow, then V_1E (where V_1 is the foot of the perpendicular from M_1 on the ecliptic) is equal to the difference between the longitudes of the moon at the first contact and at the time

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of full moon. Let us assume the moon's latitude, λ, to be unchanged for a short time. Then in the triangle M_1EV_1, $M_1E^2=EV_1^2+M_1V_1^2$; but $EM_1=\frac{D+d}{2}$, sum of the radii of the earth's shadow and the moon, and $M_1V_1=\lambda$. Hence $EV_1=\sqrt{\left(\frac{D+d}{2}\right)^2-\lambda^2}$. Let u be the relative diurnal motion of the moon from the sun, S the *sthityardha* in Ghatikās.

$$\text{Therefore, } \frac{S}{60}=\frac{\sqrt{\left(\frac{D+d}{2}\right)^2-\lambda^2}}{u}, \text{ [60 Daṇḍas=1 day].}$$

$$\text{or } S=\frac{60}{u}\times\sqrt{\left(\frac{D+d}{2}\right)^2-\lambda^2}.$$

If M be the half duration of total darkness,

$$M=\frac{60}{u}\times\sqrt{\left(\frac{D-d}{2}\right)^2-\lambda^2}.$$

The diurnal motions of the sun, the moon, and her ascending node, multiplied by the Sthityardha (above found) and divided by 60 give their changes in minutes. Then to find the first exact Sthityardha, subtract the changes of the sun and the moon from their places and add the node's change to its place; from these applied places find the moon's latitude and the Sthityardha. This Sthityardha will be somewhat nearer the exact one, from this find the changes and apply the same method of calculation and repeat the process until you get the same Sthityardha in every repetition. This Sthityardha will be the exact first Sthityardha. To find the second Sthityardha, or that for the end of the eclipse, the proportional changes in the places of the sun and the moon are now to be added to their places at the opposition, but the change in the place of the moon's node is to be subtracted from the place at the opposition. From these corrected places, the moon's latitude is again to be computed and substituted for λ in the above formula, for a nearer value of S, at the last contact. The same process is to be repeated until the exact second *Sthityardha* is obtained. In like manner, the first and second Mardārdhas are determined by repeated calculations. (Rules 14 and 15.)

The middle of the lunar eclipse takes place at the time of the full moon. If this time be denoted by H, then $H-$each 1st Sthityardha=the time of the first contact with the shadow and $H+$2nd exact Sthityardha is the time of the end of the eclipse. Similarly, $T-$exact 1st Mardārdha and $T+$2nd exact

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Mardārdha are the times of the beginning and end of the total darkness. (Rules 16 and 17.)

If the diurnal motion of the moon from the sun (*i.e.*, the relative daily motion) in longitude be l, S the first Sthityardha, and m the time at any moment elapsed from the beginning, or first contact, the difference in longitude at that moment, from that at the middle of the eclipse would be in minutes of arc $=\frac{l}{60}(S-m)$. This is called the Koṭi in minutes or the perpendicular of the right angled triangle of which the moon's latitude is the base and the distance between the centres of that which is the coverer and that which is to be covered is the hypotenuse. (Rule 18.)

In an eclipse of the sun, the Koṭi in minutes, multiplied by the mean Sthityardha and divided by the apparent Sthityardha becomes the Sphuta or apparent Koṭi in minutes. (Rule 19.)

The eclipsed part in minutes=(half the sum of the diameters of the coveror and that covered)—(the distance at any moment between the centres of the coverer and that covered) $=\frac{D+d}{2}-\sqrt{\text{Koṭi}^2+\lambda^2}$ where D and d are the diameters and λ is the latitude of the moon which is called Bhuja. (Rule 20.)

A similar method is employed for calculating the eclipsed part at a given time between the middle of the eclipse and the end, in which case the second Sthityardha is used for finding the Koṭi or the perpendicular of the above right angled triangle.

Given the quantity of the eclipsed part, to find its corresponding time, suppose n denotes the minutes of arc of the eclipsed part of lunar eclipse. Then Koṭi

$$=\sqrt{\left\{\left(\frac{D+d}{2}\right)-n\right\}^2-\lambda^2}.$$

In a solar eclipse, the Koṭi

$$=\frac{\text{Apparent Sthityardha}}{\text{Mean Sthityardha}}\times\sqrt{\left(\frac{D+d}{2}-n\right)^2-\lambda^2}.$$

From the Koṭi, find the time in Ghatikās in the same way as the Sthityardha is found. (Rules 21, 22 and 23.)

It is remarked in the Sūrya Siddhānta that the phase of an eclipse cannot be exactly understood without their projection, and the Hindu method is explained by finding what are termed the Valanas, two angles whose sum or difference constitutes the so-called rectified Valana, or "variation of the ecliptic." As an entire variation, it is equal to the angle between a circle of latitude through the place of a body on the ecliptic, and the circle of position through the same place; the circle of position being

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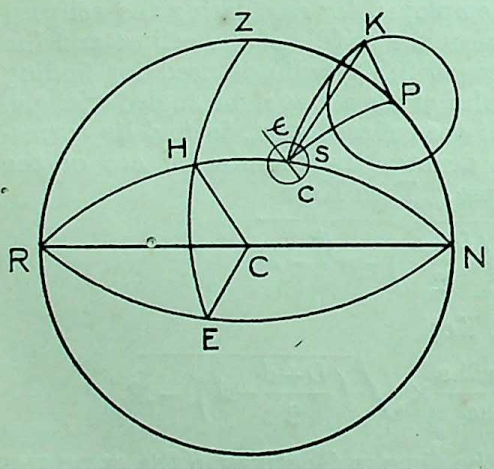
defined as the great circle, passing through a planet, and through the north and south points of the horizon.

The rules for calculating the Valana, āksha, and āyana, altogether agree with those of the old Saura Siddhānta as contained in the Pañcha Siddhāntikā.[1]

The Sūrya Siddhānta has given two rules for finding the Valana used in the projection of eclipses. The rules are as follows :—

"Find the zenith distance of the circle of position passing through the body, multiply its sine by the sine of the latitude of the place, and divide the product by the radius. Find the arc whose sine is equal to the quotient; the degrees contained in this arc called the degrees of the (Āksha or the latitudinal) Valana; they are north or south according as the body is in the eastern or western hemisphere of the place. From the place of the body, increased by three signs, find the variation (which is called Āyana or solstitial Valana). Find the sum or difference of the degrees of the variation and those of the latitudinal Valana, when those are of the same name or of contrary names; the result is called Sphuta or true Valana. The sine of the true Valana divided by 70 gives the Valana in digits." (Rules 24 and 25.)

This can be explained thus: Let *RZPN* represent the meridian, *P* the pole of the equator, *N* the north point of the horizon *REN*, *ZHE* the prime vertical. Suppose *S* is the place of the body to be eclipsed and through *S* the circle of position *NSR* is to be drawn through the north and south points, *N* and *R* of the horizon. The object of the Valana is then to determine the position of the short arc ϵSC, as it would appear to an observer at a given place. Now ϵSC is perpendicular to *SK*, the circle of latitude through *S*. Then rectified Valana is angle *KSN*, angle between the circle of position *SN* and the circle of latitude *SK*.



The āksha Valana and āyana Valana are the two parts of rectified Valana *KSN*. The āksha Valana is $< PSN$ and āyana Valana is $< KSP$.

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[1] For details see the Sanskrit Commentary by Sudhakar Dvivedi in the Pañcha Siddhāntikā, edited by Thibaut and himself, Chap. X.

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From triangle PSN, $\sin PSN = \frac{\sin PNS . \sin PN}{\sin PS}$.

Here sin PNS is measured by ZH, the zenith distance of the circle of position (Z say). PN = latitude of the place $= l$ (say), $PS = 90° -$ declination.

$\therefore$ sin āksha Valana $= \frac{\sin Z . \sin l}{\cos d} = \frac{\sin Z . \sin l}{R}$ in the text.

If R be the radius of the sun's diurnal path, on the day of the eclipse, and, consequently, the sun having a supposed declination d, the cosine of the arc d would be the radius of the diurnal circle.[1]

Let the place of the body be increased by three signs.[2] Then the āyana Valana is angle KSP. From $\triangle KSP$

$\sin KSP = \frac{\sin PKS . \sin KP}{\sin PS} = \frac{\sin (L+90°) \sin \omega}{\cos d}$, where L is the original longitude of the body and it becomes $L+90°$ when the place of the body is increased by three signs, KP is the obliquity of the ecliptic, $= \frac{\cos L . \sin 24°}{R}$, where $\omega = 24°$ nearly.

Thus the sphuta or true Valana is found by addition or subtraction of the two parts, as may be found necessary.

To mark the sine of the Sphuta Valana in the projection of the eclipse it is reduced to the circle whose radius is 49 digits in the text.

Therefore, reduced sine of the Valana : 49 = sine of the Sphuta Valana : R.

Hence, reduced sine of the Valana = sine of the Sphuta

$$\text{Valana} \frac{\times 49}{R} = \frac{\text{sine of the Sphuta Valana}}{70}, \quad (R = 3438).$$

$$\left[\frac{3438}{49} = 70 \text{ nearly.}\right]$$

Bhāskara in his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi has almost followed the method given in the Sūrya Siddhānta for calculating a lunar eclipse in its various aspects. However, he has explained the two Valanas at a greater length, particulars of which are given in Chapter VIII, verses 30 to 43, Golādhyāya.

The use of the Valana is this that, in drawing the projections of the eclipses, after the disc of the body which is to be eclipsed is drawn, and the north and south and the east and west lines are also marked in it, which lines will, of course,

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[1] See Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, page 282.

[2] The angle called Āyana Valana is obviously the same as the angle of position of modern Astronomy.

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represent the circle of position and its secondary, the direction of the line representing the ecliptic in the disc of the body can easily be found through the Valana. This direction being known, the exact directions of the beginning, middle, and the end of the eclipse can be determined. But as the moon resolves in its orbit, the direction of its orbit, therefore, is to be found. But the method for finding this is very difficult, and consequently instead of doing this, the direction of the ecliptic is determined by means of the moon's corresponding place in it and then ascertain the direction of the moon's orbit.[1]

We have already found the āksha Valana

$$= \frac{\sin Z \sin l}{\cos d} \ldots\ldots (B)$$

where l is the latitude of the place and āyana Valaṅa

$$= \frac{\sin (90° + L) \sin \omega}{\cos d} = \frac{\cos L}{\cos d} \ldots\ldots (A)$$

where L is the longitude of the body.

Lalla, Śrīpati, and others used the co-versed sin L instead of cos L and the radius for the cos d in (A) and the versed sin Z in the place of sin Z and radius for the cos d in (B). Hence, the Valanas found by them are incorrect. Bhāskara, therefore, in order to convince people of the mistakes made by Lalla, Śrīpati, and others, in finding the Valanas, refuted their methods in several ways. Bhāskara says, " As the versed sine is like the sagitta (śara) and the sine is the half chord, therefore, the versed sine of the distance of the ecliptic pole from the meridian will not express the proper quantity of Valaṅa as has been asserted by Lalla etc; but the right sine of that distance does so precisely. The Āyana Valana will be found from the declination of the longitude of the sun added with three signs or 90°. Those people who have directed that the versed sine of the declination of that point, three signs in advance of the sun, should be used, have thereby vitiated the whole calculation. Āksha Valana may be in like manner ascertained and illustrated. But it is found by the right sine and not by the versed sine."[2]

We have already quoted Bhāskara to show the necessity for the correction of parallax in celestial longitude and parallax in latitude in calculating solar eclipses in consequence of the difference of the distance of the sun and the moon, and we have also given the reason for the correction of parallax not being necessary in lunar eclipses. As the spectator is elevated above

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1 Vide notes by Pandit Bāpū Dev Śāstri in connection with verses 30 to 60 in Chap. VIII, Golādhyāya Siddhānta Śiromaṇi edited by Wilkinson and himself.

2 Chapter VIII, Golādhyāya, verses 55 and 56.

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the centre of the earth by half its diameter, he, therefore, sees the moon depressed from its place. Hence the parallax in longitude is calculated from the radius of the earth, as is also the parallax in latitude.[1]

The Hindus by means of the rising signs determined the place of the horoscope or the point of the ecliptic just rising, at any time, in the Easter Horizon—the point called the Udaya Lagna, and by similar means they found the culminating point of the ecliptic. The point 90° along the ecliptic, from the point of it just rising, *i.e.*, Udaya Lagna was called Trivoṇa or Triva lagna, which among modern astronomers goes by the name of nonagesimal. This point on the occasion of a solar eclipse was of great importance for its connection with parallax. The calculation of parallax in all its aspects has been described separately.[2] There we got the following results:—Udaya or the sine of the amplitude of the horoscope $=\frac{\sin L \times \sin 24°}{\cos l}$, where L is the longitude of the Lagna or horoscope, and l the latitude of the place.

The sun's parallax is found with the help of the moon's parallax. The moon's parallax in longitude, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, involves a series of complex calculations, which are divided into several steps.

The true time of conjunction of the sun and moon differs from the apparent time by the relative parallax of the sun and the moon expressed in time.

The moon's horizontal parallax is estimated to be $\frac{1}{15}$ of the mean daily motion in her orbit $=52'\ 42''$ approximately when the daily motion is $13°\ 10'\ 46{\cdot}7''$. Similarly the sun's horizontal parallax is reckoned to be $3'\ 56''$ and the relative horizontal parallax to be $48'\ 46''$.

The moon's parallax in longitude from the sun, expressed in Ghatikā $=\frac{D}{\text{Chheda}}$, D is the difference of longitudes of the nonagesimal and of the sun, Chheda $=\frac{(\sin 30°)^2}{\text{Dṛggati}}$, where Dṛg-gati=cosine of the zenith distance of the culminating point =sine altitude of nonagesimal. Parallax in latitude $=\frac{\text{Dṛkṣepa}}{70}$, where Dṛkṣepa is the sine of the zenith distance of the nonagesimal.[3]

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[1] *Siddhanta Siromani, Goladhyāya*, Chapter VII, verse 11.

[2] Vide "*Parallax in Hindu Astronomy*" by the present author published in the *Bulletin Calcutta Mathematical Society*, March, 1928.

[3] *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chapter V, verses 6–11.

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Also we got $p = \frac{P \sin Z}{R}$, *i.e.*, the common parallax = the greatest parallax (P) multiplied by the sine of the zenith distance and divided by the radius.[1]

Again Spaṣṭa Lambana or the parallax in longitude $= \frac{P \times \text{sin zenith distance}}{R}$ and the Nati or the parallax in latitude[2] $= \frac{P \times \text{sine of the latitude of the nonagesimal}}{R}$.

If the Moon be to the east (of the nonagesimal), it is thrown forward from the Sun, if to the west it is thrown backward (by the parallax). If the Moon be advanced from the Sun, then it must be inferred that the conjunction has already taken place by reason of the Moon's quicker motion; if depressed behind the Sun, then it may be inferred that the conjunction is to come by the same reason. Hence the parallax in time, if the Moon be to the east of the nonagesimal, is to be subtracted from the end of the Tithi or the hour of ecliptic conjunction, and to be added when the Moon is to the west of the nonagesimal. The latitude of the Moon is north and south distance between the Sun and the Moon, and the Nati also is north and south. Hence the S'ara or latitude applied with the Nati or the parallax in latitude, becomes the apparent latitude of the Moon from the Sun.[3]

The Sūrya Siddhānta says, "The amount of the parallax found is north or south, according as the nonagesimal is north or south of the zenith. Add the amount to the Moon's latitude, if they are of the same name; but, if of contrary names, subtract it. The result is the apparent latitude of the Moon.[4]

The apparent time of conjunction having been found, by applying the parallax in longitude to the computed true time of conjunction and for this apparent time the moon's apparent latitude having been calculated, by applying the parallax in latitude to the true latitude, the method of procedure afterwards differs little from that employed for the calculation of lunar eclipses. An indication is given in the following verses[5]:—

"In the solar eclipse, with the apparent latitude of

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1 Vide notes by Pandit Bapu Dev Śāstri under verse 12, Chap. VIII, of *Golādhyāya*.

2 *Ibid.*, under verses 16–20, Chap. VIII, *Golādhyāya of Siddhānta Śiromani*.

3 *Siddhānta Śiromani, Golādhyāya*, Chap. VIII, verses 27, 28 and 29; B. D. Sastri and Wilkinson's, edition.

4 *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chap. V, verse 12, B. D. Sastri and Wilkinson's edition.

5 *Ibid.*, verses 13-17.

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the Moon, find the sthityardha (or half duration) the Mardārdha (or half the total darkness), etc., of the eclipse, as before mentioned ; the valana or deviation of the ecliptic ; the eclipsed portions of the disc at any assigned time are found by the rule mentioned in connection with the lunar eclipses. Find the parallaxes in longitude (converted into time) by repeated calculation at the beginning of the eclipse, found by subtracting the first sthityardha from the time of conjunction, and at the end, found by adding the second sthityardha If the Sun be east of the nonagesimal, and the parallax at the beginning be greater, and that at the end be less than that at the middle, add the difference between the parallaxes at the beginning and middle, or at the end and the middle to the first or the second sthityardha; otherwise subtract the difference. It is then when the Sun is east or west of the nonagesimal at the times of both the beginning and the middle, or of the middle and the end ; otherwise add the sum of the parallaxes (at the time of the beginning and middle, or of the end and the middle) to the first or second sthityardha. Thus you have the apparent sthityardhas and from these the times of the begenning and the end of the eclipses of the Sun. In the same manner, find the apparent Mardārdhas (and the times of the beginning and end of the total darkness in the total eclipses of the Sun)."

We have given in details all the discussions on Lunar and Solar eclipses by the Hindus from the vedic times down to Bhaskara. We conclude by mentioning a remarkable achievement of the ancient astronomers regarding the recurring of the eclipses after a certain period or cycle. This cycle was called Saros by the Chaldeans and was current among all the ancient nations of the world. We have already seen that it is upon the position of the Moon's node at the time of conjunction or opposition of the Sun and the Moon, that a solar or a lunar eclipse depends ; and if the Sun, the Moon, the node of its orbit and the earth are very nearly in one straight line, an eclipse must happen. The same eclipse will return after 223 lunations or 6585.78 days or 18 years 10 or 11 days according as five or four leap-years occur during the time. The same observations apply to all other eclipses which happen when the moon is near her node, within what are called Lunar Ecliptic Limits. These all return after periods of the same length, exactly in the same order and under similar circumstances ; so that a complete list of eclipses that occur in one such period or cycle is sufficient to form a list of eclipses extending over several centuries, past or future.[1]

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1 *Vide* page 5 of Dr. D. N. Mallik's *"The Elements of Astronomy."*

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Calculation of eclipses forms an important part of observational astronomy. It is, therefore, no small credit for the ancient Hindu astronomers that they worked out the details to such an approximation. The skill shown by them in finding the valanas and the lambana and nati (parallaxes in latitude and longitude) are really commendable.

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Two Notes on Bhavabhūti.

By C. W. Gurner.

The following notes do not deal with any new point of scholarship, and may interest the reader generally acquainted with Sanscrit more than the technical scholar. The first is an attempt to put literary criticism of the plays of Bhavabhūti on a fair basis, especially for the Western critic. The second draws attention to the phenomenon of verses repeated from one play to another which is so distinctive a feature of Bhavabhūti's text.

I

My starting point might be remarks such as the following in Dr. Berriedale Keith's History of Sanscrit Drama. "The Mahāvīracharita lacks the novelty of the Mālatīmādhava, but Bhavabhūti's effort to give some unity to the plot is commendable though it is unsuccessful. The fatal error is of course in the narration of events in long speeches in lieu of action" or "The Uttararāmacharita reaches no higher level as drama; he has a period of twelve years to cover as he had fourteen years in the Mahāvīracharita; and to produce effective unity would be hard for any author; Bhavabhūti has made no serious effort to this end; he has contented himself with imagining a series of striking pictures" (*Op. cit.*, pp. 193/194).

Now. Bhavabhūti was in many ways a self-conscious and academic writer; and he wrote at a time when Sanscrit literary criticism already had a long history behind it. Throughout that history the theory of the drama, as distinct from questions of ornament and style, had been the emotional theory that of Rasa, first authoritatively enunciated in the Nāṭyasāstra. Without touching on the thousand subtleties associated with this theory, which are discussed at some length in Dr. Berriedale Keith's work, one may summarise it as follows. The function of the drama is to create in the spectator a pleasurable feeling through aesthetic appreciation of certain cardinal emotions. Rasa, "taste" means something entirely different from the refined intellectual judgment for which the word stands in English. It is the taste as it were on the spectator's mental palate of the emotions enacted on the stage. That is what drama exists to afford. There were originally eight of these cardinal emotions, each emotion on the stage pairing off with the feeling created in the spectator, and we may call them Love, Laughter, Pity, Awe, Prowess, Fear, Disgust, and Wonder.

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Bhavabhūti probably would have included a ninth, Peace. All this is familiar enough, but must be recalled for the proper appreciation of Bhavabhūti.

That Bhavabhūti knew this theory need hardly be stated. He was in fact wholly imbued with it till it becomes part of his literary personality; and the object of the drama was to him essentially the engendering of this "taste" by expression of the cardinal emotions heightened by exhibitions of style. With quite unnecessary anxiety to remind his cultured audience, familiar themselves with the theory of the drama, what his object was, the poet is constantly alluding to the fare which he is providing for them. At the beginning of the Mahāvīracharita the Sūtradhāra calls for a play "of heroic enterprise with depth and fear" and in which "the taste of prowess is shared by noble characters in distinct subtle shades." (Mc. I. 2 and 3.) A few verses further on the Mahāvīracharita itself is described as a play in which "prowess, courage and wonder" are combined (*not*, as a play that covers fourteen years). (Mc. I. 6.) "Is it the emotion of prowess or pride?" asks Rama, in the Uttararāmacharita about his own son still unknown. U. VI 19. So again in the Uttararāmacharita, Bahavabhūti points almost ostentatiously to his own subtleties in expressing the shades of "**karuṇā rasa**" the emotion of Pity. "The single taste of pity assumes separate forms from difference of occasion, just as water assumes the shape of the bubbling eddies, and yet all is water." (U. III. 47.) Valmīki's play within the play is first described as "Full of emotion" (**rasavān**) and then introduced by its Sūtradhāra as a combination of Pity and Wonder, which of course is just what it is. (U. IV. 22/23 and U. VII. 1/2.) "Something still more wonderful" (**adbhutataram kimapi**) remarks later on Rāma the spectator, echoing no doubt the whispers among Bhavabhūti's own audience, or acting as "claqueur." (U. VII. 8/9.) "Subtle action abounding in emotions, the charm of friendship in adventures, and loftiness allied to the science of love" are among the qualities of a play as defined in the Mālatimādhava (Mm. I. 6). In this play the poet is particularly conscious of his efforts at working up the emotion of horror; and the stage direction "with horror" to indicate how the hero declaims, is a significant little touch (M. III. 17).

This brief summary only bears on one aspect of Bhavabhūti's views on dramatic criticism. More might be said about his conception of language and style as an integral part of the dramatic entertainment, and of liveliness of plot as essential to a Prakaraṇa, (though not necessarily to other forms of drama). It serves however to illustrate his radical conception of the emotional function of the drama, with which at present I am concerned.

Now obviously it is as an expression of this conception that

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the critic should approach Bhavabhūti's dramas. The poet must be appreciated from the view-point of the school of aesthetic thought of which he presents himself as an interpreter. And the moment one regards the two chronicle or episodic plays, the Uttararāmacharita and the Mahāvīracharita in this light a great deal of the criticism of the type of Dr. Berriedale Keith's becomes totally irrelevant. Both these are narrative plays based on the epic, the former a retrospective narrative, and the latter an unfinished summary of the epic story. (For I dismiss from consideration everything in the Mahāvīracharita after the middle of the fifth Act Mc. V. 46.) Their raison d'être however is not the narrative, but simply the study in emotions which the extracts from the epic story serve to afford. In the Mahāvīracharita what interests the poet is the more commonplace theme of **Vīra Rasa**, heroism or personal prowess, with the special feature of the contrast of the warrior and the Brahmanical ascetic. It is a contrast heightened by fusion of the two aspects in the same personality. I cannot pause to dwell on this feature beyond pointing out how it is emphasised in the characters of Parasurāma, and echoed in those of Visvāmitra, Rāma himself, and Lava (in the Uttarāmacharita). One feels that there must have been some local reason for developing this theme; but it may only imply that Bhavabhuti definitely recognised Sama, Peace, as a ninth dramatic emotion, and, in his characteristic way, is exhibiting it in contrast with its opposite.

The Uttararāmacharita is not without a similar episode in **Vīra Rasa**, the study of martial prowess with its refinement of legitimate pride. But the more essential motif of this play lies, under the conception probably of **Karuṇā Rasa**, the taste of the emotion of Pity, in a much more subtle emotional essay. This is the analysis of the various phases of the state of emotional consciousness known as "Recognition." Herein lies the real unity of the play, which, as Dr. Berriedale Keith points out in his negative criticism, is not to be found in the episodical narrative. Bhavabhūti focusses the whole of his epic reminiscences on to the theme of the emotions excited by recognition. At first he presents through the medium of the picture shown by Lakṣmaṇa, the recognition in happiness of the scenes of past adventures in company and in bereavement. On this follows the recognition in loneliness of the scenes of past companionship. Again there is the actual recognition by Rāma of Sītā in some form of spirit contact—the physical recognition in the sense of her touch. A new phase comes with the introduction of the aged parents—recognition in old age and changed circumstances of one another and of the younger generation. And so the play passes on to the study, manifold in itself, of the recognition of the unknown child, by the bystander, by the grandparents, and by the father. While finally the play within the play works up the king's feelings to the last degree by enact-

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ment of the tragedy of his own past life, and ends in the final recognition and reunion of Rāma and Sītā. And incidentally this closing episode affords a very good dose of "the wonderful" a *sine qua non* in a good play as much as any other cardinal emotion.

It would be out of place in a brief sketch such as this to dwell on the individual subtleties with which Bhavabhūti develops each facet of his central theme. He works into it all the poetry of family affection and human friendship which is his own peculiar contribution to Sanscrit literature. All that I do want to establish is that in this profound and subtle study of an aspect of emotional consciousness lies the whole justification and artistic unity of the play. Bhavabhūti succeeds or fails, not so far as he compresses the epic story into unity of dramatic action, a purpose which never entered into his conception of drama at all; but in so far as he extracts and develops the maximum emotional experience out of his epic episodes. The bare fact that the epic story is so familiar to the hearts of his audience predisposes them to accept the emotional impressions in the fullest degree.

In the Mālatīmādhava this same objective of creating emotional experience, or affording emotional taste, is far more obvious, and the method of achievement more conventional. The play is in fact constructed round the three cardinal emotions of Love, Horror, and Surprise. (**Śringāra**, **Bībhatsa**, and **Adbhuta**.) It hardly needs pointing out how the first two of these in close juxtaposition gain in dramatic value through enhancing each other's effect. Other emotions of course play their part. Where there is Love there will generally be Pity, and where there is Horror there will generally be Prowess; but Pity and Prowess are in this play both subsidiary to the central theme of Love and Horror. What matter coincidences and improbabilities of action, Bhavabhūti, and indeed the whole Indian school of drama, would ask, provided that the audience or reader derive the taste of experiencing these emotions in artistic relation and in abundance? And so we have in a combination of neat Sanscrit verse and elaborate Prakrit speeches the study of a love intrigue, not so much for the comedy of action as for the expression of the emotion engendered at every stage, incipient and consummate, as experienced by the lovers and instigated by the confidante. It is a conventional and academic study, following, just as Bhavabhūti says a good play should, the standard text-book of the Ars Amoris, the Kāmasūtra. But for the literary criticism of the Mālatīmādhava the first question is not "How does the play hang together?" but how far does it succeed in expressing the emotions of which it sets out to give aesthetic appreciation to the audience.

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II.

On the subject of the repeated verses I will be very brief, but I have not seen the problem tackled, and it needs stating to be tackled. At least six verses of the Uttararāmacharita coincide wholly, and five partially, with verses in the Mālatīmādhava. And again five verses in the Uttararāmacharita, (including one of those common also to the Mālatīmādhava) together with one or two lines, and scraps of Sanscrit dialogue from this play, occur also in the Mahāviracharita. In particular the scenery of waterfalls and mountain caves in the Uttararāmacharita reappears *en bloc* in the Mahāvīracharita. On the other hand there is at the most only an occasional line common only to the Mālatīmādhava and the Mahāvīracharita. *e.g.* U. I. 31. Mm. IX. 14, U. III. 31=Mm. IX 12, U. VI. 12=Mm. I. 27, U. IV. 29=Mc. III. 29, UII. 21 =Mc. V. 41=Mm. IX. 6, U. IV. 2=Mm. X. 2, U. II. 20=Mc V. 40, U. IV. 20=Mc. I. 18, U. VI. 9=Mc. II. 41.

Now these verses and lines common to the Uttararāmacharita and one or other of the two plays are instances not of a mere general verbal resemblance, but of actual verbal identity, subject to slight textual variations. It will be seen therefore what a curious feature the correspondence of the Uttararāmacharita with one play on either side, as it were, presents. It is conceivable that a poet of an academic turn of mind should harp on his own ideas in similar language. Kālidāsa frequently does so, quite apart from the repetition of lines in the Raghuvaṃśa and Kumārasambhava, which presents a small problem not dissimilar from this of Bhavabhūti's. Bhavabhūti himself often goes over his own tracks, noticeably in the mannerism of emotional Utprekshās and massed similies (the **Vastusanchāra** of Rājaśekhara).[1] Such for instance are verses on holiness U. VI. 10 and Mc. I. 10 or on feminine attraction U. III. 46 and M. V. 10. But this is a very different matter from the verbatim reproduction of complete verses or even complete lines. After all our satisfaction with the Uttararāmacharita is materially spoilt if we assume that ten verses at least were imported ready made from elsewhere; or the Mahāvīracharita becomes still more of a fragment if four complete verses and occasional lines were similarly borrowed.

There is always, of course, the explanation of textual interpolation. But for the most part the verses in question read as they stand in both plays in which they occur as so integral a part of their context that it is difficult to accept this explanation as at all general. And once any of these repetitions remain

[1] Rājasekhara in the Kāvyamīmāṃśa cites Mm. III. 16. As an instance of this figure, a type of verse particularly characteristic of Bhavabhūti.

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as part of the authentic text, that explanation is weakened for the rest.

Or did Bhavabhūti keep a note-book of his own verses, or an anthology of quotations apposite to the various emotions and types of scenery, from which he borrowed as occasion required. The method is quite possible in dramas written under the influence of the Rasa theory. Mādhava in distress and Rāma in distress are not particularly distinguishable as exhibitions of **Karuṇā Rasa**. Remarks appropriate to one in the epic play are equally in place for the other in the Prakaraṇa comedy. After all the material for both derives largely from the old Kāvya theme of Separation in the Rains which dates back at least to the Rāmāyaṇa (Kanda IV). The same phrases suit the same situation. The difficulty about this explanation is that it does not account for the fact that the verbal coincidences from the two other plays both converge on the Uttarārāma.

I should incline myself to the idea that this fact, taken with the tradition that the Mahāvīracharita was unfinished, (to say nothing of the text of that play from the latter half of the fifth Act) goes a long way to establish the order in which the three plays were written. It seems to me quite conceivable that this academically-minded poet carried on from his Prakaraṇa, the Mālatīmādhava, to his first essay in drama from the epic, the Uttararāmacharita, a verse here and there expressive of common feelings or situations in both; and similarly carried on a few favourite verses again from the Uttararāmacharita to the Mahāvīracharita. It is a suggestion which needs to be tested both by detailed scrutiny of the repetitions, and by all other criteria for priority between the plays, which is far from settled. I make no attempt in this note to push the question to a conclusion, but the problem of these repetitions does seem to be one worth intensive examination.

MYMENSINGH,
24.12.1928.

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Date of the *nīti* Section of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa.

By Chintaharan Chakravarti.

The Garuḍa-Purāṇa is one of the most important of the Hindu Purāṇas and is included in the group of eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas or Great Purāṇas. It is of an encyclopædic character, giving an account of almost all branches of Sanskrit learning. It is, of course, not always possible to identify the work or works on which the author of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa based his summary of a particular branch of learning. Neither is it possible to determine exactly when these summaries, and hence the Purāṇa as a whole incorporating them, were compiled. It, however, seems that the summaries are works of different periods some of them belonging to a fairly old date and others to a comparatively later time. Thus the grammatical section which gives a summary of the Kātantra system and contains no reference to Pāṇinī is believed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri to belong to a period anterior to the time when the school of Pāṇini was revived by Bhartṛhari in the 7th century of the Christian era after a long period of neglect. He, therefore, places this section in *circa* 3rd or 4th century.[1]

But the *nīti* section which comprises chapters 108–15 and is termed *nīti-sāra* does not seem to be so old. This represents a collection of *nīti ślokas* (verses dealing with moral maxims) of the type of the *Chāṇakya ślokas* and is attributed to the sage Śauṇaka, 'a name which approximates as closely as possible to that of the worldly Chāṇakya.'[2] This collection shows a close agreement with that of Bhojarāja, probably identical with the great royal patron of Sanskrit learning who ruled at Dhārā in the 11th century and also with the Tibetan version in the Tanjur which was compared by Mr. Johan van Manen. All these versions may go back to a common original which is lost. There are verses in these collections which are found in various old works like the *Mahābhārata*, *Manusaṃhitā*, etc. One verse, however,

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1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*—Vol. XIV, pp. 331-2; *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Government collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*—Vol. IV, (Purāṇas) Preface p. lxxxii.

2 Johan van Manen—Foreword to *Chāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram* (Calcutta Oriental Series—No. 2) p. XIV. It is at the suggestion of Mr. van Manen—who is making a special study of the *nīti* literature of India and has already gathered together much valuable material for that purpose—that I compared the *nīti* section of the Garuḍa Purāṇa with the *Chāṇakya-Rāja-nīti-śāstram* which represents Bhojarāja's collection.

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is found to occur in these collections which has been taken from a comparatively late work. The verse as it is found in the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (112, 16—Venkateswar Press edition of Bombay) runs as follows:—

अकारणाविष्कृतकोपधारिणः
खलाद्भयं कस्य न नाम जायते ।
विषं महाहेर्विषमस्य दुर्वचः
सुदुःसहं सन्निपतेत् सदा मुखे ॥

This very verse with slight variants occurs in the *Chāṇakya-Rāja-niti-śāstra* (V. 21). Oscar Kressler in his *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit* (Indica—Heft 4—Leipzig—1907) also notes this verse as occuring in Bhojarāja's recension of Chāṇakya (V. 22). It is thus quite clear that the verse had entered into *nīti* collections at least from the time of Bhoja if not earlier. As, however, it is found in the *nīti* section of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* it seems reasonable to suppose that the verse had already found a place in the Chāṇakya collection when it was incorporated in the *Nītisāra* of the Garuḍa Purāṇa. But it is well known that this verse—at least, the prototype of it—is the composition of Bāṇa of the court of King Harṣavardhana (7th century) and that it is found, with slight changes here and there, as No. 5 of the introductry verses of his *Kādambarī*. A verse can ordinarily enter into popular anthological works only when a considerable period of time has elapsed after its composition. It requires more time to become attributed to a sage. We may therefore suppose that at least two or three centuries had passed after the time of Bāṇa before a verse of his was taken into some anthological work and given currency to by the author of the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* as the production of the vedic sage Śaunaka.[1] Hence, the *nītisāra*—if not the whole of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* at least in the form in which we find it now—cannot be earlier than the 9th or 10th century. It may even be later if it was based on Bhojarāja's collection.

[1] It is of course not reasonable to argue that Bāṇa in writing a big romantic work borrowed a verse from some earlier work and incorporated it into his introduction.

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Sanskrit Works pertaining solely to Vernacular and Exotic Culture. (A Chapter in the History of the extent of the use of Sanskrit.)[1]

By Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Whether at any time a spoken language or not, Sanskrit has ever—until recently—remained what we may call the *lingua franca* of cultured India. It is believed to have ousted the vernacular as early as the time of the Śaka rulers by whom it was elevated to the dignified position of the court-language of India. Royal charters continued to be issued in this language up to a considerably late period,—even as late as the 19th century in some parts.[2] And Sanskrit, though apparently a dead language at least from after the beginning of the Christian era, came to have a vast amount of literature dealing with numerous subjects.

To secure respect or recognition for any kind of literary product it was necessarily to be couched in Sanskrit—the language of the gods as they would call it. It was apparently for this reason that the Buddhists and the Jains had to promulgate their religious tenets—primarily meant for the masses and originally current in the language of the people—in Sanskrit. The attempt for reaching the masses through Sanskrit—to all purposes a dead language—necessitated the introduction of vernacularisms in it. This, of course, infused some life—some change—into its body. But it contributed very little to its natural growth or development and possessed some interest only for the students of Philology. Some of the Buddhist Sanskrit works like the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* etc.,—the Hindu Purāṇas, which are supposed by Pargiter to have originally been composed in Prakrit and later on Sanskritised[3]—and also the numerous Tantra works of the Hindus as well as of the Buddhists abound in innumerable instances of vernacularisms.

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[1] The subject has been treated, only in part and in bare outline, by Prof. A. B. Keith in his recently published *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 12-15.

Books dealing incidentally or partially with vernacular or exotic culture or books that are only influenced by it have not been dealt with in this paper.

[2] The latest records in Sanskrit seem to have been issued by the Jaintia Kings of Assam. The Satak copperplate of Rāmasimha II (*To be published in JASB, Vol. XXV*) is dated 1731 Ś. E (1809 A.D.). For similar other grants of 1770, 1798 and 1803 A.D. (see *JASB*, 1923 p. 331, 1922 p. 73, 1923 p. 323).

[3] Dynasties of the Kali Age—Pargiter pp. X ff.—Grierson—Ind. Ant.,

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SANSKRIT COMMENTARIES ETC., ON NON-SANSKRIT WORKS.

But what attracts the notice of students of the history of Sanskrit most is that it was in and through this language that works in the vernaculars were often sought to be interpreted. Thus Sanskrit commentaries on and Sanskrit translations of vernacular works were made. And the spirit does not seem to have died out even in the present day. In the following pages will be given an account of the most important of these works. The stage-directions and the colophons—in the only extant Prakrit drama—the *Karpūra-mañjarī* of Rājaśekhara (9th century) are all in Sanskrit. Similar is also the case with some old Bengali dramatic works found in Nepal.[1] Curiously enough here the *nāndīs* (introductory verses) are also in Sanskrit. The sectional headings, introductory verses and colophons of Vaiṣṇava anthological works (called the *Padāvalīs*) of Bengal are also in the same language.[2] As regards exegetical works, canonical works in Jain Prakrit, Buddhist Sahajiyā works like *Caryācaryaviniścaya* and *Dohākoṣa* though composed in the vernaculars of the land have got their commentaries in Sanskrit.[3]

The *Mahā naya-prakāśa*, a work in old Kāshmirī, on the philosophy of Kāshmir Saivism, by Śitikaṇṭha Ācārya (15th century) has an elaborate commentary on it in Sanskrit by the author himself.[4]

The oldest of these works probably belong to the Jains. The date of Bhadrabāhu, the earliest Scholar to comment on the Jain canonical works, is believed to belong to about the first century B.C. The Buddhist canonical works, however, are not found to have similar commentaries in Sanskrit, though they appeared in their Sanskrit versions at a quite early period as is known from the finds in Central Asia.

All commentaries on the above-mentioned Prakrit drama—the *Karpūramañjarī*—are also in the same language.[5] Rādhā-mohan Ṭhākur compiled a Sanskrit commentary to his Bengali anthological collection of Vaiṣṇava poems—the *Pada-samudra*.[6]

XXIII, p. 52. Prof. Keith however refuses to accept this theory (*History of Sanskrit Literature, p.* 12).

1 *Nepāle Bāṅgālā Nāṭak.* Published in the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat Series.

2 The same practice has strangely been followed by some authors even up to the present age e.g. by Michael Madhusūdan Dutt in his famous Bengali poem *Meghnād-badh* and also by Mānkumārī Basu in her *Bīrkumār-badh.*

3 *Bauddha gān o Dohā*—Ed. by MM. H. P. Shastri in the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat Series.

4 Kashmir series of Sanskrit Texts and Studies. The language of the work is analysed by Sir George Grierson in the Memoirs, A.S.B., Vol. XI, No. 2

5 It is not known when the *chāyās* (versions) in Sanskrit first came to be appended to Prākṛt works.

6 Published from Baharampur—1315 B.S.

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Sanskrit versions of non-Sanskrit works.

(*1*) *Chinese works.*

The earliest translations of any work to be made into Sanskrit were perhaps from Chinese. (See Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, Mars-Avril, pp 308/9; Chavannes B. E. F. É. O., III, 438; Pelliot, T'oung Pao, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (July, 1912), note 3 on p. 383).[1] One of them was a translation, made about 647 A.D. of the famous *Tao Te King* of Lao Tse.

(*2*) *Works on Parsi religion.*

It was owing to the immense popularity and dignified position of Sanskrit that Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval (1200 A.D.) and some other Parsi Sanskritists thought it necessary to translate Parsi religious works into Sanskrit or compose similar original works in Sanskrit.[2] But these attempts do not seem to have proved successful as they have failed to attract any attention of the Sanskrit knowing public. This seems to have been due not to a small degree to the not very satisfactory nature of the composition of the translators making it in cases almost unintelligible. Neither do the Parsis appear to have made any serious attempt to make these popular as did the Christian Missionaries with the translations of their Bible.

More interesting, however, from a linguistic standpoint are the translations of parts of the Avesta by Pandit Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī and Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala which bring home to the reader the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Avestic languages (cf. *A Sanskrit version of Yasna IX* by I. J. S. Taraporewala in the Sir Asutosh Commemoration Volume—Orientalia—Pt. I, pp. 37–90).

(*3*) *Saivism.*

We have a very popular Kāshmīrī work called *Lālā-vākyāni* or *Lalleśvarī-vākyāni* consisting of verses dealing with Śaiva yoga and supreme knowledge. It was translated into Sanskrit by Rājānaka Bhāskara.[3]

(*4*) *Bible.*

The Holy Bible was translated into Sanskrit in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Partly owing to the gradual

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Johan van Manen for these references.

[2] *Collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis* of which five parts were edited with learned introductions and elaborate notes by E. S. D. Bharucha and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay (1906–20).

[3] Edited by Sir George Grierson and Prof. L. D. Barnett with an English translation and elaborate notes (Royal Asiatic Society—1920). This edition contains 109 verses while the edition along with the Sanskrit translation of Bhāskara has only 60 verses (Kashmir Series of Sanskrit Texts and Studies).

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rise of the vernaculars and partly owing to the introduction of English as the medium of instruction the respect in which Sanskrit was previously held had undoubtedly declined to a considerable degree at that time but the feeling of sanctity associated with it, on account of its being the repository of all Hindu religious works, continued almost unabated. And the Christian Missionaries thought that the teachings of Christianity could commend themselves to the notice of the high class and learned Hindus only if they were presented to them in a Sanskrit garb. And it seems their expectations were fulfilled to some extent. For we find that reprints and editions of these translations had to be undertaken from time to time. The New Testament was first translated into Sanskrit by Carey and other Missionaries at Serampur in Bengal with the help of native scholars in 1808. Other editions or revised reprints followed in 1841, 1851, 1886, 1910, and 1922. The Old Testament was translated by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries and published in four volumes which appeared successively, in 1848, 1852, 1858, and 1872.[1] The language as used in these translations is not very happy and idiomatic. In cases it is difficult to be followed by one who has never been acquainted with the Bible in any version. This led Dr. Ballantyne to refer in 1859 to a translation of the Bible in Sanskrit as a desideratum (Ballantyne—below—Preface pp. V–VI). Of late a Sanskrit translation of *The ordinary of the Mass* has been prepared and published by Ambrosse Suresh Chandra Roy.[2] In this connection mention may also be made of the Anglo-Sanskrit work *Christianity Contrasted with Hindu Philosophy* by J. R. Ballantyne (London, 1859) in which the author gives a translation into Sanskrit of his exposition of Christianity under the title of *Khṛṣṭa-dharma-kaumudī*.

(5) *Arabian Nights*

Reference may also be made to the *Āravya-yāminī*—a Sanskrit version of the Arabian Nights—made by one Jagadbandhu who composed the work at the request of Śambhuchandra, a zeminder of Kākinīyā in Bengal. A manuscript of the work dated 1299 B. S. (=1892 A.D.) is in the Library of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.[3]

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1 A fuller account of the Sanskrit translation of the Bible will be found in the *Historical Catalogue of Printed versions*—British and Foreign Bible Society, pp. 1333–1338.

These translations are also valuable as being the most important examples of Sanskrit composition by Europeans. Two more examples of this kind of composition are found in *Primitae Orientales*—Vol. III *containing the theses in the oriental languages pronounced at the Public Disputations on the 20th September* 1804—pp. 83–88.

2 Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta.

3 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta*—Vol. VI, No. 163.

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(6) *Modern works—Bengali novels, poems, etc.*

Coming to more recent times we find a translation of portions of the *Gulistan* published in the Journal of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat (Vols. VI and VIII). In the same journal were published translations of some well-known Bengali novels of Bańkim Chandra [1] and some poems of Rabīndranāth and Omar (Vol. IX). Mention should here be made of the *Behulā-Nakhindaraṃ* (1870) a *champū kāvya* composed by Bhagavan-candra Viśārada, Professor Hugli College, which deals with a popular story of Bengal.

Grammatical works in Sanskrit on non-sanskritic languages.

The most interesting fact in the history of the extent of the use of Sanskrit is perhaps to be found in the various grammatical works in Sanskrit on different literary Prakṛtas [2] and Non-Sanskritic languages dealing with these languages exactly in the manner of grammatical works of Sanskrit. Such works are to be found on Telugu, Kanarese, and Persian. It is significant that no work of this type dealing with any Indo-Aryan language—ancient or modern (like Bengali, Hindi, *etc.*) is known to have been composed.

Of the Indo-Iranian family of languages we find only two—one belonging to the Iranian branch (*viz.* Persian) and the other to the Dardic branch (*viz.* Kāshmirī) on which we have grammatical works in Sanskrit. Of these two again Persian is not a language of India proper; it was imported to India by the Muhammadans at the time of their invasion. Most of these works pertain to Dravidian languages of India, like Kanarese and Telugu. The earliest of these works belong to these last and hence we propose to deal with them first of all. Next come the works that treat with Persian and chronologically the last position is occupied by the only known grammar of Kāshmirī in Sanskrit.

No such work on Tamil is known,[3] though the earliest grammatical works of this language like those of other Dravidian languages seem to have followed the system of Sanskrit grammar quite closely. As a matter of fact Burnell in the seventies of the last century sought to prove that the grammars of Dravidian languages like Tamil, and Kanarese, the grammars of Pali and

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[1] *Kapālakuṇḍalā* (Vols. I and II), *Durgeśa-Nandinī* (Vols. III—VI). The *Rajanī* of the same novelist is at present being translated in the same journal by Miss Renu Devi.

[2] The various grammars of Prākrit (e.g. by Vararuchi, Rāvaṇa, Chaṇḍa, Markaṇḍeya and others) are quite well-known.

[3] *Dravidic studies*—Madras University—III—*The Sanskrit element in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages* by S. Anavarata-Vinayakam Pillai—Introduction pp. 2-3.

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hence of Burmese and Sinhalese as also the grammars of Tibetan followed the Sanskrit system, probably the Aindra School, according to which they were planned and executed.[1] For he showed that the grammatical terms used in these grammars were Sanskrit—nay, exactly those that were used by the Aindra School.

These works in Sanskrit, though artificial in the extreme, seem to have enjoyed some amount of popularity as is testified to by the number of manuscripts that have been found of some and the various editions they have, from time to time, undergone. They are, at best, Philological curiosities if nothing else. They have, however, one importance in that the earlier works, at least, preserve for us the linguistic peculiarities of the particular languages they deal with, that were to be found in them several centuries ago, and hence a careful study of these works may supply us with important materials for the study of the history of these languages.

The earliest works of this kind deal with Telugu. According to tradition the first Telugu author was Kaṇva who lived at the court of Andhrarāya. During the reign of that prince, Sanskrit is said to have been introduced into that country and Kaṇva is supposed to have dealt with Telugu grammar[2] after the methods of Sanskrit grammarians. His work, though not known to be existing at present, appears to have been in Sanskrit. Quotations from it are found in a later work called the *Āndhra-kaumudī* with which we shall deal further on.

The earliest available and best known Telugu grammar in Sanskrit is the *Āndhra-śabda-chintā-maṇi* of Nannya Bhaṭṭāraka, which seems to have been known also as *Nannyaya-bhaṭṭiyanu.*[3] The author lived in the time of Rājarāja Narendra—the Eastern Chalukya King—who ruled at Vengi Nāḍu from 1022–1063 A.D.[4] A good many manuscripts of this work have been found in South India.[5] The Tanjore Library alone possesses twelve MSS. of it.[6] It has been printed several times in Telugu characters. It is considered to be a standard work. The work has a commentary by Ahovilāchārya.[7]

Then comes the *Ātharvaṇa-Kārikas* of Ātharvaṇācārya

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1 *Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*—Burnell—Mangalore—1875.

2 Linguistic Survey of India—Vol. IV—p. 579.

3 S. Anavarata-Vinayakam Pillai—*op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.

4 I am indebted for this information to Mr. S. E. V. Vira Raghavachariar, President, Telugu Sanskrit Academy, Vizianagram.

5 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of Southern India*—Oppert—Vol. II—Nos. 2027, 2124.

6 *A classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library, Tanjore*—Burnell p. 44a.

7 *Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS.* By M. Çeshagiri Çāstrī—No. 2 for the year 1893–94—II. 72; *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*—Pt. II, p. 90.

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(12th century A.D.)[1] to whom reference is made in the *Āndhra-kaumudī*.

The *Āndhra-kaumudī*[2] of Maṇḍa Lakshmīnarasiṃha Kavi is a late work. It consists of 426 *sūtras* and is divided into several sections *e.g.* परिभाषा, सन्धि, अजन्त, हलन्त, कारक, समास, क्रिया, अव्यय, तद्भवप्रक्रिया. In the beginning the traditional origin of the Telugu language is described. The work is stated to have been based on the earlier works of Ātharvaṇa, Kaṇva, and Bṛhaspati.[3]

The works of the last two are not known to survive. Several quotations are however made from the now lost work of Kaṇva.[4]

Several other works of this type are also known *e.g. Harikārikā* of Śiṣṭu Kṛṣṇamūtri Śāstri (1800–1880) who attributes the work to the famous grammarian Bharttṛhari; *Harikārikā-śeṣa-sarvasva* of Bhāgavatula Rāmamūrti Śāstrī (19th century).[5]

In Kanarese the earliest work of this type was the *Karṇāṭaka bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa*[6] of Nāgavrman (1070–1120 A.D.). This is also called the *Karṇāṭaka- vyākaraṇa*.[7] It had three versions—Jain, Lingāyata and Brāhmaṇa[8] testifying to its popularity among all sections of the people. This is the earliest grammatical work of the Kanarese language. It is divided into ten sections *viz.*

(1) संज्ञाविधान (2) सन्धि (3) विभक्ति (4) कारक (5) शब्दरीति (6) समास (7) तद्धित (8) आख्यातनियम (9) अव्ययनिरूपण (10) निपात।

Another work of this type dealing with Kanarese is the *Karṇāṭaka-śabdānuśāsana* of Bhaṭṭākalaṅkadeva—a Jain—who

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[1] I am indebted for this information to Mr. S. E. V. Vira Raghavachariar.

[2] Edited by S. P. S. Jagannadhasvami Ayyavaralingaru, Arsha Press, Vizagapatam—1895.

[3] आथर्वणानि काण्वानि बार्हस्पत्यानि संविदन्।

—Introductory Verse 2.

कौमुदीमान्ध्रशब्दानां सूत्राणि च करोम्यहम्॥

अहमपि काण्वबार्हस्पत्यादिसूत्राणि बुद्धा करोम्यान्ध्रशब्दकौमुदीम्।

(p. 4.)

[4] "त्रिलिङ्गशास्त्रविहितस्य लक्षणस्याल्पप्रयोगेण दैन्यं न कारयेत्।" "आन्ध्र-विष्णोरनुज्ञाकृतस्य मद्व्याकरणस्य द्रोही गुरुद्रोही।"

"आन्ध्रसंस्कृतभाषासु देवतार्हाः प्रमोददाः।
सुवन्तैश्च तदन्तैश्च युक्ताः स्वर्गप्रदा नृणाम्॥"

(p. 3.)

[5] I am indebted for this information to Mr. Vira Raghavachariar.

[6] Edited with an introduction by Lewis Rice—Bangalore—1884.

[7] *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras*, Vol. XXVI, No. 14610; *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Madras) Vol. I, Pt. I A, R. No. 133 (a).

[8] Rice—*op. cit.*,—Introduction p. IV. f. n.

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completed the work in 1604 A.D. (Śaka 1526, the year śubhakṛt). It is an exhaustive grammar of the Kanarese language 'in Sanskrit sūtras after the manner of Pāṇini.' Bhaṭṭākalaṅka himself was the author of a commentary to this work named the *Bhāṣāmañjarī* and also of a further voluminous commentary on this commentary in Sanskrit called *mañjarīmakaranda* after the well-known work of the Pāṇini School—the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. It is divided into four *pādas* or sections.[1] Kittel in his introduction to his edition of Keśirāja's *śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (p. XIV—XV), has quoted from this work.

We next come to Persian. It had to be acquired by the Hindus during the Muhammadan rule and hence grammatical works on the language were composed by Sanskrit scholars for the use of Hindu students. Of these the *Pārasī-Prakāśa* of Vihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa seems to have been the most popular. A good many manuscripts of this work have been found in different parts of India.[2] It was critically edited by Weber with a detailed German explanation.[3] An analysis of the work based on a manuscript was given by Prof. V. S. Ghate in the *Indian Antiquary* (1912 pp. 44ff.). But curiously he does not seem to have been aware of the edition of the work published by Weber about twenty five years before he wrote.

This work was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa at the instance of Akbar. It is divided into eight chapters (*e.g.* संज्ञाशब्दनिर्णय, शब्दप्रकरण, अव्ययप्रकरण, कारकप्रकरण, समासप्रकरण, तद्धितप्रकरण, आख्यातप्रकरण, कृत्प्रकरण). It consists of 481 *sūtras* in all.

Another grammatical work on Persian was composed by one Kavikarṇapūra, an inhabitant of Assam, who belonged to the Karaṇa caste and was the younger brother of Kavīndra.[4] He seems to have flourished during the time of Jehangir, son of Akbar, as his Sanskrit-Persian lexicographical work, the *Sanskṛta-Pārasīka-Pada-Prakāśa*, definitely records.[5] His grammatical

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1 Rice—*op. cit.*,—Introduction p. XXIX; Burnell—*Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, p. 58. But the latter was not sure about the authorship of the work.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*—Aufrecht I. p. 354, III. p. 71.

3 *Abhandlungen Der Königl. Preuss. Akademie Der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin*, (1888).

4 अनुजन्मना गुणाढ्यः करणमणेः श्रीकवीन्द्रस्य ।
कविराजस्य सुरचिता कृतिरेषा कर्णपूरस्य ॥
कर्णपूरः कामरूपवासी करणवंशजः ।
कारिकां कुरुते भाषासारसंग्रहकारिकाम् ॥
MS. belonging to Asiatic Society of Bengal—Fol. 12a.

5 श्रीमज्जहाङ्गीर-महीमहेन्द्रभूपरसास्यासाद्य (?) निदेशरूपम् ।
करोत्यदः संस्कृतपारसीकपदप्रकाशं कविकर्णपूरः ॥
Ibid.—Fol. 1a.

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work, is metrical. Our author is apparently different from the famous Vaiṣṇava poet and desciple of Caitanya of the same name who hailed from Kāñchrāpāḍā in Western Bengal and was a Vaidya, a son of Śivadāsasena. The latter flourished in the time of Akbar. In fact Kavikarṇapura was simply a title and it seems to have been used by many a scholar and poet. Two more Kavikarṇapūras are mentioned by D. C. Sen in his History of Bengali Language and Literature pp. 279, 294. We have probably reference to another Kavikarṇapūra, belonging to the Datta family on the work of the Gange's, whose son Kavichandra was the author of the medical work *chikitsā-ratnavālī* (Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in India Office Library—Vol. V, No. 2710).

Besides grammatical works, various other works—mainly of a lexicographical character—were composed in Sanskrit, apparently under the patronage of Muhamadan rulers to disseminate the knowledge of Persian as also of Islamic culture among the people of Hindusthāna. Of this class mention may be made of the works of Vedāṅgarāya, who wrote under Shajahān son of Jehangīr; Kṛṣṇadāsa, Vrajabhūṣaṇa, and the Kavikarṇapūra already referred to. The works of Vedāṅgarāya, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Vrajabhūṣaṇa deal with astronomical terms and a good many manuscripts of them are referred to by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum.*

Kāshmīrī

The only known grammar in Sanskrit of the Kāshmīrī language is the *Śāradā-kshetrabhāṣā-vyākaraṇa* or *Kaśmīra-śabdāmṛta.* It was composed by Īśvara Kaula in 1932 V.S.=1875 A.D. It was edited by Sir G. A. Grierson and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1897-98. From the preliminary note to the work by Sir George we learn the interesting fact that Mahārāja Raṇavīra Siṃha of Kashmir—the patron of Īśvara Kaula—had started a translation department in 1881 in which books from various languages were translated into Sanskrit. But unfortunately none of these books are known to have seen the light of day. It was Īśvara Kaula who, in his grammar,

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The aim of the work is stated thus.—

संस्कृतविदुषि पारसीप्रज्ञता पारसीविदुषि संस्कृतज्ञता ।
तद्द्वयाविदुषि तद्द्वयज्ञता जायते च तदधीयतामिदम् ॥

Ibid.—Fol. 1a.

This very verse, with slight variants here and there, is also found to occur as the second introductory verse of the *Pārasī-Prakāśa*—'a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms relating to astronomy, chronology, celestial geography, and arithmetic classified under certain heads, with their Sanskrit analoga' (*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office Library*, Vol. V, No. 2977).

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first made an attempt to give a fixed and systematic orthography to the language. The MSS. in Kashmīrī written before Īśvara are found to present many an inconsistency. And it reflects credit on our author that a Philologist like Sir George has found it convenient to adopt his system in the edition of *Lallāvākyāni*[1] and also in his edition of *Śiva-pariṇaya* (Bibliotheca Indica).[2]

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[1] Introduction to the edition of *Lallā-Vākyāni* by Sir George Grierson and Prof. L. D. Barnett. (Royal Asiatic Society—1920)—p. 5.

[2] I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to MM. H. P. Shastri, Mr. Johan van Manen and Prof. S. K. Chatterji who have taken interest in this paper and given me valuable suggestions for its improvement.

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Batrachian and Reptilian Remains found in the Panchet Beds at Deoli, Bengal.

By HEM CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA.

Introduction.

The fossils described in this short note belong to the Panchet beds as developed at Deoli and are stored in the Geological Department of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Parts of these Panchet materials have already been described in two of my previous communications[1] and a further portion is dealt with here. The material includes (i) part of a labyrinthodont skull, (ii) a rhynchocephalian vertebra and (iii) a carnivorous dinosaurian tooth.

Labyrinthodont Skull.

(Pl. 11, figs. 1–3.)

The part of the labyrinthodont skull to be described is a portion of the right part of the skull containing a part of the maxillary and a part of the vomer. The maxillary portion shows only a number of alveoli from which the teeth have all fallen out, only the basal part of one tooth being preserved in the most anterior portion of the specimen. The portion preserved shows, besides the tooth mentioned just now, broken-off roots of four other teeth two of which are quite distinct and seven other sockets, the teeth from which have all fallen off. These sockets and the dental sections are quadrilateral and transversely elongated. The maxillary teeth are not all equidistant from one another. The dental section shows the dentine which is practically not folded and runs from the periphery towards the interior of the section. The maxillary teeth show no evidence of any pulp-cavity. The part of the vomer preserved shows that it is studded over with a large number of conical teeth each with a distinct pulp-cavity. The vomerine teeth are of unequal size and indiscriminately arranged.

Comparison:—The labyrinthodonts that have been described from the Indian Gondwanas are *Pachygonia*,[2] *Gonioglyptus*,[3]

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[1] Sir A. Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volume II, pp. 237–241, 1922. *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXII, (N.S), pp. 215–217, 1926.

[2] *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 6–8, 1865.

[3] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 3–6, 1865.

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Gondwanosaurus,[1] *Brachyops*,[2] *Glyptognathus*,[3] *Mastodonsaurus*[4] and a genus allied to *Metoposaurus*.[5] Parts of skulls showing the maxillary portions of *Gonioglyptus*, *Gondwanosaurus* and *Brachyops* are known but they are all distinct from the new specimen in the nature of the maxillary and the vomerine teeth. *Metoposaurus* and *Mastodonsaurus* are well-defined genera and quite unlike the specimen under discussion. As noted already, the most marked peculiarity of the specimen under discussion is the abundance of the vomerine teeth. According to the Committee of the British Association appointed to report on the classification of the labyrinthodonts, *Batrachiderpeton*, *Dendrerpeton*, and *Hylonomus*, are three genera characterised by aggregated vomerine teeth[6] while to the list may be added *Diplovertebron*, *Sparodus*, *Dawsonia*, *Acanthostoma* and *Melanerpeton*. Of these genera *Batrachiderpeton*[7] resembles the Panchet fossil in the arrangement of the vomerine teeth, but, as can be judged from the figure, Batrachiderpeton vomerine teeth lack a pulp-cavity, while this genus is further characterised by a probable 'deficiency of bony maxillæ.' *Hylonomus*[8] has also a large number of vomerine teeth, but the animal was of a size much smaller than that from the Panchet while the nature of the maxillary teeth is quite different. *Diplovertebron*[9] resembles the specimen under notice in the arrangement of the vomerine teeth but differs from it in the nature and arrangement of the maxillary ones. The maxillary teeth of *Sparodus*[10] are also of a quite different pattern, while in *Dawsonia*[11] the number of vomerine teeth is much smaller. In *Dendrerpeton*[12] also there is a number of vomerine teeth but the maxillary teeth are much smaller in size and of an entirely different pattern. *Acanthostoma*[13] and *Melanerpeton*[14] differ from the Panchet specimen by their different maxillary character and smaller size.

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1 *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 4, pp. 1–14, 1885.
2 *Q. J. G. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 37–39, 1855.
3 *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 27, 1882.
4 *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 5, pp. 30–31. 1885; Catal. fossil Rep. and Amph. in British. Mus., Pt. IV, pp. 145–146, 1890.
5 *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 5, pp. 31–32, 1885; Catal. fossil Rep. and Amph. in Brit. Mus., Pt. IV, pp. 153–154, 1890; *Rec. Geol. Sur. Ind.*, Vol. 48, pp. 25–26, 1918.
6 *Rep. Brit. Assoc. Adv. Sci.*, p. 176, 1879.
7 *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.* Ser. IV, Vol. VI, pp. 56–65, 1870.
8 *Zeit. d. deut. geol. Geselsch.* Vol. 37, p. 726, 1885.
9 Fritsch: *Fauna der Gaskohle und der Kalkstcine der Permformation Bohemens*: Bd. II, pp. 11–13, 1883.
10 Fritsch: *op. cit.*, Bd. I, pp. 84–88, 1883.
11 Fritsch: *op. cit.*, Bd. I, pp. 89–92, 1883.
12 Dawson: *Acadian Geology*, p. 365, 1868.
13 Zeitschr. *d. deutsch. geol. Gesellsch.*, Vol. 35, pp. 277–289, 1883.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 289–293.

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From these considerations it is quite clear that the Deoli specimen cannot be identified with any of the genera mentioned above and so I have to choose between two alternatives—namely to unite this, at least provisionally, with either of the genera *Pachygonia* or *Glyptognathus* known definitely only by parts of the mandible or create a new generic name for it. Union of the present specimen with *Glyptognathus* is not possible and, after a very careful consideration of the question, I have decided to unite it with *Pachygonia incurvata* and I have been led to this conclusion from the evidence (a) of the ornamentation which is of the same pattern in Huxley's type and in the specimen obtained by me and (b) of the width of upper part of the two jaws which is almost the same in both cases. The part of the labyrinthodont skull described here may, accordingly, be looked upon, at least provisionally, as belonging to *Pachygonia incurvata*. It may be mentioned that two parts of the cranium supposed to be of this species have already been described, one by Lydekker[1] and the other by the writer of the present note.[2]

Mandible of Pachygonia incurvata, Huxley.

While engaged in the study of the fragmentary part of the cranium, I had, with the kind permission of Dr. Heron of the Indian Geological Survey, an opportunity of examining the type mandible of *Pachygonia incurvata* and it appears that the description of this specimen as recorded by Prof. Huxley requires a little modification in the light of modern researches. The ramus of *P. incurvata* shows one row of teeth on the dentary while another piece described as splenial by Prof. Huxley 'exhibits minute, round, crater-like elevations ...., as if it had given attachment to teeth.'[3] It had been pointed out by Watson[4] that the bone described as the splenial in the stegocephalian mandible is really the coronoid. According to Williston,[5] in the primitive amphibia the coronoid is divided into three elements—pre-coronoid, inter-coronoid, and coronoid —and the splenial into two. In his most recent work dealing with the evolution and origin of the amphibia, Watson[6] also holds the same opinion regarding the tripartite division of the coronoid, but he names the different parts as Cor. I, Cor. II, and Cor. III anterio-posteriorly. A careful examination of the type-mandible of *P. incurvata* shows that the coronoid (the splenial of Huxley) is divisible into three

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1 *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 3, p. 19, 1879.
2 *Journal Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 215–217, 1926.
3 *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, pt. I, p. 7, 1865.
4 *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.*, Ser. 8, Vol. X, p. 586, 1912.
5 *Journ. Geol.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 416–419, 1914.
6 *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, Ser B. II, Vol. 214, pp. 226 *et. seq.* 1926.

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parts—pre-coronoid, intercoronoid and coronoid. The pre-coronoid is incomplete in its anterior portion and bears crater-like elevations of distinctly two sizes; in the inter-coronoid the elevations are of a small size but are aggregated in its posterior part, while the coronoid does not contain any elevation at all. The splenial element is possibly represented by a very small fragment lying below the pre-coronoid, while the post-splenial element is quite large in size. The inner surface of the ramus is worn out and the junction between the other elements of the ramus are not so clear as to throw any additional light on its structure.

Rhynchocephalian Vertebra.

(Pl. 11, fig. 4.)

The collection includes one small vertebra which is pierced in the centre for the passage of the notochord. The body measures 10 mm. (?) anterio-posteriorly while the articular surface measures slightly more vertically than transversely. Both the surfaces are amphiplatyan rather than amphicœlous. Traces of both the neural and the haemal canals with points of attachment of one of the arches is present.

In his monograph dealing with the Panchet fossils, Prof. Huxley[1] described a few 'deeply biconcave' vertebrae identified as labyrinthodont vertebrae, though the possibility that they might have belonged to some type of fish is not lost sight of. The present vertebra is not amphicœlous, but rather amphiplatyan and is hence identified as a rhynchocephalian vertebra possibly belonging to the caudal series. The presence of a rhynchocephalian fossil in the Panchet stage is not unexpected as the Maleri stage is characterised by the presence of the well-known rhynchocephalian genus *Hyperodapedon*.

Teratosaurus (?) *bengalensis*, n. sp.

(Pl. 11, figs. 5–6.)

This provisional determination is based upon the evidence of a small conical tooth which is slightly curved posteriorly. Both the anterior and the posterior margins of the tooth are serrated, the anterior for only about a third of its length beginning from a little below the tip. The crest bearing the serrations on the anterior border is quite prominent. The serrations on the posterior margin begin practically from the tip and continue downwards along the entire length of the crown but the ridge bearing the posterior serrations is not so prominent as that on the anterior margin. The anterior

[1] *Pal. Ind.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 22, 1865.

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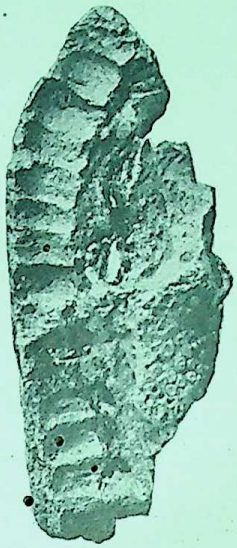

Fig. 1. Part of labyrinthodont skull—inner aspect.

Fig. 2. Part of labyrinthodont skull—outer aspect.

Fig. 3. Vomerine teeth. X 4.

Fig. 5. Teratosaurus (?) bengalensis, n. sp. X 4.

Fig. 4 Rhynchocephalian vertebra. X 2.

Fig. 6. Teratosaurus (?) bengalensis, n. (base). X 4.

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border is convex and there is a shallow depression occupying the anterior portion of the outer surface of the base, while the convexity of the outer surface which starts at the head of this depression is quite gradual. The concavity of the posterior border is also quite gradual. The base of the tooth is rather trapezoidal in outline with a pulp-cavity which penetrates for some distance. The serrations on the posterior border are more prominent than those on the anterior border, while the anterior serrations are set slightly more obliquely than the posterior ones. The crown is more or less cylindrical in shape.

Comparison :—From the Indian Gondwanas have been described *Epicampodon* (*Ankistrodon*) *indicum*, Huxley [1] and *Massospondylus Hislopi, Lyd.*[2] The present tooth differs from *Epicampodon indicum* in having both the edges serrated and curved, and being much longer in size. *Teratosaurus* (?) *bengalensis* differs from *Massospondylus Hislopi* as, in the latter, the teeth are much bigger, the serrations are continous on both the anterior and the posterior side, the outer surface is markedly convex and the inner one rather concave. This tooth may, however, be compared with the tooth described as *Palaeosaurus Fraserianus* Cope [3] obtained from the Triassic beds of Pennsylvania. According to v. Huene *Palaeosaurus Fraserianus* = *Thecodontosaurus Fraserianus.*[4]

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[1] Huxley: *op. cit.* pp. 11–13; Lydekker: *Catal. fossil Rept. and Amph. in the British Mus.*, Pt. I, p. 174, 1888.

[2] *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. 23, p. 22, 1890.

[3] *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 232, 1878.

[4] *Geol. u. Pal. Abhandl.*, Bd. XII, Hft. 2, p. 5, 1906. In this celebrated work dealing with the Triassic dinosaurs found outside Europe v. Huene has devoted a small paragraph (p. 51) to the Indian Triassic dinosaurs, but unfortunately I have not been able to follow some of his statements. He has pointed out that figure 4 of plate IV is not that of a dinosaur "klaue," but, it is, according to the author (Lydekker) 'the proximal portion of the right ulna' provisionally assigned to *Hyperodapedon Huxleyi*, Lyd. The author concludes with the following remarks :—

'Diese Zähne und Epicampodon stammen aus der triassichen Maleri Group, obwohl Lydekker zuerst meinte, sie seien aus der Lameta Group (=Kreide) von Maleri.' Two important corrections are necessary here. In the first place all these teeth did not come from the Maleri stage, but they came from two stages—Maleri and Panchet. In the second place, Lydekker never thought, as a matter of fact, could never think that all these teeth had come from the Lameta beds. As has been mentioned by Lydekker, only one of the teeth, that of *Massospondylus* (?) *Rawesi*, was from the Lameta beds and it has not been proved that this particular species does not occur in the Lametas. The point that was actually discussed by Lydekker regarding the age of the tooth was whether to put it under the inter-trappean or infra-trappean, and his conclusion that the age was infra-trappean has since been borne out by the discovery of carnivorous dinosaurian teeth in the Lameta beds of Jubbulpore by Dr. Matley (*Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. 53, p. 153, 1921 and *Rec. Geol. Surv.*, Vol. 55, p. 105, 1923–24) and the writer of the present note. The name of *M. Rawesi* should, in reality, be expunged from the list given by v. Huene at p. 5.

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Thecodontosaurus has a distinctly convex posterior border giving the crown a more or less lancet-shaped form which, however, is not characteristic of the tooth under notice. As regards the genus *Teratosaurus*, it may be mentioned that Lydekker recognised it as being identical with *Zanclodon*,[1] but this view has not been adopted by v. Heune who has described a number of teeth provisionally referable to *Teratosaurus*[2] and it is on a comparison of the present specimen with the figure published by him[3] that the proposed identification has been made, bearing in mind, however, that in cases of isolated teeth like the one described here, it is just possible that a dinosaurian tooth may be described as a parasuchian and *vice-versa* though, on general characters, the present tooth is of a dinosaurian rather than of a parasuchian type.

Age of the Panchet Beds.

In his paper dealing with the classification of the Gondwana system, Dr. Cotter has placed the Panchet beds under the lower Triassic age[4] disagreeing in this matter from Prof. Koken, according to whom the Panchets belong to the Upper Trias.[5] It is recognised by all that the lower Gondwanas comprise rocks of the Upper Palaeozoic and the lower Mesozoic age, as is shown clearly by the sections where they have come in contact with well-defined marine beds, as in parts of Kashmir and at Umaria in Central India, and further, by the presence of such well-known Permo-Triassic and Triassic genera as types of labyrinthodonts, some remains of *Lystrosaurus*, *Ceratodus* etc., but I doubt very much whether any sharp boundary between the different series can be drawn, as has been done by Prof. Koken in his paper and also by Dr. Cotter in his table so as to bring them exactly in line with the different divisions recognised in the standard stratigraphical scale, which is based mainly on the evidence of marine fossils. There is no stratigraphical break between the Raniganj and the Panchet series and a reference to the table showing the distribution of the lower Gondwana flora published by me[6] shows that 50% of the flora described from the Panchet beds have come up from the underlying Raniganj beds. Of the remaining 50% — four

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1 *Catal. fossil Rept. and Amph. in the Brit. Mus.* Pt. 1, p. 171, 1888.
2 *Geol. u Pal. Abhandl. Suppl.*, Bd. I, Lief. 3, pp. 155–177, 1908.
3 See the text fig. 161 (p. 156) of the work above alluded to.
4 *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. 48, pp. 23–33, 1917.
5 *Neu. Jahrb. f. Min. Geol. u. Pal. Fest Band*, p. 483, 1907. The table given at this page shows the different views held by different authors regarding the age of the Panchet beds and among them Seward and Tschernyschew include these beds under the Permian.
6 *Proc. Ind. Assoc. Cult. Sci.*, Vol. I, pp. 15–17, 1917.

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species in all—two i.e., *Tanaeopteris cf. stenoneura*, and *Thinnfeldia cf. odontopteroides* are more of a Mesozoic type and of the other two genera, one (*Cyclopteris pachyrhacis*) is represented in the Barakar beds by the same genus but a different species, while the other fossil—*Pecopteris concinna*—may be Palaeozoic as the genus is chiefly a Palaeozoic one, though Mesozoic forms of this genus are not unknown.

The consideration of the plant fossils, accordingly, shows that it is not advisable to draw a Palaeozoic-Mesozoic boundary line between the Raniganj and the Panchet beds as has been done by Dr. Cotter and some other geologists. The part of the amphibian skull that has just been described does not show similarity with a Triassic labyrinthodont but the genera to which it shows resemblance are mainly Permian in age with the exception of two—*Batrachiderpeton* and *Diplovertebron*—which are from the Carboniferous beds. The Triassic labyrinthodonts have generally a very small number of vomerine teeth and when their number is large, they are arranged chiefly in definite lines, as has been found in *Buettneria*.[1] The presence of a carnivorous dinosaurian tooth shows that some parts of the bed are of a decided Triassic age. I am of the opinion that the view of Dr. Cotter that the Panchet beds are older than the Upper Trias is quite consistent with the evidence of fossils known to us, but from a consideration of the facts mentioned above I would be loath to draw a Palaeozoic-Mesozoic unconformity line between the Raniganj and the Panchet beds but would prefer rather to describe the Panchet beds as being of Permo-Lower Triassic age.

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[1] Publication No. 321 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, p. 15, 1922.

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The Habitat and Systematic Position of two imperfectly known Loaches from Afghanistan.

By SUNDER LAL HORA.

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While studying the Indian material of the genus *Nemachilus* in the collection of the British Museum of Natural History I had an opportunity of examining the type-specimens of *N. boutanensis* (McClelland) and *N. griffithii* Günther. On the bottles containing these unique specimens there are to be found old labels in the same handwriting giving the locality of the species as "Affghan," though on labels of an undoubtedly later date the localities mentioned are "Butan" and "Assam" respectively as noted by Günther in his *Catalogue*. No further information could be obtained from the old registers of the fish collection in the Museum, but it has been possible for me to trace these specimens back to Griffith's field notes with the following interesting results.

In a general list of the specimens contained in Griffith's collection, McClelland (*Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.* II, pp. 573-575, 1842) has indicated the species of which examples were despatched "to the Museum at the India House" by placing the numbers of specimens despatched in Roman numerals after the names. A careful perusal of this list has indicated that McClelland sent to England specimens of two species of *Cobitis*—C. *boutanensis* and *C. marmorata*. On reference to Günther's *Catalogue* (VII, pp. 358, 360) it is clear that the author had specimens of only two species of *Nemachilus* from Griffith's collection—*N. boutanensis* and *N. griffithii*. Thus there can hardly be any doubt that the examples of the two species sent by McClelland served later on for the descriptions of the two species by Günther.

On referring to "Mr. Griffith's own remarks on the fishes he met with in Affghanistan and adjoining provinces" (*Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.* II, pp. 562-567, 1842) the following entries are to be found regarding the Loaches obtained by him.

i. 1 Loach at Quettah.

ii. "1 Loach of largish size, with a flat head colour reddish, with conspicuous brownish mottlings." This fish was obtained from "the Arghandab, a rapid and considerable sized tributary of the Helmund, which runs within two or three miles of Candahar."

iii. "In the small channels by which the springs run off, a loach is very common." Here the reference is to the springs at

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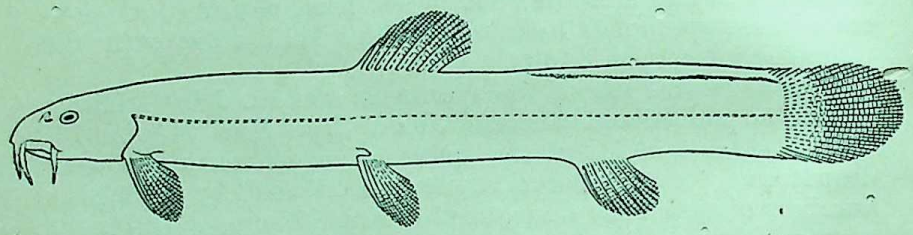
Sir-i-Chushmah. The loach is also said to occur "in the Helmund at Gridun Dewar, altitude 10,500 feet."

iv. "The only other fish I have any knowledge of, inhabiting the waters of Toorkistan face of the Koh-i-Baba, is a Loach found at Kaloo, at an elevation of 11,000 feet."

It is well known that a great portion of Griffith's collection was lost and in view of the scanty particulars available of the existing material it is difficult to say with certainty which of the above mentioned Loaches represent *N. boutanensis* and *N. griffithii*. McClelland (*op. cit.*) in his account of Griffith's collection refers to a species of *Cobitis* ("probably *Cobitis armatis*,?" p. 582. This seems to be a species of *Botia*) from Loodianah and described *Cobitis boutanensis* from "Boutan, on the Mishmee Mountains" (p. 586). To me it seems likely that Boutan is a misreading of Bolan on the part of McClelland and that he confused the two localities in his account, for it can be seen from McClelland's own introductory remarks that Griffith collected specimens from "the Bolan Pass to the Helmund." Moreover "Boutan" or "Butan" probably refers to the Bhutan State (27.0 N; 91.0 E) which is a long distance away from the Mishmi Hill (28.12 N; 96.20 E).



Text-fig. 1.—Lateral view of the type-specimen of *Adiposia boutanensis* (McClelland) x$\frac{5}{6}$.

The type-specimen of *Nemachilus boutanensis* (*Brit. Mus.* No. 60.3.19. 775) bears a close resemblance to the fishes of the genus *Adiposia* described by Annandale and myself from the Helmand Basin, Seistan (*Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XVIII, p. 182, 1920). In the general build of its body and in the character of the adipose fin it is remarkably similar to *Adiposia rhadinaea*, from which it differs in the possession of distinct, imbricate scales, in the absence of lateral line beyond the base of the ventral fin and in its characteristic rounded caudal fin. Thus it would seem probable that *N. boutanensis* is also an inhabitant of the Helmand Basin (near Bolan Pass) and is rightly labelled on the old label as having been obtained in "Affghanistan"

Regarding *N. griffithii* I entertain no doubt that this is the fish collected by Griffith at Arghandab and so clearly described by him as of "a largish size, with a flat head, colour reddish, with conspicuous brownish mottlings." There also seems no

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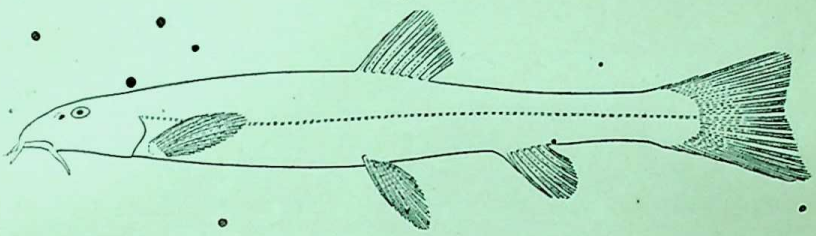
doubt that this must have been the fish determined by McClelland as "*Cobitis marmoratus*" in his list. According to Day (*Fish. India*, p. 621), who examined the type-specimens of *N. griffithii* in the British Museum (No. 60.3.19.93-94)[1] this species is synonymous with *N. stoliczkae*. In an earlier paper (*Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XXIV, p. 78, 1922) it has already been indicated by me that Day's "*N. stoliczkae*" is a composite species and it was possible for me to recognise several forms among the material assigned by Day to *N. stoliczkae*. I have compared in detail the types of *N. griffithii* with a typical specimen of *N. stoliczkae* from Rupshu in Tibet (the type-locality of the species) and find that the two are distinct. In *N. griffithii* the head is contained five times in the length without the caudal, the ventrals just reach the anus and are separated from the



Text-fig. 2.—Lateral view of the type-specimen of *Nemachilus griffithii* Günther x⅔.

anal fin by a considerable distance; whereas in *N. stoliczkae* the head is contained little over four times in the length without the caudal, the ventrals extend considerably beyond the anus and reach the origin of the anal fin. Moreover, in *N. stoliczkae* the barbels are much longer, the outer rostral being as long as the snout; whereas in *N. griffithii* the outer rostral is 2/3 the length of the snout. In their general facies and colouration the two species are similar. *N. griffithii* also bears a close resemblance to *N. brauhi* Zugmayer from "Kelat." The latter, however, possesses a much longer head (five in total length), a deeper caudal peduncle (half as high as long) and the ventrals passing the anal opening. The above account leaves no doubt that *N. griffihii* is an Afghan fish and not an Assamese Loach as surmised by Günther.

Summary.

i. *Nemachilus boutanensis* (McClelland) is a species of *Adiposia* collected by Griffith in the Helmand Basin probably in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass. It is erroneously said to have come from "Boutan" or "Butan."

[1] According to the list only one example of *Cobitis marmaratus* was sent to England, but this is evidently a mistake in printing overlooked by McClelland.

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ii. *Nemachilus griffithii* Günther is a distinct species bearing resemblance to *N. stoliczkae* and *N. brauhi*. It was obtained by Griffith in Afghanistan in the neighbourhood of "Candahar" and is not an Assamese Loach.

London,
September, 1928.

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A Case of Hermaphroditism in a common Indian Frog *Rana tigrina* Daud, with a Note on the Classification of Hermaphroditic Cases.[1]

By Jnanendra Lal Bhaduri,
Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta.

(*Communicated by Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, I.M.S.*)

Introduction.

Hermaphroditism is not unusual in Amphibians. In the genera *Rana*, *Hyla* and *Bufo* of the Anurans there have occasionally been recorded cases of hermaphroditism in normally unisexual individuals. The last mentioned genus (*Bufo*), in particular, has earned a classical reputation in possessing a graded series from the rudimentary to complete hermaphroditic condition, as shewn by several European Vertebrate Anatomists. The singular possession of Bidder's organ has been, and is, in recent years, reputed by many authors to be responsible for such occurrences. Sutton (29) as a pathologist, has noted that the toads "afford ready and indisputable examples of functionless ducts (oviducts[2]) becoming cystic in parts of their course," and has clearly demonstrated that "the amount of development of these ducts (oviducts[2]) is in direct proportion to the size of Bidder's organ." A very curious fact to be noted in this connection, however, is that Johnston and Gillies (15) have observed that in males "of *Hyla cærulea*, the Australian green tree-frog, a series can be obtained from specimens devoid of the ducts (oviducts[2]) altogether, to those showing a development of these structures almost rivalling the female genital ducts in size, though the usual condition is not so pronounced." We may also note here, in passing, that *Hyla* does not seem to possess any such structure as Bidder's organ, nor has it so far been shown to possess ovotestes. The fact that *Hyla*, without possessing either Bidder's organ or ovotestes, shows similar grades of development of the oviducts as *Bufo*, seems to cast some doubt on the validity of the view that Bidder's organ can be in any way connected with the hermaphroditic condition.

Cases of hermaphroditism are not often found in the genus *Rana*, but that they are not very rare will be evident from a

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[1] Read before the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta, 1928.

[2] The brackets are mine. J.L.B.

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reference to the list of literature appended to this paper. With the exception of a joint paper by Bhattacharya and Das (1) on the persistence of oviducts with abnormal testes in a male Indian frog, *Rana tigrina*, we have, unfortunately, no other cases on record in India. I, therefore, take this opportunity of recording another instance which I chanced to discover last rainy season (9th June, 1927) in a male *Rana tigrina* during class demonstration in the University of Calcutta.

Since the publication of Hooker's paper (14), quite a mass of records has accumulated, and in view of the fact that there are some discrepancies in the former classifications of the hermaphroditic frogs, I have endeavoured in the second part of this paper to suggest a fresh classification from the instances hitherto recorded, and, in an appendix, I have given, according to my classification, a full record of cases with brief accounts, in compiling which I have consulted all the literature available in Calcutta, but it must be admitted, in this connection, that certain accounts which have been made use of there are not based on original papers, since the journals in which these appeared are not available in any of the Calcutta Libraries. Below is a list showing the sources of information from which I have compiled the accounts of the following authors.

Authors.	*Sources.*
1. Chidester (4)	.. *Zool. Ber.*, XII, 1927.
2. Kortschagin (17)	.. Ognew (23).
3. Pedaschenko (24)	.. ,,
4. Mitrophanow (22)	.. Hooker (14).
5. Tarnani (30)	.. ,,
6. Tichomirow (31)	.. ,,
7. Woronzowa (32)	.. *Zool. Ber.*, XI, 1927.
8. Clemens (5)	.. *Journ. R. Micr. Soc.*, 1922.
9. Boulangé (2)	.. Not known.

There are altogether at the present time 44 cases of hermaphroditism on record, but I have dealt with only 39 cases in the appendix, the reason for the omission of five cases being stated below. The first three authors' accounts, relating to four instances (*i.e.*, two Chidester and one each of Kortschagin and Pedaschenko), are not sufficiently detailed and have, therefore, been left out of consideration. With regard to Boulangé's account nothing, even in the form of an abstract, could be found, though an assiduous search was made.

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PART I.

Description of specimen *Rana tigrina*.

A. External characters.

The individual was an adult, measuring 13·5 cm. in length. Externally it showed well-marked masculine features. Two subgular vocal sacs, conspicuous externally by the fold of the skin and also by the usual dark colour, were situated on the sides of the throat. The finger pads were also prominently present on the thumbs of both the forel-imbs. It may not be out of place to point out that this frog had suffered a fracture of the left tibio-fibula, although this does not come under present review.

B. Internal characters of the urino-genital organs (Plate 12).

The two testes, right and left (R.T. and L.T), of nearly equal size and of pale yellow colour, were situated on the ventral surface of the anterior head of each kidney (R.K. and L.K). Both of them were unusually reduced in size in comparison to those found in normal adult male specimens. The measurements in millimetres are as follows:—

	Length.	*Breadth.*
Right testis ..	7·0	3·0
Left testis ..	8·5	2·5

Vasa efferentia were given off from each testis to the kidney. Mention should be made here that there was no deposit on the surface of either of the testes of any pigment such as might be taken to indicate the presence of ovarian tissue.

Although the specimen was not fixed with a view to studying the histological condition of the genital organs yet the left testis was removed and sectioned. The histology, as revealed in a series of sections, suggested an abortive condition rather than the primary stages of the development of the male sexual cells. Not a single ovum nor anything resembling an ovum was, however, observed in the spermatic tissue.

Clusters of well-developed fat bodies (C.A), apparently attached to the anterior margin of each testis as in normal males, were hanging freely in the body cavity from the upper border of each kidney.

From the postero-lateral border of each kidney (R.K. and L.K) proceeded the genito-urinary duct (R.U.D. and L.U.D) each exhibiting the dilatation of the vesicula seminalis (S.V).

No trace of an ovary was found anywhere but the Müllerian ducts or oviducts (R.O. and L.O) were present. They were more or less thin but were well developed with many convolutions and exhibited the usual coelomic openings (F). The coiled

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oviducts expanded posteriorly, as is usual in female frogs, into uterine dilatations (R.U. and L.U). In spite of the narrowness of the two oviducts the presence of a lumen was demonstrated by inserting a fine bristle into it. The posterior continuation of the uterine portion of the oviduct and the urino-genital duct (R.U.D. or L.U.D) on each side ran in close apposition to each other as far as the cloacal wall, but instead of opening separately, as is usually the case in *Rana*, they opened by a single common aperture (O) in the cloaca (Cl). The two apertures thus formed were separated by a papilla (P). The above mentioned fact was further substantiated by passing separate bristles into each of the male and female ducts of one side.

For comparison of the present specimen and other previously described examples, in which there appears to be a total absence of any ovary, the reader is referred to Group 1 of the Appendix. From there it will be seen that the present case differs from the previously recorded ones in such details as the smallness and abortive condition of both the testes and the relation of the openings of the two urino-genital ducts (male and female) in the cloaca.

PART II.

Classification of Hermaphroditism.

In the following lines I have given a résumé of the classifications of hermaphroditic cases from the earlier records. Within the brief period of nine years (1904-1912) three attempts were made in this direction. Ernst Gaupp (9), the author of the revised edition of Ecker und Wiederscheim's "*Anatomie des Frosches*," was the first to attempt such a classification, and this he did under the heading "specielle Fälle" (*loc. cit.*, p. 350). Two years later Ognew (23) suggested a new classification in which he included a large number of cases but his scheme differed from Gaupp's in its main outlines: and, last but not least, is the noteworthy contribution of Hooker (14) who not only prepared a table on a classificatory basis, differing again from the above two authors, but also dealt thoroughly with the causes involved in such instances of hermaphroditism. The main outlines of the classifications of these three authors are given below with the names of the recorders as referred to by the classifiers.

Gaupp's Classification.

I. *Cases with preponderance of male characters on both sides.*
   - (*a*) Marshall (cases A and C), and Sumner.
   - (*b*) Balbiani (Pflüger, Born, etc.), and Friedmann.
   - (*c*) Latter, Mitrophanow, Marshall (case B), Ridewood, Kent, and Cole.

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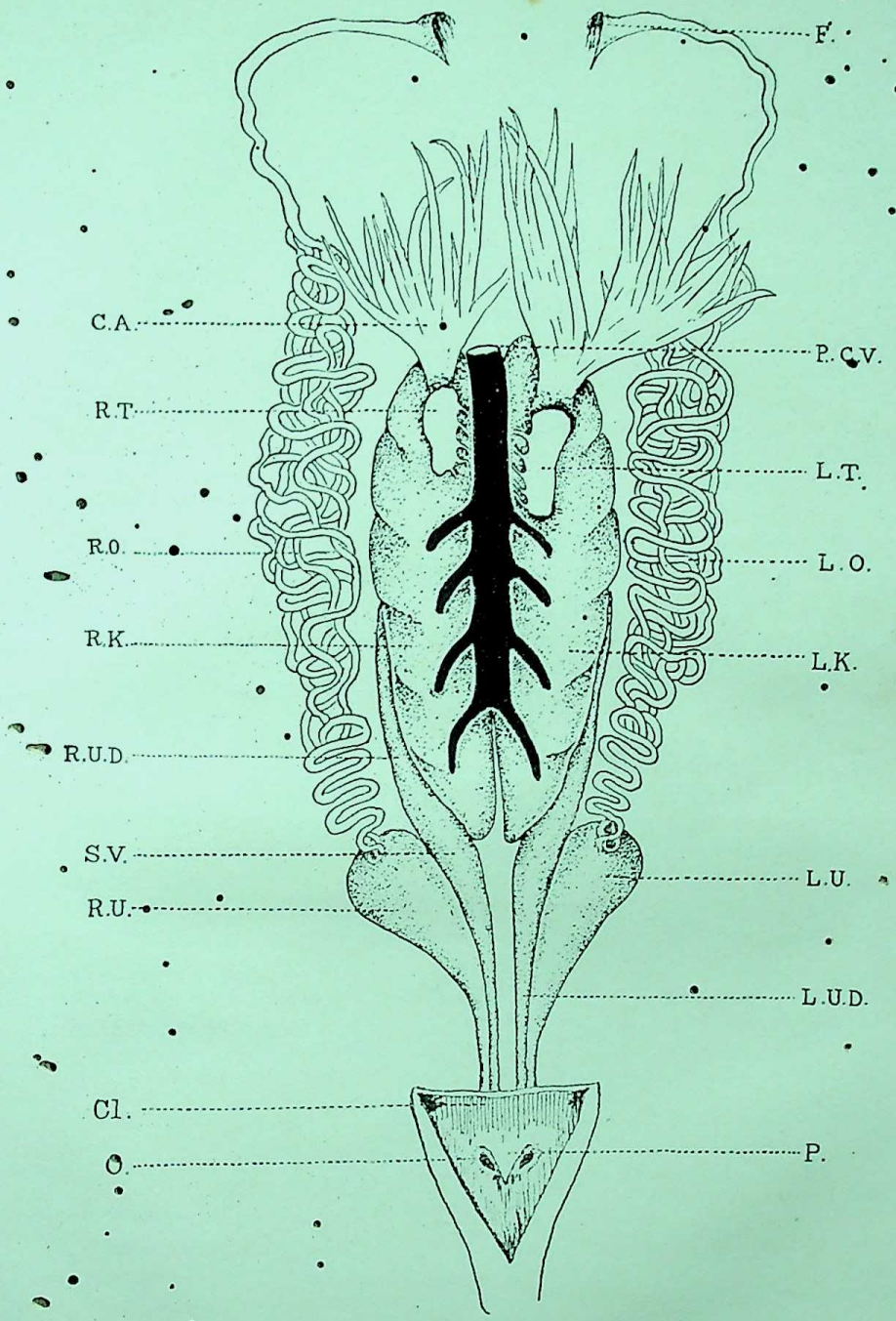

Diagrammatic ventral view of the Urino-genital system of the frog *Rana tigrina* × 1¾.

C.A.—Corpus Adiposum.
Cl.—Cloaca.
F.—Anterior opening of Oviduct.
L.K.—Left Kidney.
L.O.—Left Oviduct.
L.T.—Left Testis (with vasa efferentia).
L.U.—Left Uterus.
L.U.D.—Left Urino-genital duct.
O.—Common opening of Urino-genital duct.
P.—Papilla
P.C.V.—Post Caval Vein.
R.K.—Right Kidney.
R.O.—Right Oviduct.
R.T.—Right Testis (with vasa efferentia).
R.U.—Right Uterus.
R.U.D.—Right Urino-genital duct.
S.V.—Seminal Vesicle.

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II. *Cases in which the character of the genitalia are essentially different on both sides.*
Marshall (case D), and Smith.

III. *Cases with the preponderance of female characters on both sides.*
Bourne.

Ognew's Classification.

I. *Nearly complete hermaphrodites.*
(Prevalance of male sexual organs.)
(A) Marshall (case B).
(B) Cole, Punnet, and Ridewood.
(C) Kent

II. *Partial, strongly impressed hermaphrodites.*
1. (Prevalance of male sexual organs.)
(A) Tichomirow, Sumner, Sutton, Marshall (cases A and C), Mitrophanow, Tarnani, and Latter.
(B) Spengel.
2. (Prevalance of female sexual organs.)
(A) Bourne and Marshall (case D).
(B) Smith.

III. *Partial, weakly impressed hermaphrodites.*
Pedaschenko.

IV. *Showing imperfect development of the female sexual organs.*
Kortschagin.

Hooker's Classification.

Group A. *Males with more or less developed oviducts.*
Tichomirow, Gerhartz, Sumner, Hooker (case A), Marshall (cases A and C), Tarnani, and Sutton.

Group B. *Males with testes containing ova.*
Friedmann, Hoffmann, Latter, Marshall (case B), and Mitrophanow.

Group C. *Hermaphrodites with both the sexual glands, but with the male preponderating.*
Cole, Ognew, Kent, Ridewood, and Punnet.

Group D. *Almost or complete hermaphrodites.*
Hooker (case B), Smith, and Youngman.

Group E. *Hermaphrodites with both the sexual glands, but with the female preponderating.*
Marshall (case D), and Bourne.

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Hooker (14), as will be seen by a reference to the above list, based his classification on 23 cases, but it has to be noted that he, unfortunately, missed four instances, which had been recorded previously, two by Goodall-Strickland (11) and one each by Yung (34) and Kuschakewitsch (18). At the present day the number of recorded cases has considerably increased, amounting to 45 in all, including the present instance. This rise in number, after Hooker's publication, is partially due to the contribution of Crew (7), who not only added as many as six cases of hermaphroditism, but also re-described Kents's (16) specimen carefully in 'case No. III' in his own paper.

In view of this increase in the number of recorded instances, I have attempted to revise the classification and to arrange the various examples in groups as shown in the Appendix given at the end of this paper. I have, however, not attempted to deal with the causes that may produce hermaphroditism as these have already been discussed by previous authors notably by Gaupp (9), and Hooker (14).

My scheme of classification and the brief accounts of previously recorded examples given in the Appendix will, I hope, be of general value to future recorders in view of its simplicity and easy reference. I have taken the gonads as the primary basis of my classification. In hermaphroditic cases like these the gonads may be either male or female or both together (in certain cases where both ovary and testis occur in a single organ, this is expressed in the term ovotestis). The gonads, again, may be in various conditions, viz., either rudimentary or developing, degenerate or functional, or small or large in size. In my classification I have not discriminated between cases in which the ovary and testis are present as separate organs and those in which there is an ovotestis: nor in these latter instances between cases in which one gonad greatly preponderates over the other, e.g., a single ovum occurring in an otherwise normal testis, and those in which the proportions are nearly equal.

I have divided all those instances of hermaphroditism regarding which I have been able to obtain information into the following groups:—

Group 1. Cases where a testis and an oviduct are present on each side but no ovary.

Group 2. Cases where both testis and ovary (ovotestis) are present on the right side only.

Section A. Ovary and oviduct are on the left side.

Section B. No ovary but testis and oviduct on the left side.

Group 3. Cases where a testis and an ovary (ovotestis) are present on each side.

Group 4. Cases where both testis and ovary (ovotestis) are present on the left side only.

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Section A. Ovary and oviduct are on the right side.
Section B. No ovary but testis and oviduct on the right side.

Group 5. Cases where there is a testis on the one side and an ovary on the other side.

The details of all cases are given in the Appendix.

In conclusion I wish to express my great indebtedness to Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, I.M.S., Director of the Zoological Survey of India, for kindly going through this paper and making necessary suggestions.

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APPENDIX.

Group 1. *Cases where a testis and an oviduct are present on each side but no ovary.*

(1) *Rana temporaria* (case A). Testes are normal. Oviducts are well developed. Seminal vesicles are small.

Marshall (21) 1884.

(2) *Rana temporaria* (case C). Right testis is almost absent while the left one is much enlarged. Oviducts and seminal vesicles are present.

Marshall (21) 1884.

(3) *Rana temporaria.* Testes are normal. Oviducts are weakly developed and threadlike and end in seminal vesicles, which are normal.

Sutton (29) 1885.

(4) *Rana esculenta.* Testes are normal. Oviducts are well developed. Seminal vesicles are present.

Tichomirow (31) 1887.

(5) *Rana virescens.* Externally a male. Testes are normal. Oviducts are weakly developed but have no anterior orifices. Seminal vesicles are normal. Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Sumner (28) 1894.

(6) *Rana esculenta.* Testes are normal. Oviducts are well developed. Seminal vesicles are absent.

Tarnani (30) 1898.

(7) *Rana esculenta.* Externally young. Testes are doubly larger. Oviducts are highly coiled but have no uterus. Seminal vesicles are normal. Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Gerhartz (10) 1905.

(8) *Rana fusca* (case A). Externally an adult male, and 7·3 cm. long. Testes are slightly enlarged. Oviducts are weakly developed and possess small uteri. Seminal vesicles are smaller than normal. Opening of the urinogenital ducts in the cloaca are normal.

Hooker (14) 1912.

(9) *Hyla cærulea.* Testes are normal. Oviducts are present, anterior ends are not so coiled. Seminal vesicles are not mentioned. Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Johnston and Gillies (15) 1918.

(10) *Rana tigrina.* Externally a male. Right testes is very small (6/3·5 mm.) and has no vasa efferntia; the left testis is much large (17/4·5 mm.). Right oviduct is well developed while the left one is less developed and there is no anterior orifice; it is further characterised by an interruption in its continuation. Seminal vesicles are present. Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Bhattacharya and Das (1) 1920-21.

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Group 2. *Cases where both testis and ovary (ovotestis) are present on the right side only.*

(Section A. Ovary and oviduct are on the left side.)

(1) *Rana temporaria* (case D). Right gonad consists of a very large testis and a small ovary. Left gonad is an ovary which contains only degenerate ova. Oviducts are normal. Seminal vesicles are absent.

Marshall (21) 1884.

(2) *Rana temporaria* is externally a male and is unusually large in size. Right gonad is an ovotestis, testis being present without vasa efferentia, while ovary is slightly smaller than the left. Left gonad is an ovary which is quite normal. Oviducts are normal and uterine portion is much filled with ova Seminal vesicles are absent.

Youngman (33) 1910.

(3) Species not mentioned. Specimen is externally male. Right gonad is an ovotestis and consists of a large testis and a small ovary, the latter only caps the anterior border of the testis. Left gonad is entirely a normal ovary. Oviducts are normal. Seminal vesicles are practically absent, but there is an indication on the right side.

Leigh-Sharpe (20) 1922.

(Section B. No ovary but testis and oviduct on the left side.)

(1) *Rana esculenta.* Externally a young male, and 7 cm. long. Right gonad is an (ovotestis) testis is smaller than left and it contains ovary. Left gonad is a testis, section reveals no actual ova in it Oviducts are quite normal. Seminal vesicles are entirely absent.

Mitrophanow (22) 1894.

Group 3. *Cases where a testis and ovary (ovotestis) are present on each side.*

(1) *Rana temporaria* (case B). Externally male. Right and left gonads are ovotestes, ovaries being contained in testes. Oviducts are normal. Seminal vesicles are small and spindle-shaped.

Marshall (21) 1884.

(2) *Rana temporaria*, case No. III of Crew (7). Externally an adult male, and 6·5 cm. long. Right gonad consists of a small testis to which is attached a small ovary. Left gonad is an ovotestis, testis is normal (three times the right) and contains ova. Right oviduct is well developed while the left one is straight and rudimentary. Seminal vesicles are present but in a rudimentary condition. Openings of the urino-genital ducts are normal.

Kent (16) 1885.

(3) *Rana fusca.* Externally male and one year old. Right and left gonads are ovotestes: ovaries are contained in testes. Seminal vesicles and other organs are not mentioned.

Hoffmann (13) 1886.

(4) *Rana temporaria.* Externally male (one year old?). Right gonad consists of a very large testis and a small ovary. Left gonad is an ovotestis, a small ovary containing well developed ova is situated on the outer margin of a three-

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lobed normal testis. Right oviduct is weakly developed while the left one is normal. Seminal vesicles are present but the right one is smaller than the left.

Ridewood (26) 1888.

(5) *Rana temporaria.* Externally male. Right and left gonads are ovotestes, ovaries being contained in the testes. Right testis is smaller than usual. Oviducts are straight tubes and possess no anterior openings but there is a trace of uterus in the left one. Seminal vesicles are present, the left being larger than right.

Latter (19) 1890.

(6) *Rana temporaria* is externally full-grown, but with debatable sex characters. Right gonad consists of a 15 mm. long testis and a small ovary. Left gonad consists of a normal ovary and a testis, the latter is present on the outer margin of the ovary. Oviducts are strongly developed. Seminal vesicles are entirely absent. Openings of urino-genital ducts are normal.

Smith (27) 1890.

(7) *Rana temporaria.* Externally a young male. Right gonad is an ovotestis, an ovum being contained in a testis (11/5 mm.). Left gonad consists of a very small testis and a large ovary with degenerate ova. Right oviduct is weakly developed while the left one is fairly convoluted. Seminal vesicles are entirely absent. Urino-genital ducts open normally.

Cole (6) 1896.

(8) *Rana viridis.* An adult specimen. Gonads are ovotestes, ovaries being contained in testes. Oviducts, seminal vesicles and others are not mentioned.

Friedmann (8) 1898.

(9) Species not mentioned. It is externally male. Right gonad is an ovotestis, testis is normal but contains an ovum. Left gonad consists of a large ovary and a small testis. Oviducts are quite normal. Seminal vesicles are small. Urino-genital openings are normal.

Punnet (25) 1900.

(10) *Rana fusca* (case B) shows externally both male and female characters combined, and is 8 cm. long. Right gonad consists of a large testis and a small ovary. Left gonad is an ovotestis consisting of normal testis and ovary. Oviducts are also quite normal. Seminal vesicles are small and spindle form. Openings of urino-genital ducts are normal.

Hooker (14) 1912.

(11) *Rana temporaria* (case No. IV). Externally an adult male, and 7·8 cm. long. Right gonad consists of an irregular shaped testis bearing small scattered ovary. In the left gonad testis bears small ovary. Oviducts are normal. Seminal vesicles are present. Openings of urinogenital ducts are normal.

Crew (7) 1921.

(12) *Rana temporaria* (case No. V). Externally an adult male, and 8 cm. long. Right gonad consists of large irregular

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shaped testis bearing nodules of ovary. Left gonad consists of a large ovary and a small testis. Oviducts are normal. Seminal vesicles are small and spindle-shaped Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Crew (7) 1921.

(13) *Rana temporaria* (case No. VI) is externally nearly male, and 7·6 cm. long. Right gonad consists of an irregular testis with small ovarian tissue. In the left gonad testis is attended with ovarian tissue. Right oviduct is weakly developed, while the left one is well developed. Seminal vesicles are small and fusiform. Urino-genital ducts open normally in the cloaca.

Crew (7) 1921.

(14) *Rana catesbiana.* Externally male. Gonads are ovotestes. Oviducts and seminal vesicles are present.

Clemens (5) 1921.

Group 4. *Cases where both testis and ovary (ovotestis) are present on the left side only.*

(Section A. Ovary and oviduct are on the right side.) In the following five cases the right testis is absent and the oviducts are normal.

(1) *Rana temporaria.* Right ovary is well developed. Left gonad consists of a large ovary and a testis which is apparently devoid of vasa efferentia. Seminal vesicles are absent.

Bourne (3) 1884.

(2) *Rana esculenta.* Externally male, and 73 mm. long. Right ovary is normal. Left gonad consists of an ovary (6·5 mm.) and testis (7·5/6 mm.). Seminal vesicles are not mentioned. Urino-genital ducts of either side united and opened by two apertures.

Yung (34) 1907.

(3) *Rana temporaria* (case II). Externally female with debatable pads. Right ovary is normal. Left gonad consists of a fairly well developed testis and an usual ovary. Seminal vesicles are absent. Urino-genital ducts open normally.

Goodall (11) 1908.

(4) *Rana temporaria* (case No. I). Externally adult female and is 8 cm. in length. Right ovary is large. Left gonad is an ovotestis, ovary being contained in a small testis. Seminal vesicles are absent but an indication is present. Urinogenital ducts open normally.

Crew (7) 1921.

(5) *Rana temporaria* (case No. II). Externally nearly adult male, and 7·7 cm. in length. Right ovary possesses vasa efferentia. Left gonad is an ovotestis, three nodules of testis being present on an ovary with vasa efferentia. Seminal vesicles are small and spindle form. Urino-genital ducts open normally.

Crew (7) 1921.

(Section B. No ovary but testis and oviduct on the right side.) In the following four cases the right ovary is absent and the seminal vesicles are normal.

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(1) *Rana temporaria.* Externally male, and 71 mm. in length. Right testis is large. Left gonad consists of an ovary and a small testis without apparent vasa efferentia. Right oviduct is weakly developed and the left one is normal.

Ognew (23) 1906.

(2) *Rana temporaria.* Externally male, and 8·5 cm. in length. Right testis is unusually large. Left gonad is an ovotestis which contains inseparable degenerate testis and ovary. Left oviduct is more well developed than the right one. Urino-genital ducts open by two apertures in the cloaca.

Heymons (12) 1917.

(3) *Rana temporaria* (case No. VII). Externally an adult male, and 7·2 cm. long. Right testis is normal. Left gonad consists of an irregular shaped testis and an ovary which contains degenerate ova. Oviducts are normal. Urino-genital ducts open normally.

Crew (7) 1921.

(4) *Rana temporaria.* Externally male. Right testis is normal. Left gonad is an ovotestis, degenerate ova being contained in the testis. Right oviduct is absent while the left one is fully developed. Seminal vesicle are present.

Woronzowa (32) 1926.

Group 5. *Cases where there is a testis on the one side and an ovary on the other side.*

(1) *Rana temporaria.* Externally female. Right testis is absent but ovary on this side is very small. On the left side testis is present but ovary is absent. Oviducts are well developed. Right seminal vesicles is absent. Urino-genital ducts open normally.

Goodall (11) 1908.

(2) *Rana esculenta.* Externally male (three months after metamorphosis). A normal ovary is present on the right side. A small testis is present on the left side. Other structures are not mentioned.

Kuschakewitsch (18) 1911.

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